00013422

NOT TO BE ISSUED OUT
WITHOUT PERMISSION.

THE
ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BOMBAY
Town Hall, Bombay.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

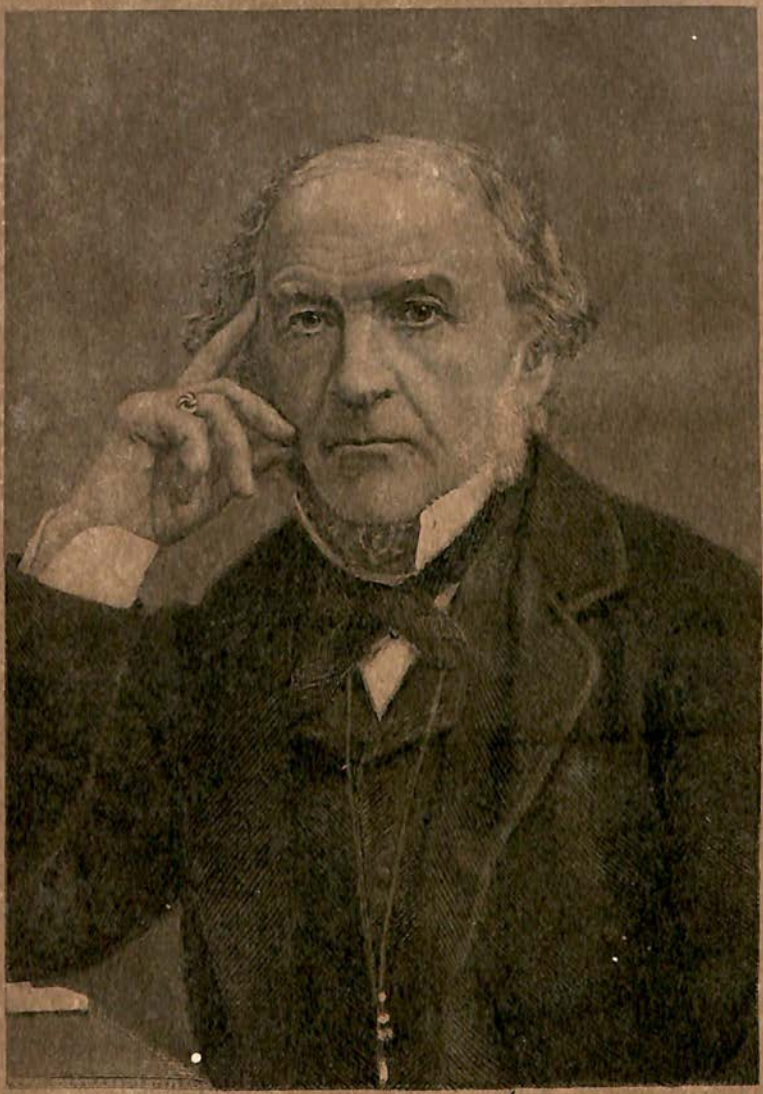
THE LIFE

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE,

M.P., D.C.L., &c.



W. E. Gladstone

ÆTAT 68.

From a Photograph by Messrs. Elliott & Fry

taken in May 1871

THE LIFE

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE,

M.P., D.C.L., &c.

BY

GEORGE BARNETT SMITH,

AUTHOR OF "SHELLEY: A CRITICAL BIOGRAPHY," "POETS AND NOVELISTS," &c.

TWELFTH EDITION.

WARD, LOCK AND CO.,
LONDON, NEW YORK, AND MELBOURNE.
1890.

(*All rights reserved.*)

00013422

PREFACE.

THE leading purpose of this work is of a biographical and historical, rather than of a polemical character. It has been my object to place before the reader the story of Mr. Gladstone's life —and his relations to the great movements of his time—through the medium of his writings and speeches. In the Parliamentary portion of the work, I have been sparing of comment, for two reasons: first, to have discussed at length the manifold political acts of this eminent statesman would have expanded this biography greatly beyond its present dimensions; and, secondly, the period has not yet arrived when it is possible to estimate (even were I competent to do so) the full effect and influence of those great legislative measures with which Mr. Gladstone's name is associated. In a work of this kind it would be impossible for the author to conceal the nature of his political sentiments; neither have I the wish to do so; but a high admiration for the subject of this biography is not incompatible with an impartial recognition of certain errors of judgment Nor, in sometimes strongly condemning the action of his opponents, have I endeavoured unduly to asperse them. Amongst such opponents, during the last forty years, have been men entitled to the respect and gratitude of the country; and England is proud of all her sons who have rendered her distinguished service, be their party name Whig or Tory, Liberal or Conservative.

There are few, I believe—even amongst those who most differ from him—who would deny to Mr. Gladstone the title of a great statesman. With regard to his course on recent Foreign policy, my conviction is that 'time is on his side,' and is even now working out his justification; but be this course approved or disapproved, nothing can blot out the memory of his past achievements. In many respects, the long roll of English statesmen bears no name more illustrious than his. The purity of his motives and the

disinterestedness of his character stand confessed; and it may be said of him, as was said of Burke, that 'he brought to politics a horror of crime, a deep humanity, a keen sensibility, and a singular vivacity and sincerity of conscience.' The most conspicuous figure, perhaps, in the public life of our times, and universally esteemed for his talents, his eloquence, his high and pure feeling, and his personal worth, I commit to the reader, without further apology, this record of his career.

G. B. S.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

CHAPTER I.—Birth and Ancestry 1

„ II.—At Eton and Oxford 13

„ III.—Member for Newark 32

„ IV.—Early Speeches in Parliament 42

„ V.—Mr. Gladstone on Church and State . . . 65

„ VI.—A Memorable Decade—1841-50 77

„ VII.—The Neapolitan Prisons 120

„ VIII.—Mr. Gladstone's First Budget 133

„ IX.—The Crimean War 150

„ X.—The Crimean War (*continued*) 167

„ XI.—The Crimean War (*concluded*) 184

„ XII.—Domestic and Foreign Policy—1856-58 . . . 196

„ XIII.—Homeric Studies 225

„ XIV.—The Session of 1859—The Budget of 1860 and the French Treaty 244

„ XV.—Financial Statements of 1861-63 273

„ XVI.—Advancing Opinions and Fiscal Reforms . . 309

„ XVII.—Mr. Gladstone's Rejection at Oxford—The Reform Bill of 1866 322

„ XVIII.—The Reform and Irish Church Questions . . 350

PAGE

CHAPTER XIX.—The Golden Age of Liberalism 374

„ XX.—The Golden Age of Liberalism (*concluded*) . . 400

„ XXI.—The Alabama Claims—The Ballot—Irish University Education 425

„ XXII.—Fall of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry . . . 451

„ XXIII.—Speeches on Public Worship and Education . 464

„ XXIV.—Resignation of the Liberal Leadership . . 483

„ XXV.—Ritualism and Vaticanism 490

„ XXVI.—Mr. Gladstone's Financial Policy. . . . 503

„ XXVII.—The Eastern Question 508

„ XXVIII.—Foreign Policy—1878-79 523

„ XXIX.—Mr. Gladstone's Miscellaneous Writings, &c. . 540

„ XXX.—The General Election of 1880.—The New Parliament 553

„ XXXI.—The Sessions of 1881, 1882, and 1883 . . . 571

„ XXXII.—Personal Characteristics—Conclusion . . . 581

THE LIFE

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE,

M.P., D.C.L., &c.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND ANCESTRY.

The Gladstones and the Middle Class—Sir John Gladstone—His Characteristics—Origin of his Family—Its Settlement in Scotland for several Centuries—Its Ramifications—John Gladstone, the future Premier's Father, born at Leith—Removes to Liverpool—His Business Aptitude—Anecdote Illustrating his Enterprise—A Merchant Prince—His Relations with Canning—Philanthropic Efforts—A Member of the House of Commons—Created a Baronet by Sir Robert Peel—William Ewart Gladstone's Scotch Descent—Illustrious Pedigree claimed by Burke—The Early Training of Mr. Gladstone—Surrounded by Conservative Influences—His Genius and Endowments—His Career an Interesting Study.

WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE—statesman, orator, and man of letters—sprang from the ranks of that powerful order which has justly been regarded as the backbone of England—namely, the middle class. This class has not only given stability to the country in the midst of social and political convulsions, but has contributed more than any other to the intellectual growth and eminence of the English-speaking race. The adventitious circumstances surrounding an aristocracy tend to produce habits of lethargy and indulgence, though there are illustrious examples in statesmanship, art, and letters, where the temptations to a life of ignoble ease have been successfully overcome—while, if we descend to the lowest grade in the social scale, we shall find that the evils of poverty have arrested the development of many men of original talent, who might have risen to be a power in and an ornament to the state. The middle class have been subjected neither to the temptations of the aristocracy nor the priva-

tions of the order beneath them; and it is to these we owe, in a large measure, the prosperity and greatness of the empire.' They are men of shrewd, penetrating, and active minds, men who have acquired a stake in the country by their own indomitable energy and foresight, and they have ever been the most ardent defenders of individual and national liberty—a check upon the power of kings and nobles, and a breakwater against the threatening tide of democracy.

Typical of this race was Sir John Gladstone, father of the future Liberal Premier. Amongst all the merchant princes of Liverpool—and the records of the town are full of striking examples of self-made men—there are few whose career was so remarkable as that of the man who, originally the son of a corn merchant or corn dealer at Leith, near Edinburgh, ultimately became one of the most eminent merchants and shipowners in Lancashire. We shall the better approach to some understanding of the statesman's complex character by briefly tracing the history of his father. In him were developed those practical qualities which have since been reflected in the son—tenacity of purpose, strength of will, the power to grapple with opposing circumstances, and a breadth of mind which grasped the various aspects of a difficult problem at a glance. 'Diligent in business' was Sir John Gladstone's motto, and his distinguished son, so far from being ashamed of the means by which his family rose to opulence, not long ago, in frank and manly words, and words worth remembering, recounted his obligations to trade and commerce. In an address delivered at the Liverpool Collegiate Institute on the 21st of December 1872, Mr. Gladstone said, 'I know not why commerce in England should not have its old families, rejoicing to be connected with commerce from generation to generation. It has been so in other countries; I trust it will be so in this country. I think it a subject of sorrow, and almost of scandal, when those families who have either acquired or recovered station and wealth through commerce, turn their backs upon it, and seem to be ashamed of it. It certainly is not so with my brother or with me. His sons are treading in his steps, and one of my sons, I rejoice to say, is treading in the steps of my father and my brother.'

Before alluding further to Mr. Gladstone's father, it will be convenient here to cite certain interesting facts as to the ramifications of the family. The chief stock of the Gladstanes or Gladstones—for the latter orthography is of recent adoption—were originally settled in the parish of Liberton, in the upper ward of Clydesdale; but many generations subsequently a branch of the stock effected a settlement in the town of Biggar, in Lanarkshire.

Through the name of Gladstanes or Gledstanes has been traced a custom in connection with the tenure of land, prevalent centuries ago in certain Scotch counties. It may also be noted that *Gled* is Lowland Scottish for a hawk, and that *stanes* signifies rocks. The estates of Arthurshiel and of Gladstanes, in Clydesdale, were held by a branch of the family of the Gladstanes through whom the subject of our biography traces his descent. Evidence exists of the former estate being held by William Gladstanes early in the sixteenth century, and there are references to descendants of his in legal documents executed in 1623 and 1641 respectively. Some time before the year 1680 the estate of Arthurshiel was sold by John Gladstanes to James Brown, of Edmonstoun. At Biggar, William Gladstanes, son of the laird just named, pursued the business of a maltster, and died in 1728. He left three sons and one daughter. Of the sons, John, born in 1693 or 1694, followed the occupation of his father in the town of Biggar. He was an active man in the district, and a kirk elder. Being successful in business, he acquired a small property, to which he retired, dying in the year 1756. This John Gladstanes had a large family, consisting of five sons and six daughters. The third son, John, took the patrimony of Mid Toftcombs, and, marrying, received with his wife, Christian Taverner, a dowry amounting to seven thousand merks—a not inconsiderable sum at that period. The fourth son of this marriage was Thomas Gladstone—grandfather of the statesman—who was born at Mid Toftcombs on the 3rd of June, 1732, and lived until the year of William Ewart Gladstone's birth, dying at the ripe age of seventy-seven. Thomas Gladstone, having early left the parental roof, became a corn-merchant in Leith, and married Helen, the daughter of Walter Neilson, of Springfield. Their union was very prolific, and of sixteen children born to them no fewer than twelve grew up to maturity. Thomas Gladstone's aptitude for business was so great, and he was so enterprising, that—notwithstanding the numerous claims upon him—he was able to make some provision for all his sons in the adoption of their various trades or callings.

John Gladstone, the eldest son, was born at Leith, in the year 1763. He entered his father's business, and on attaining his majority an incident occurred which proved the turning-point in his career. Being commissioned by his father to go to Liverpool, in order to sell a cargo of grain which had arrived at that port, his demeanour and business capabilities so won upon the mind of one of the leading Liverpool corn-merchants, Mr. Corrie, that he desired his father to allow young Gladstone to settle at that port. For some time, accordingly, John Gladstone became

assistant in the house of Corrie and Co. He was not long here, however, before his tact and shrewdness manifested themselves, and, by-and-by, the firm of Corrie and Co. became transformed into that of Corrie, Gladstone, and Bradshaw. An anecdote is related which illustrates not only the harassing nature of the crises through which merchants in English ports are sometimes called upon to pass, but also the prudence and determination by which such crises are frequently met. To the conduct of John Gladstone was due, upon one occasion, the preservation and safety of the firm of which he was soon the most prominent member. The utter failure of the European corn crops was regarded as an excellent opportunity for doing a great stroke of business by Mr. Corrie, who sent Mr. Gladstone to the United States to buy grain. But America, too, had suffered in her crops, and no corn was to be had. While in a condition of great perplexity, Mr. Gladstone received advices from Liverpool to the effect that twenty-four vessels had been engaged to convey to Europe the grain he was despatched to purchase, but which he had not been successful in procuring. The disastrous news soon became known that there were no cargoes of grain, and that the vessels, instead of being loaded with a rich freight, must return to Liverpool in ballast only. The prospect was ruinous, and the stability of the house of Corrie and Co. was considered irretrievably shattered. But Liverpool merchants had reckoned without their host. Now was the time for John Gladstone to demonstrate his business capacity and enterprise, by which he was able to save the fortunes of the firm. While many would have been helplessly casting about for means of recovery, young Gladstone was up and doing. The ships must not return empty. He made a thorough examination of the American markets, ascertained what stocks there were which would be likely to prove acceptable in Liverpool, and, by dint of sleepless energy and activity, he managed to stock the holds of all the vessels. The result was that the house was saved at a very trifling loss. For many years after this the name of John Gladstone was a synonym for push and integrity, first on the Liverpool Exchange, and subsequently in other large towns, as well as in the metropolis.

The partnership of Corrie, Gladstone, and Bradshaw existed for some sixteen years. and during a portion of this period the firm acted as the Government agents at Liverpool. Upon the dissolution of the concern Gladstone was the only one who remained in business, and he took into partnership his brother Robert. Their operations became very extensive, and besides opening up a large trade with Russia, they had large connections

as West India merchants and sugar importers. Mr. Gladstone afterwards became chairman of the West India Association, and took great interest in the proposals for increasing the dock accommodation of Liverpool. In course of time all the seven sons of Thomas Gladstone of Leith had settled down in Liverpool. The capacity to look ahead has been one of the principal traits of the Gladstones as merchants, and when the East India and China trades were thrown open beyond the old limits of the East India Company's monopoly, in 1814, the Liverpool firm of John Gladstone and Co. was the first to despatch a private vessel to Calcutta.

The first ten years of the present century formed a period of great trial and depression for Liverpool, and, indeed, for every important port of the United Kingdom. In the year 1806, Napoleon, anxious to cripple England, issued a decree declaring all the ports of Great Britain in a state of blockade, and prohibiting the importation into any part under his control of the productions of either Great Britain or her colonies. Alarmed by this bold decree, the British Government replied by issuing orders declaring all the ports, either of France or her allies, or from which the British flag was excluded, in a state of actual blockade, and condemning all vessels trading to them as good and lawful prize—unless they had previously touched at a British port, and paid customs duties to the British Crown. Napoleon retorted, in his Milan decree, by declaring any neutral vessel which had paid tax to the British Government denationalised. The result of this policy of mutual recrimination was most disastrous, especially as affecting English trade with America. Indeed, the posture of affairs is perhaps unexampled in modern warfare. The decrees of the British Government were much more objectionable and embarrassing to the Americans than those of Napoleon, which were practically inoperative. England enjoyed the empire of the sea, while Napoleon had little or no power to carry his edicts into execution. Diplomacy set to work, but the breach between the United States and England could not be healed. These disputes with America, combined with the harassed condition of the commercial relations between the two countries, led to great popular discontent in 1807. As one effect of the policy of the British Government, it may be stated that in the course of twelve months the commerce of Liverpool declined to the amount of 140,000 tons, nearly one-fourth of the entire trade, and there was a decrease of no less than £22,000 in the dock dues. Liverpool merchants trading with America of course felt the strain severely, and John Gladstone was amongst those who signed a requisition demanding a public

meeting for the purpose of petitioning Parliament against the Orders in Council. Liverpool was divided in opinion, but a petition was presented to the House of Commons, emanating from the town, and praying for a conciliatory policy towards hostile and neutral states, and especially in reference to the United States of America. In the year 1812—that is, after trade had been seriously crippled, and we had been precipitated into a war with America—the obnoxious orders were rescinded, on the advice of Lord Castlereagh.

Mr. John Gladstone's earnestness was conspicuous in everything he undertook. He was an ardent and yet practical politician. At first a professor of Whig principles, he subsequently modified his views, and became an energetic supporter of Mr. Canning. His principles later in life were those which we usually associate with the name of Liberal Conservative. He presided over a meeting called in Liverpool in 1812 for the purpose of inviting Canning to become a candidate for the borough. The election which ensued was a most exciting one, and is amongst the most remarkable of political contests ever held out of the metropolis. William Roscoe having retired from the representation in October, Canning signified his willingness to stand. At an open air meeting held in Castle street, Mr. Gladstone delivered an address, in the course of which he reviewed the commercial state of the country, and described in the most flattering and glowing terms Canning's public and private character. Mr. Gladstone agreed to support Henry Brougham as the colleague of Canning, and was most anxious for the return of these celebrated men. The other candidates were General Gascoyne—who belonged to a family of large property near the town—and a Mr. Creevey, a Radical of an advanced type. Unfortunately, by one of those fits of perversity which sometimes characterised Brougham, the great advocate threw in his lot with Creevey. In Brougham's *Memoirs* it is naively recorded in connection with this election, that 'two or three men were killed, but the town was quiet'—a striking commentary upon the general character of the election of the period. The alliance between Brougham and Creevey threw Mr. Gladstone into the arms of the acknowledged Conservatives, and he now supported Canning and Gascoyne. Brougham and Creevey were defeated. After the election the successful candidates were chaired and carried in procession through the streets. The procession finally halted at Mr. Gladstone's house, in Rodney street, from the balcony of which Mr. Canning addressed the populace. This election laid the foundation of a deep and lasting friendship between Mr. Canning and Mr. Gladstone. At

this time the son of the latter was but three years of age. Shortly afterwards—that is, as soon as he was able to understand anything of public men and public movements and events—the name of Canning began to exercise that strange fascination over the mind of William Ewart Gladstone which has never wholly passed away.

In all the affairs of Liverpool Mr. John Gladstone took a warm interest, and to his efforts much of its increased prosperity was due. His public appearances were numerous, but with municipal matters he persistently declined to meddle, as he was a strong opponent of the self-elected municipal corporation of the ante Reform Bill times. Whenever any movement, however, for the good of the town required his support, it was always ungrudgingly given. On the 28th of April, 1818, he addressed a meeting called 'to consider the propriety of petitioning Parliament to take into consideration the progressive and alarming increase in the crimes of forging and uttering forged Bank of England notes.' Although the punishments inflicted for them were so heavy, these crimes spread at an enormous rate. The Liverpool meeting passed resolutions recommending the revision and amendment of the Criminal Law. So late as the year 1823 the navigation between Liverpool and Dublin was in a lamentable condition. Human life was recklessly imperilled, and no one seemed willing to intervene. One example illustrating the dangers which vessels ran may be cited. A sloop, the *Alert*, was wrecked off the Welsh coast. She had on board between 100 and 140 souls, of whom only seventeen were saved. For the rescue of every person on board the public packet-boat, there only existed one small shallop twelve feet long. Mr. Gladstone —impressed with the terrible nature of the existing evil— obtained the introduction into the Steamboat Act of an imperative provision requiring a sufficient number of boats for the total number of passengers every vessel was licensed to carry. By this humane provision thousands of lives were doubtless saved which would otherwise have been lost, the victims of reckless seamanship. Mr. Gladstone was also a warm advocate of Greek independence. On the 14th of February 1824, a public meeting was held in the Liverpool Town Hall, 'for the purpose of considering the best means of assisting the Greeks in their present important struggle for independence.' Mr. Gladstone spoke impressively in favour of that cause which had already evoked great enthusiasm amongst the people, and enlisted the sympathies and support of Lord Byron and other distinguished friends of freedom.

In August 1822, Mr. Gladstone presided at a farewell dinner

given to Mr. Canning by the Liverpool Canning Club. Mr. Canning had been selected by the East India Company for the appointment of Governor-General of India. After the dinner an address was presented to the distinguished statesman at Mr. Gladstone's house. But although Canning retired from the representation of Liverpool, he did not leave the country. In consequence of the death of the Marquis of Londonderry by his own hand, the right hon. gentleman was invited to take office under the Crown. On this accession of Mr. Canning to office in 1827 a crowded meeting of his former constituents was held to celebrate the event. Mr. John Gladstone moved an address to his Majesty, congratulating the Sovereign upon the formation of the Canning Ministry.

On the Reform question Mr. Gladstone held peculiar views. While not opposed to a greater enfranchisement of the people, he desired to see any measure of reform which should be introduced take the shape which should best consult all interests. He was the principal speaker at a meeting called in November 1831 to discuss this subject. He made no scruple in expressing his views that he considered the projected reform was going too far; that due regard was not paid to the influence of property; and he maintained that the qualifications for the franchise ought to differ in differing circumstances.

That such a man should make a mark in the town in which a great portion of his life was spent is but natural. Mr. John Gladstone was esteemed by his fellow-townsmen, irrespective of class and of political opinion. The spirit of the man impressed itself upon all with whom he came into contact. His energy, his conscientiousness, and his philanthropic efforts in a variety of directions, all tended to endow him with great popularity. The high position he held in the public esteem was abundantly manifested by certain very interesting proceedings which took place in Liverpool on the 18th of October, 1824. On this day, Mr. Gladstone was presented with a magnificent service of plate, consisting of twenty-eight pieces, and bearing the following inscription:—'To John Gladstone, Esq., M.P., this service of plate was presented MDCCCXXIV. by his fellow-townsmen and friends, to mark their high sense of his successful exertions for the promotion of Trade and Commerce, and in acknowledgment of his most important services rendered to the town of Liverpool.' *

Whether mingling in the strife of politics had excited in Mr. John Gladstone an ambition for parliamentary life, or whether

* For some of these details respecting Sir John Gladstone, the author is indebted to Sir J. A. Picton's very interesting *Memorials of Liverpool.*

it was due to the influence of Mr. Canning—who early perceived the many sterling qualities of his influential supporter—matters little, but he at length came forward for Lancaster, for which place he was returned to the Parliament elected in 1819.

We next find him member for Woodstock, 1821–26, and in the year 1827 he represented Berwick. Altogether he was a member of the House of Commons for nine years. Mr. John Gladstone never offered himself for Liverpool, although he possessed great influence in the borough. This was probably due to an opinion that so large a constituency as Liverpool had special claims upon its members, and demanded from them more important services in the House of Commons than he could render. Sir Robert Peel created Mr. John Gladstone a baronet in 1845. He lived to enjoy his justly-acquired honours for a short time only, dying in 1851 at the patriarchal age of eighty-eight.

Sir John Gladstone was not devoid of literary talent. When the Slavery question came to the front, he entered into a correspondence upon the subject with Mr. John Cropper, and wrote a pamphlet 'On the Present State of Slavery in the British West Indies and in the United States of America; and on the Importation of Sugar from the British Settlements in India.' In the year 1830 he published 'A Statement of Facts connected with the Present State of Slavery in the British Sugar and Coffee Colonies, and in the United States of America; together with a View of the Situation of the Lower Classes in the United Kingdom: in a Letter addressed to Sir Robert Peel.' He also wrote and issued in 1846 a pamphlet entitled 'Plain Facts intimately connected with the intended Repeal of the Corn Laws; or, Probable Effects on the Public Revenue and the Prosperity of this Country.'

On both sides the subject of our biography is of Scotch descent. He alluded to this fact in mature life, and when receiving an address in November 1865, from the Parliamentary Reform Union, in the Glasgow Trade Hall. He thanked those who had signed the address for reminding him of his connection with Scotland at large, and of Glasgow, through the county of Lanark. 'If Scotland is not ashamed of her sons,' he said, 'her sons are not ashamed of Scotland; and the memory of the parents to whom I owe my being combines with various other considerations to make me glad and thankful to remember that the blood which runs in my veins is exclusively Scottish.' Sir John Gladstone—who had no issue by his first marriage—married as his second wife Ann Robertson, daughter of Mr.

Andrew Robertson, of Stornoway, and sometime Provost of Dingwall. She has been described by one who knew her intimately as 'a lady of very great accomplishments; of fascinating manners, of commanding presence and high intellect; one to grace any home and endear any heart.' Her children were six in number—four sons and two daughters. Of the sons two only survive, viz., Sir Thomas Gladstone, Bart., of Fasque, and William Ewart Gladstone. Captain John Neilson Gladstone, sometime M.P. for Portarlington, died in 1863, and Mr. Robertson Gladstone, a prominent merchant and citizen of Liverpool, died in 1875. Of the daughters, one, Anne McKenzie Gladstone, died many years ago, and the other, Helen Jane, quite recently, both ladies being unmarried.

The enormous wealth of Sir John Gladstone enabled him to make handsome provision for each of his children during his lifetime—a fortunate circumstance for the future statesman, and one which left him at liberty to devote his energies to the public service, undistracted by the necessity for business or professional occupation. The Gladstone family belongs, as we have said, essentially to the middle class—and Mr. Gladstone himself would claim for it no other honour—but the zealous Burke connects the marriage of Sir John Gladstone with Miss Robertson to a royal descent from Henry III. of England, and Robert Bruce, King of Scotland. This alleged illustrious pedigree is thus traced—Lady Jane Beaufort, who was a descendant of Henry III., married James I. of Scotland, who was a descendant of Bruce. From this alliance it is said that the steps can be followed clearly down to the father of Miss Robertson. A Scotch writer upon genealogy, also referring to this matter, states that Mr. Gladstone is descended on the mother's side from the ancient Mackenzie of Kintail, through whom is introduced the blood of the Bruce, of the ancient Kings of Man, and of the Lords of the Isles and Earls of Ross; also from the Munros of Fowlis, and the Robertsons of Strowan and Athole. What was of more consequence to the Gladstones of recent generations, however, than royal blood, was the fact that by their energy and honourable enterprise they carved their own fortunes, and rose to positions of public esteem and eminence.

England was distracted by troubles at home and abroad when he who was to be the greatest Liberal statesman of his time first saw the light at Liverpool, on the 29th of December 1809. Commerce was paralysed in many of its centres; men had not forgotten the horrors of the French Revolution; and Napoleon still bestrode Europe like a Colossus. The time was one to make all men pause, and there is scarcely room for wonder that

men of property, merchants, and others, who had never hitherto been suspected of Tory proclivities, should acquire a strong Conservative bias. Probably this had something to do with the gravitation of Mr. John Gladstone towards the principles of Mr. Canning. At any rate, in following the public career of his son, these influences must not be lost sight of. His politics and his strength of will he imbibed from his father; his sensitiveness, and his power of receiving and susceptibility to impressions, were doubtless acquired from his mother, Ann Robertson. Having his father for his teacher, and being constantly reminded of, and indoctrinated in, the principles of Canning, it is not surprising that Mr. Gladstone began life as a Tory.

There has rarely, if ever, been witnessed in statesmanship so singular a combination of qualities and faculties. Without being possessed of that highest of all gifts, an absolutely informing genius, he has, perhaps, every endowment save that. Liverpool gave him his financial talent and business aptitude, Eton his classical attainments, Oxford his moral fervour and religious spirit. He has thrown round the science of finance a halo with which it seemed impossible to invest it; and he has diffused a light upon all great questions in which he has become interested, which has revealed them to, and brought them clearly within, the popular apprehension and understanding. Into every work that he has undertaken, he has imported an earnestness described as enthusiasm by his friends and fanaticism by his opponents. Neither the world of commerce, the world of politics, nor the world of letters has held him entirely for its own; yet he has trodden every stage with success. As a recent writer * well observes, 'He cares even more than trades-unions for the welfare of the working men; more than the manufacturers for the interests of capital; more for the cause of retrenchment than the most jealous and avowed foes of Government expenditure; more for the spread of education than the advocates of a compulsory national system; more for careful constitutional precedent than the Whigs; and more for the spiritual independence of the Church than the highest Tories. He unites cotton with culture, Manchester with Oxford, the deep classical joy over the Italian resurrection and Greek independence with the deep English interest on the amount of the duty on Zantè raisins and Italian rags. The great railway boards and the bishops are about equally interested in Mr. Gladstone.' And again, from the intellectual point of view, 'Mr. Gladstone's mind mediates between the moral and material interests of the age, and rests

* *Sketches in Parliament*, by R. H. Hutton.

in neither. He moralises finance and commerce, and (if we may be allowed the barbarism) institutionalises ethics and faith.'

The acts and speeches of such a man are his best biography. It is through these that we shall trace his career. Differing largely as he does from all other public men, he must be his own interpreter. We do not approach the subject from the merely apologetic or panegyrical point of view; our purpose is to narrate the life of Mr. Gladstone, and to pass in review his literary and political labours. From the youthful politician of 1832 to the statesman of 1880 there are many startling changes and revolutions of thought; but it may not be impossible to trace in these a natural sequence. He who began public life as 'the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories,' in course of time became the most popular leader of the Liberal party. Every vaticination made in his youth he has defeated, while to many of the most daring hopes of Liberal politicians he has given a complete and a splendid realisation. From every standpoint his extraordinary career is worthy of study; it possesses passages of enduring interest, alike for those who are most strongly in political antagonism with him as for those who are his most fervent supporters.

CHAPTER II.

AT ETON AND OXFORD.

Mr. Gladstone entered at Eton—Character of the School Fifty Years ago—Education and Discipline—Eton described by Etonians—Periodicals established by Distinguished Students—Mr. Gladstone's Contributions to the *Eton Miscellany*—Eulogy of Canning—He leaves Eton in 1827—Private Tuition—Becomes a Student of Christ Church, Oxford—Character of the University—High Church and Conservative Proclivities—Life and Study at Oxford—The Union Debating Society—Memorable Debates—Presidents of the Society—Effect upon Mr. Gladstone of Oxford Training—Close of his University Career—Continental Travels—Ascent of Mount Etna—Extracts from Mr. Gladstone's Diary—Graphic Description of an Eruption.

MR. JOHN GLADSTONE—who early discovered the keen intellectual powers of his son—wisely determined upon sending him to Eton. Immersed in the cares of business, and with numberless claims upon him of a public and private nature, he found himself unable longer to direct the developing faculties of the youth who already gave promise of distinction. He likewise probably felt that even where it is feasible, it is yet not advisable for parents to take entire charge of the education of their children. They can never impart to them that most valuable of all knowledge—experience, which is gained by mingling with the world alone. Private tuition also necessarily fails in this respect, else had Mr. Gladstone all that could be desired in his early years. The Rev. William Rawson,* his earliest preceptor, was a man of the most solid acquirements and sterling uprightness of character; but, whether in youth or manhood, it is contact with others that best stimulates the mind and urges it to the full and free exercise of its powers. It is said that when his son was but twelve years of age, Mr. Gladstone would discuss with him the public questions of the day, teaching him to think for himself and to examine well the bases of the opinions which he might have formed upon political and other subjects. Precocity is not always the happiest augury in a youth; it too frequently betokens one of two things—either that the flame of genius which burns so brightly will be quickly extinguished for the lack of physical fuel, or that the quickness and intelligence of childhood will degenerate into mediocrity as manhood approaches. Mr. Gladstone was an exception to this

* The Rev. W. Rawson was the first vicar of Seaforth, occupying that position for the long period of fifty-six years. In addition to Mr. Gladstone, the present Home Secretary and Dean Stanley were amongst his pupils. It may here be added that Mr. Gladstone visited Mr. Rawson, at the vicarage of Seaforth, when his old preceptor was upon his death-bed.

rule, in so far as that solidity of judgment appears to have accompanied perceptive and retentive powers of an unusual order. His genius was not of the purely conceptive and imaginative type, but he possessed an intellectual aptitude of a high order, and was favoured in addition with an exceptional amount of vital energy.

He was entered at Eton in September, 1821, and left there in 1827. This celebrated foundation has recently been the subject of many virulent attacks, and it must be admitted that, in proportion to other schools, there are comparatively few Eton boys who go to the Universities. The system of education and discipline pursued has undergone some modifications in recent years—notably during the provostship of the Rev. Francis Hodgson—but radical defects are still alleged against it. It is not a little remarkable, however, that every Eton boy becomes deeply attached to the school, notwithstanding the apprenticeship to hardships he may have been compelled to undergo. In order to afford a view of the inner workings of Eton, we will reproduce the chief points of an indictment framed against it, shortly after young Gladstone left its time-honoured precincts.* Eton College is divided into two schools, the upper and lower. The former consists of four classes, viz., the 6th and 5th forms, the remove, and the 4th form. But there is another distinction besides that of schools. Seventy King's scholars, or collegers, are maintained on the foundation gratuitously, and sleep in the college. They are also distinguished in their dress from the great majority of Eton boys, who are called oppidans. These live in the town, and a feeling of hostility has always prevailed between the two classes. King's College at Cambridge having been founded in connection with Eton, to receive as fellows the students upon the foundation—as vacancies occur at King's College, the King's scholars at Eton are nominated to them according to seniority. The evil here is apparent—long residence and not merit determines the nomination to the fellowships. These scholars, who may have been backward at Eton, have no inducement to work well at Cambridge, seeing that they are exempted from the ordinary university examination. As regards education at Eton, 'no instruction is given in any branch of mathematical, physical, metaphysical, or moral science, nor in the evidences of Christianity. The only subjects which it is professed to teach are the Greek and Latin languages; as much divinity as can be gained from construing the Greek Testament, and reading a portion of

* The following facts, together with others not so material, were stated in an article published in the *Edinburgh Review* for April, 1830, and entitled 'Public Schools of England—Eton.'

Tomline on the Thirty-nine Articles; and a little ancient and modern geography.' Touching the hours of tuition, they are by no means burdensome. In every week there is one whole holiday, when no work is done, one half-holiday, and on Saturday there are three school-times and one chapel. On each of the other three days there are four school-times, three of which last respectively for three-quarters of an hour, and the fourth for one-quarter of an hour. Altogether, school studies give a total of about eleven hours per week. The manner of study is also objected to. The scholar is not allowed to accustom himself to the style of an author, whereby the study of the remainder might be facilitated; he is 'hurried from Herodotus to Thucydides, from Thucydides to Xenophon, from Xenophon to Lucian, without being habituated to the style of any one author — without gaining an interest in the history, or even catching the thread of the narrative; and when the whole book is finished he has probably collected only a few vague ideas about Darius crying over a great army at Abydos, and Nicias and Demosthenes being routed with a great army near Syracuse, mixed up with a recollection of the death of Cyrus and Socrates, some moral precepts of Isocrates, and some jokes against false philosophers and heathen Gods.' With this kind of preparation, the Etonian who goes to Cambridge or Oxford finds he has nothing but a little desultory reading, and that he must begin again. But the same writer who lays this gravamen not only complains that the Eton system of education fails in every point—he calls in question the moral discipline of the school. The number of scholars is so great that proper supervision cannot be given to them; hence there is laxity as regards the older boys, while the smaller and weaker are exposed, without hope of redress, to the tyranny of their superiors in years and strength. The system of fagging is the result. 'The right of fagging depends upon the place in the school; all boys in the sixth and fifth forms have the power of ordering—all below the latter form are bound to obey.' In 1820—the year before Mr. Gladstone entered—there were at Eton 280 upper boys, and 248 lower—total, 528; the year after he left there were 293 upper boys and 319 lower—total, 612. The system of fagging has a very injurious effect upon many boys; it finds them slaves and leaves them despots. A boy who has suffered himself, insensibly learns to see no harm in making others suffer in their turn. The whole thing is wrong in principle, and engenders passions which should be stifled, and not encouraged. The punishments at Eton are, moreover, objected to—that of flogging (performed by the Head Master)

being especially degrading in its results. For the first two or three times a boy feels the shame attaching to this kind of punishment, but he soon becomes callous, and the flogging has no effect, save a pernicious one upon the minds of others.

So much for the Eton of Mr. Gladstone's period. But the account differs little from that given by one who attended the school twenty years later.* He does not complain much of the course of instruction until the boys reached the fifth form, but then began 'some of the greatest anomalies and absurdities of the then existing Etonian system.' He was now safe from any examination ordeal; and the confession is made that the highest form—the sixth—consisting of the ten senior collegers and ten senior oppidans—included some of the very worst scholars of both orders in its bosom. 'A boy's place on the general roll was no more a criterion of his acquirements and his industry than would be the "year" of a young man at Oxford or Cambridge.' One reform has been instituted, however, in connection with the collegers, or boys upon the foundation, viz., they are required to pass some kind of examination in accordance with which their seniority on the list for King's is fixed. With regard to the hours of study, nevertheless, at this later period in consequence of the regular holidays and saints' days, two whole holidays in a week and two half-holidays were a matter of common occurrence. Not only as regards time, but looking at the nature of the studies themselves, it appears almost to have been a system of playing at school. In 1845 the time devoted to study did not amount to eleven hours per week. The same writer—an old Etonian—thus speaks of the nature of the studies pursued :—

'The books used in the fifth form—besides the *Iliad*, the *Æneid*, Horace, and I think some scraps of Ovid for repetition merely—consisted of three "Selections," or "Readers"—*Poetæ Græci*, which contained some picked passages from Homer's *Odyssey*, Callimachus, Theocritus, &c.; together with *Scriptores Græci* and *Scriptores Romani*, which were similarly made up of tit-bits from the best Greek and Latin prose writers. A lad would go on grinding at the above scanty provender from the age it might be of twelve to that of twenty, with little or no change. Plautus, Terence, Lucretius, Persius, Juvenal, Livy, Tacitus, Cicero, Demosthenes, the tragedians (except in the Head Master's division), Aristophanes, Pindar, Herodotus, Thucydides—in short, all but four of the great authors of Greece and Rome, and those four poets, were entirely unknown to us, except it might be through the medium of certain fragments in the "Selections" aforesaid, where I believe that the majority of them were wholly unrepresented. It seems almost incredible that a young man could go up to the University from the upper fifth form of the first classical school in England, ignorant almost of the very names of these authors. Yet such was the case sometimes. It was very much my own case.

Lord Morley, being examined before the Public Schools Commission, was asked whether a boy would be looked down

* We now quote from an article by Mr. John Delaware Lewis, 'Eton Thirty Years Since,' which appeared in *Macmillan's Magazine* for May, 1875.

upon at Eton for being industrious in school-work. His lordship replied, 'Not if he could do something else well.' In this answer breathes the spirit of the Eton boy, who has always been ready to condone lack of scholarship when his companion has excelled in river or field sports. Some curious stories are told of the flogging which has always been a characteristic feature of Eton. It extended, as we have said, to even the biggest boys in the school. Mr. Lewis relates how a young man of twenty—just upon the point of leaving school, and engaged to be married to a young lady at Windsor—was well and soundly whipped by Dr. Goodford, for arriving one evening at his tutor's house beyond the specified time. Other anecdotes are told not a whit more creditable. Yet boys are greatly enamoured of the school, and the life of a 'big fellow' there has been described as the happiest in the world.

When all that is possible has been said against Eton—and we should remember that reforms are of slow growth—and whatever may be the precise character of the school now, it is undoubtedly true that many of the finest men of the century have been educated there. On the other hand, there is truth in the argument that most of these men would have distinguished themselves anywhere. They cannot, perhaps, be legitimately claimed as the product of Eton, though their development received an impetus there. The advantages derived from the school are social rather than scholastic. Whether it has fallen behind other schools and deteriorated in this age of education, is another question. The reason, probably, why we do not hear so much of its successes is that other schools have recently come to the front. For a youth to whom time is not money, and who can afford to spend his teens in an agreeable if not the most profitable way, Eton is still one of the best schools to which he can be sent. Those who have known the class of men produced at Eton will admit that they have generally been 'fine manly fellows, with an excellent tone.' The curriculum at Eton now is still strictly classical, though some secondary subjects are taught, as French, German, and mathematics. Of recent years the collegers have done remarkably good work, and carried off many distinctions at Cambridge.

In Mr. Gladstone's time, however, there were few inducements to excel in scholarship, and he who did so must not only have possessed the love of it, but must have applied himself diligently to study out of school hours. The annals of Eton furnish many illustrious examples of this kind, men distinguished for the depth and solidity of their attainments; and in this number must be included the subject of the present work.

He had no prize at Eton, except what was called being sent up for good, on account of verses; and it fell to Mr. Gladstone's lot to be thus honoured on several occasions. At various periods within a century past the more intellectual of Eton boys have established periodicals for the purpose of ventilating their opinions. For example, in 1786, Mr. Canning and Mr. Hookham Frere projected the *Microcosm*, whose essays and *jeux d' esprit*, while referring primarily to Eton, demonstrated that the writers were not insensible to what was going on in the outer world. Canning wrote to this periodical an 'Essay on the Epic of the Queen of Hearts,' which has been awarded a high place in English literature as a classical specimen of burlesque criticism. Amongst other contributors to the *Microcosm* were Lord Henry Spencer, Hookham Frere, Capel Lofft, and Mr. Mellish. It was just before this period that eighty boys were flogged at Eton for having been 'barred out,' amongst them being Mr. Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the Great Duke. Coming to a later period, W. Mackworth Praed set on foot, in the year 1820, a manuscript journal entitled *Apis Matina*. This was succeeded by the *Etonian*, which received some of Praed's most brilliant contributions. Amongst other writers may be named John Moultrie, Henry Nelson Coleridge, Walter Blunt, and Chauncey Hare Townshend. The *Etonian* exhibited a degree of quite exceptional excellence, and may even now be turned to with no ordinary feelings of interest.

Seven years later than the date of Praed's venture—that is, in 1827—Mr. Gladstone was mainly instrumental in launching the *Eton Miscellany*. The contributions extended over two volumes, dated June—July, and October—November respectively. The *Miscellany* professed to be edited by Bartholomew Bouverie, and Mr. Gladstone was its most voluminous contributor. Many of the papers are entertaining, as showing at the age of seventeen the literary bias of the writer. In the latter portion of the introduction, and that which was written by 'William Ewart Gladstone,' appears this singular paragraph, which (it may be assumed) fairly sets forth the hopes and fears that beset statesmen in maturer years, as well as Eton boys in their youth:—

'In my present undertaking there is one gulf in which I fear to sink, and that gulf is Lethe. There is one stream which I dread my inability to stem, it is the tide of Popular Opinion. I have ventured, and no doubt rashly ventured—

"Like little wanton boys that swim on bladders,
To try my fortune in a sea of glory,
But far beyond my depth."

At present it is hope alone that buoys me up; for more substantial support I must be indebted to my own exertions, well knowing that in this land of literature

merit never wants its reward. That such merit is mine I dare not presume to think; but still there is something within me that bids me hope that I may be able to glide prosperously down the stream of public estimation; or, in the words of Virgil—

"——Celerare viam rumore secundo."'

Little could the writer of these words imagine—forecasting the future even by the aid of youth's most ardent desires—that he would live to fill the most exalted office it was in the power of his Sovereign to bestow.

Mr. Gladstone's contributions to the first volume of the *Miscellany* were thirteen in number; there were ten also by his friend G. A. (afterwards Bishop) Selwyn. We may pause here, for a moment, to quote from a tribute which Mr. Gladstone recently paid to his old college companion Selwyn—a passage interesting both for its reference to Bishop Selwyn and to the Eton of Mr. Gladstone's time:—'Connected as tutor with families of rank and influence, universally popular from his frank, manly, and engaging character,—and scarcely less so from his extraordinary vigour as an athlete,—he was attached to Eton, where he resided, with a love surpassing the love of Etonians. In himself he formed a large part of the life of Eton, and Eton formed a large part of his life. To him is due no small share of the beneficial movement in the direction of religious earnestness which marked the Eton of forty years back, and which was not in my opinion sensibly affected by any influence extraneous to the place itself. At a moment's notice, upon the call of duty, he tore up the singularly deep roots which his life had struck into the soil of England.' Both Gladstone and Selwyn contributed humorous letters to 'The Postman,' the correspondence department of the *Eton Miscellany*. Amongst Mr. Gladstone's effusions was a vigorous rendering of a chorus from the *Hecuba* of Euripides. Under the name of 'Philophantasm,' moreover, he wrote a letter detailing an encounter he had had with Virgil. This letter has considerable point, and no small share of sarcastic power. The great poet appeared to the writer, muttering something which the latter supposed to be Latin, 'but it certainly was very different in sound and quantities from that we work at here.' The poet proposed drastic remedies for curing the wrongs from which he suffered in the Upper World; and presenting his compliments to Mr. Bouverie, asked to be quoted as well as Horace now and then. 'I know the Eton boys hate me,' added Virgil, 'because I am difficult to learn.'

Besides a humorous epilogue in quindecasyllabics, spoken by David ap Rice, which appeared in the fourth number of the *Miscellany*, Mr. Gladstone wrote in the same volume a 'View of Lethe,' in prose, and 'Richard Cœur de Lion,' an effort in

verse. This poem consists of some two hundred and fifty lines, and the following passage may be taken as a fair sample of the whole:—

Who foremost now the deadly spear to dart,
And strike the javelin to the Moslem's heart?
Who foremost now to climb the leaguered wall,
The first to triumph, or the first to fall?
Lo, where the Moslems rushing to the fight,
Back bear their squadrons in inglorious flight.
With plumed helmet, and with glittering lance,
'Tis Richard bids his steel-clad bands advance;
'Tis Richard stalks along the blood-dyed plain,
And views unmoved the slaying and the slain;
'Tis Richard bathes his hands in Moslem blood,
And tinges Jordan with the purple flood.
Yet where the timbrels ring, the trumpets sound,
And tramp of horsemen shakes the solid ground,
Though 'mid the deadly charge and rush of fight,
No thought be theirs of terror or of flight,—
Ofttimes a sigh will rise, a tear will flow,
And youthful bosoms melt in silent woe;
For who of iron frame and harder heart
Can bid the mem'ry of his home depart?
Tread the dark desert and the thirsty sand,
Nor give one thought to England's smiling land?
To scenes of bliss, and days of other years—
The Vale of Gladness and the Vale of Tears;
That, passed and vanish'd from their loving sight,
This 'neath their view, and wrapt in shades of night?

F. H. (now Sir Francis Hastings) Doyle and Arthur Henry Hallam contributed somewhat extensively to the volume from which we have just been quoting. In the 'View of Lethe,' a contribution by Mr. Gladstone, to which reference has already been made, the writer describes the destruction which overtakes mundane things with a strong touch of humour. Here is a short extract from the essay:—

'I was surprised even to see some works with the names of Shakespeare and Milton on them sharing the common destiny; but on examination I found that those of the latter were some political rhapsodies which richly deserved their fate; and that the former consisted of some editions of his works which had been burdened with notes and mangled with emendations by his merciless commentators. In other places I perceived authors worked up into frenzy by seeing their own compositions descending like the rest. Often did the infuriated scribes extend their hands, and make a plunge to endeavour to save their beloved offspring, but in vain. I pitied the anguish of their disappointment, but with feelings of the same commiseration as that which one feels for a malefactor on beholding his death, being at the same time fully conscious how well he has deserved it.'

Novels were engulfed, we are told, and an immense number of political pamphlets, a very prolific form of literature from 1820 to 1832; newspapers in abundance were also buried in oblivion; and even as they went down they were seen to be in mortal combat with each other.

To the second volume of the *Eton Miscellany*, William Ewart Gladstone contributed even more largely than to the first. In fact, his devotion to letters during the last year of his

stay at Eton must have left him little leisure for the ordinary sports of Eton boys. Besides the introductions to the various numbers comprising the second volume, Mr. Gladstone wrote no fewer than seventeen other contributions. 'Guatimozin's Death Song' has something in it to remind one of Byron. There is also an 'Ode to the Shade of Wat Tyler,' which may be read with curiosity. In the same volume Arthur Henry Hallam wrote 'The Battle of the Boyne,' a parody upon Campbell's 'Hohenlinden.' Among other contributors were Doyle, Jelf, Selwyn, and Shadwell. A paper on 'Eloquence,' written by Mr. Gladstone, shows how, even at this early period, the mind of the young student had been impressed by the fame attaching to successful parliamentary oratory. He proceeds to show how the vision of the most ardent and aspiring minds is usually directed towards St. Stephen's. Visions of joy and honour open on the enraptured sight of those given to oratorical pursuits, and whose minds are directed to the House of Commons. 'A successful *début*, an offer from the Minister, a Secretaryship of State and even the Premiership itself, are the objects which form the vista along which a young visionary loves to look.' But then he reminds his readers there is a barrier to pass, an ordeal to endure. There are roars of coughing, as well as roars of cheering, and maiden speeches sometimes act more forcibly on the lungs of hearers than the most violent or most cutting of all the breezes which Æolus can boast. But the writer draws encouragement from the fact that among the most distinguished young speakers in the House of Commons at that very time were Lord Morpeth, Mr. Edward Geoffrey Stanley, and Lord Castlereagh, all of whom were once members of the Eton College Debating Society. Within a very few years from penning these lines the writer himself had successfully passed the parliamentary ordeal so much dreaded, and had been invited to fill an honourable post in the Ministry of the day.

Mr. Gladstone's high admiration for, and indebtedness to, Canning have been subject of frequent comment, and it will not be without interest that we quote a passage illustrating this from a paper entitled 'Ancient and Modern Genius Compared,' written by the younger Etonian. It is, perhaps, the most meritorious of all its writer's youthful productions. After taking the part of the moderns as against the ancients—though he by no means depreciates the genius of the latter—the essayist, in concluding his paper, thus eloquently apostrophises Canning :—

'It is for those who revered him in the plenitude of his meridian glory to mourn over him in the darkness of his premature extinction: to mourn over the hopes

that are buried in his grave, and the evils that arise from his withdrawing from the scene of life. Surely if eloquence never excelled and seldom equalled—if an expanded mind and judgment whose vigour was paralleled only by its soundness—if brilliant wit—if a glowing imagination—if a warm heart, and an unbending firmness—could have strengthened the frail tenure, and prolonged the momentary duration of human existence, that man had been immortal! But nature could endure no longer. Thus has Providence ordained that inasmuch as the intellect is more brilliant, it shall be more short-lived; as its sphere is more expanded, more swiftly is it summoned away. Lest we should give to man the honour due to God—lest we should exalt the object of our admiration into a divinity for our worship—He who calls the weary and the mourner to eternal rest hath been pleased to remove him from our eyes.'

Then, after comparing the death of the object of his early hero-worship with the death of Pitt, he says finally, 'The degrees of inscrutable wisdom are unknown to us; but if ever there was a man for whose sake it was meet to indulge the kindly though frail feelings of our nature—for whom the tear of sorrow was to us both prompted by affection and dictated by duty—that man was George Canning.'

Leaving Eton in 1827—having established a reputation amongst his contemporaries for erudition and ability—Mr. Gladstone became the private pupil of Dr. Turner, afterwards Bishop of Calcutta. Two years later he went to Christ Church, Oxford, where he was made a student on the foundation. In the year 1831 he went up for his examination, and completed his academical education by attaining the highest honours of the University—graduating double first-class. He had no prizes at Oxford of the highest description, unless honours in the schools be so called—and in this respect he achieved a success which falls to the lot of but few students. The University life in which he now mingled was well calculated to foster and strengthen those Conservative principles to whose early manifestation allusion has already been made. Those who regard Mr. Gladstone's career from a Liberal standpoint may naturally urge that his life at Oxford had the effect of retarding for many years his political development. It would be curious to speculate upon the nature of the result had the distinguished young student been thrown into a totally different atmosphere. When we endeavour to trace the progress of Mr. Gladstone's political convictions, it is necessary to remember that, while early battling with Liberal tendencies, every single influence which surrounded him exercised a restraining effect in the opposite direction. Moreover, the time at which he went to Oxford was one in which party feeling raged fiercely. Conservatives had deliberately come to the conclusion that unless they banded themselves together for the safety of the country, the country would inevitably be ruined. Events in France had reacted injuriously upon politics in England. Timid politicians became

alarmed at the ventilation of Liberal opinions, and many of these opinions were viewed with feelings akin to horror. In Oxford this reactionary sentiment focussed itself, as it were, and Mr. Gladstone was amongst those who, for a time, opposed with genuine earnestness the demands for Reform. Our statesmen had not, as yet, acquired that confidence in the people which subsequently grew with surprising rapidity. Canning, too, had some years before given an impetus to this feeling of apprehension and distrust, by expressing his fear lest the country should become swayed by the popular will. In the record of the debates of the Oxford Union, as we shall presently see, the name of William Ewart Gladstone is found among the opponents of the Reform projects of the day; but the speaker himself, accounting for this at a later stage of his history, explained that being as a young man an ardent admirer of Canning, he had been carried away by his well-known hostility to Reform.

A glimpse of life and study at Oxford is afforded by one who was cotemporary there with Mr Gladstone.* He points out how that in the University a greater stress was laid upon a knowledge of the Bible and of the evidences of Christianity than upon classical literature; some proficiency was required also either in mathematics or the science of reasoning. While the system of education in vogue accommodated itself to the wants and capacities of the greater number of students, the man of talent was at no loss for a field for his exertions, or a reward for his industry. The honours of the University were all before him. For the cultivation of taste and general information Oxford afforded every advantage, though it was matter for regret that amongst all its teachers there was no public professor of modern languages.

Describing Christ Church—then, as now, the most aristocratic of the colleges—the same writer observed that there was no other college where a man had so great a choice of society, or a more entire freedom in choosing it. It was nowhere so easy to observe others and live quite independently of them, without the certainty of being observed in return. Touching the Debating Society, or the Oxford Union, we read, 'We could hardly name any institution in Oxford which has been more useful in encouraging a taste for study and for general reading than this juvenile club. It has not only supplied a school for speaking for those who intend to pursue the professions of the Law and the Church, or to embrace political life; but by furnishing a theatre for the display of miscellaneous knowledge, and by bringing together most of the distinguished young men in the

* We quote from an article in the *Oxford University Magazine* for 1834.

University, it has had a great effect upon the general tone of society.' Debates were held once a week, and there were provided in connection with the Union a respectable library and a well-furnished reading-room. It was also claimed that in this Society the undergraduate might learn for the first time to think upon political subjects, and could improve his acquaintance with modern history—especially that of his own country. The sharp encounter of rival wits was useful in expanding the mind, and in enlarging the scope of its impressions. Further, it was remarked that unless a student was so perverse as to set himself entirely against the prevailing tone of feeling which pervaded all classes in Oxford, he would probably acquire from conviction, as well as prejudice, a spirit of devoted loyalty, of warm attachment to the liberties and ancient institutions of his country, a dislike and dread of rash innovation, and an admiration approaching to reverence for the orthodox and apostolic English Church. All this 'leads by an easy and natural step to serious meditation upon the vital matter of religion, and this contributes more than anything to strengthen the good resolutions, and to settle the character, of a high-minded young man. He becomes distinguished for polish of manners, steadiness of morals, and strictness of reading.' The opponents of Oxford culture affirmed, on the other hand, that its tendency was towards intolerance and bigotry, both in religion and politics. Mr. Gladstone cast in his lot for the time with the Tories and the High Churchmen. An excellent observation has been made by a living writer on the religious aspect of Mr. Gladstone's nature as developed at Oxford. He notes how the Oxford of his University life—the Oxford before 'the movement of 1833'—the 'Oxford which made the Aristotelian dogma that virtue is the half-way house between two opposite vices its ethical rule, and which took the Church as it was as the true starting-point in religion—the 'Oxford which had not yet begun to dig after the roots of principle—tended to turn Mr. Gladstone's acutely discriminating powers towards consequences rather than first principles.' It was not until after the lapse of a generation that the Christ Church student was to demonstrate that he could regard Church questions from a broad, comprehensive, and fundamental point of view..

The Oxford Union has lately had a chronicler who speaks with authority upon the brilliant debates of that Society.* The Union came into existence in the spring of 1823, and fifty years later it celebrated its jubilee by a banquet, at which Lord

* Mr. E. B. Nicholson, late Librarian to the Union, from whose paper on the subject the author has extracted information upon the Society

Selborne took the chair. It is not a little remarkable that Mr. Gladstone's Ministry included no fewer than seven of the early presidents of the society, viz., the ex-Premier himself, Lord Selborne, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Cardwell, the Attorney-General, Mr. Goschen, and Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen. Although the Union owed its origin to a few Balliol men, three-fifths of the members of the United Debating Society came from Christ Church and Oriel. The Wilberforces attained great distinction in the society. In the latter part of 1825 the United Debating Society, as such, was dissolved, and the members reorganised themselves—'leaving out their black sheep'—as the Oxford Union Society, thus imitating the name of the older society in connection with Cambridge University. In the matter of a library the members appear to have been very eclectic, for Mr. Nicholson states that up to the year 1836 proposals to buy the Waverley Novels and other works of fiction were thrown out.

From 1829 to 1834 is described as the most active and most brilliant period in the history of the Union. In the course of these five years the presidency was held by (amongst others) Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Sidney Herbert, the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Selborne, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Mr. Lowe. Mr. Gladstone made his first speech on the 11th of February, 1830, and was the same night elected a member of the committee. The following year he succeeded Mr. Milnes Gaskell in the office of secretary. 'His minutes are neat; proper names are underlined and half printed. As secretary he opposed a motion for the removal of Jewish disabilities. He also moved that the Wellington Administration was undeserving of the country's confidence: Gaskell, Lyall, and Lord Lincoln supported; Sidney Herbert and the Marquis (now Duke) of Abercorn opposed him. The motion was carried by 57 to 56, and the natural exultation of the mover betrayed itself in such irregular entries as "tremendous cheers," "repeated cheering." The following week he was elected president.' Mr. Gladstone spoke in three other debates upon important public questions. In common with the Archbishop of Canterbury he defended the results of Catholic relief, and on the occasion of a vote of want of confidence in Earl Grey's Government being proposed, he moved the following rider:—'That the ministry has unwisely introduced, and most unscrupulously forwarded, a measure which threatens not only to change our form of Government, but ultimately to break up the very foundation of social order, as well as materially to forward the views of those who are pursuing this project throughout the civilised world.' These terrible prognostications have been defeated, but the terror

engendered in the University by national progress led 94 out of 130 undergraduates to endorse the prophecies of the new Cassandra. Mr. Gladstone closed his career at the Oxford Union by proposing an amendment to a motion for the immediate emancipation of our slaves in the West Indies. This was on the 2nd of June 1831, and the young orator's amendment ran as follows:—'That legislative enactments ought to be made, and, if necessary, to be enforced—1st. For better guarding the personal and civil rights of the negroes in our West Indian colonies. 2nd. For establishing compulsory manumission. 3rd. For securing universally the receiving of a Christian education, under the clergy and teachers, independent of the planters; a measure of which total but gradual emancipation will be the natural consequence, as it was of a similar procedure in the first ages of Christianity.' We have not now the arguments by which the speaker supported and enforced these propositions, which require much more elucidation than appears from a surface reading of them. The question of West Indian slavery touched Mr. Gladstone nearly, and some years after this debate, from his place in Parliament, he defended his father from aspersions which had been cast upon him respecting the management of his West Indian estates, in the course of the heat and excitement of the anti-Slavery agitation. One more interesting debate which took place at the Oxford Union must be mentioned. It seems that on the 26th of November 1829, the Cambridge Union sent a deputation to the sister Union of Oxford with the object of persuading the latter to acknowledge the superiority of Shelley over Byron. Lord Houghton, one of the speakers from Cambridge, long afterwards observed—at the inauguration of the new buildings of the Cambridge Union Society in 1866—'At that time we (the Cambridge undergraduates) were all full of Mr. Shelley. We had printed his "Adonais" for the first time in England, and a friend of ours suggested that, as he had been expelled from Oxford, and been very badly treated in that University, it would be a grand thing for us to defend him there.' With the permission of the Cambridge authorities they accordingly 'went to Oxford—at that time a long dreary, post-chaise journey of ten hours—and were hospitably entertained by a young student of the name of Gladstone; who, by-the-by, has himself been since expelled.' Next day, however, one of the newspapers stated that the members of the deputation were 'formally received by Gladstone, of Christ Church, and Manning, of Oriel.' Gladstone did not speak in the debate, which was opened by Sir Francis Doyle on behalf of Shelley. Only one Oxonian, Archbishop Manning, opposed the

motion. The other Cambridge men were Sunderland, Arthur Henry Hallam, and Monckton Milnes. By a vote of ninety to thirty-three the superiority of Shelley over Byron was affirmed.

The general effect of his Oxford training upon Mr. Gladstone he has himself described, together with what now appears to his maturer mind to be its greatest deficiency. In a speech delivered at the opening of the Palmerston Club, Oxford, in the month of December, 1878, he said, 'I trace in the education of Oxford of my own time one great defect. Perhaps it was my own fault; but I must admit that I did not learn, when at Oxford, that which I have learned since, viz., to set a due value on the imperishable and the inestimable principles of human liberty. The temper which, I think, too much prevailed in academic circles was, that liberty was regarded with jealousy, and fear could not be wholly dispensed with.' We have already seen how this sentiment of fear pervaded the University, and was not confined merely to questions of political reform. Mr. Gladstone continued:—

'I think that the principle of the Conservative party is jealousy of liberty and of the people, only qualified by fear; but I think the policy of the Liberal party is trust in the people, only qualified by prudence. I can only assure you, gentlemen, that now I am in front of extended popular privileges, I have no fear of those enlargements of the Constitution that seem to be approaching. On the contrary, I hail them with desire. I am not in the least degree conscious that I have less reverence for antiquity, for the beautiful, and good, and glorious charges that our ancestors have handed down to us as a patrimony to our race, than I had in other days when I held other political opinions. I have learnt to set the true value upon human liberty, and in whatever I have changed, there, and there only, has been the explanation of the change.'

That is, when Mr. Gladstone entered the sphere of practical politics, and had studied the people more closely, with their wants and aspirations, he lost the fears and forebodings which were the result of academic prejudice. This, in effect, is the substance of his apology, and those who have narrowly watched his public course will, doubtless, need no other explanation of changes which have sometimes been uncharitably described as political tergiversation.

Closing his University career in the year 1831, Mr. Gladstone spent some time in continental travel. He went abroad first in 1832, spending nearly the whole of the months from January to July in Italy. Some years later—viz., from August, 1838, to January, 1839—he again visited Italy, and this time also explored Sicily. He kept a journal of the tour through Sicily, and it will not be uninteresting, we trust, to cite one or two passages from this diary. These extracts not only bear testimony to the writer's acute powers of observation, but also to the variety of his information, and his facility in the use of the

English language, at this comparatively early period. Etna has been a source of attraction to the poets from the most ancient times down to that of our own living poet, Mr. Matthew Arnold, whose *Empedocles on Etna* is, perhaps, the most vigorous of all his conceptions. Mr. Gladstone's susceptible imagination was greatly impressed by the grandeur of this eternal abode of fire. Sicily had also other charms for him, as the ensuing passage—which is expressed with something of the true poetic spirit—proves:—

'After Etna, the temples are certainly the great charm and attraction of Sicily. I do not know whether there is any one among them which, taken alone, exceeds in interest and beauty that of Neptune at Pæstum; but they have the advantage of number and variety, as well as of highly interesting positions. At Segesta the temple is enthroned in a perfect mountain solitude, and it is like a beautiful tomb of its religion, so stately, so entire; while around, but for one solitary house of the keeper, there is nothing, absolutely nothing, to disturb the apparent reign of Silence and of Death. At Selinus, the huge fragments on the plain seem to make an eminence themselves, and they listen to the ever young and unwearied waves which almost wash their base, and mock their desolation by the image of perpetual life and motion they present, while the tone of their heavy fall upon the beach well accords with the solemnity of the scene. At Girgenti the ridge visible to the mariner from afar is still crowned by a long line of fabrics, presenting to the eye a considerable mass and regularity of structure, and the town is near and visible; yet that town is so entirely the mere phantom of its former glory within its now shrunken limits, that instead of disturbing the effect it rather seems to add a new image and enhance it. The temples enshrine a most pure and salutary principle of art, that which connects grandeur of effect with simplicity of detail; and retaining their beauty and their dignity in their decay, they represent the great man when fallen, as types of that almost highest of human qualities—silent, yet not sullen, endurance.'

Etna has surprising sources of interest for all classes of scientific men, and not least for the student of arboriculture. It presents, at the height of 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, a growth which is reported to be the oldest tree in the world—the venerable chestnut, 'the father of the forest.' It consists not of one vast trunk, but of a group of decayed trees or portions of trees growing in a circle, each with a hollow trunk of venerable antiquity, covered with ferns or ivy, and stretching out a few gnarled branches with scanty foliage. It is said that excavation showed these various stems to be united at a very small depth below the surface of the ground. Travellers have differed in their measurements of this stupendous growth, Admiral Smyth, who takes the lowest estimate, giving 163 feet, and Brydone giving, as the highest, 204 feet. One of the Queens of Arragon is reported to have taken shelter in this tree, with her mounted suite of 100 persons; but we may, perhaps, gather from this that mythology is not confined to the lower latitudes. Higher up the mountain is another venerable chestnut, which, with more reason, probably, may be described, without fear of contradiction, as the largest tree in the world. It rises from one

solid stem to a considerable height before it branches. At a distance of two feet from the ground its girth was found by Brydone to be no less than seventy-six feet. These trees are reputed to have flourished for much more than a thousand summers past. Their luxuriant growth is attributed partly to the humid atmosphere of the Bosco elevated above the scorching arid region of the coast, and in part to the wonderful richness of the soil. The luxuriance of the vegetation on the slopes of Etna attracts the attention of every traveller; and Mr. Gladstone remarked upon this point, 'It seems as if the finest of all soils were produced from the most agonising throes of nature, as the hardiest characters are often reared amidst the severest circumstances. The aspect of this side of Sicily is infinitely more active, and the country is cultivated as well as most parts of Italy.'

Mr. Gladstone made his ascent of Etna at the commencement of the eruption of 1838. He and his party, starting on the 30th of October, found the path nearly uniform from Catania, but the country bore a volcanic aspect at every step. At Nicolosi, rest was disturbed by the distant booming of the mountain. From this point to the Bosco the scenery is described as a dismal tract. The Region of the Wood showed some picturesque spots, resembling an English park, with old oaks and abundant fern. 'Here we found flocks browsing; they are much exposed to sheep-stealers, who do not touch travellers, calculating with justice that men do not carry much money to the summit of Etna.' The company passed the Casa degli Inglesi, which registered a temperature of 31°, and then set forth on foot for the crater. A magnificent view of sunrise was obtained.

'Just before we reached the lip of the crater, the guide exultingly pointed out what he declared to be ordinarily the greatest sight of the mountain, namely, the shadow of the cone of Etna, drawn with the utmost delicacy by the newly-risen sun, but of gigantic extent; its point at this moment rested on the mountains of Palermo, probably 100 miles off, and the entire figure was visible, the atmosphere over the mountains having become and continuing perfectly and beautifully transparent, although in the hundreds of valleys which were beneath us, from the E. to the W. of Sicily, and from the mountains of Messina down to Cape Passaro, there were still abundant vapours waiting for a higher sun to disperse them; but we enjoyed in its perfection this view of the earliest and finest work of the greater light of heaven, in the passage of his beams over this portion of the earth's surface. During the hour we spent on the summit, the vision of the shadow was speedily contracting, and taught us how rapid is the real rise of the sun in the heavens, althought its effect is diminished to the eye by a kind of foreshortening.'

The writer next describes, in vivid and powerful language, the scene presented to the view at the very mouth of the crater. A large space, one mile in circumference, which a few days before had been one fathomless pit, from which issued masses of smoke,

was now absolutely filled up to within a few feet of the brim all round. A great mass of lava, a portion of the contents of this immense pit, was seen to detach itself by degrees from one behind. 'It opened like an orange, and we saw the red-hot fibres stretch in a broader and still broader vein, until the mass had found a support on the new ground it occupied in front; as we came back on our way down this had grown black.' A stick put to it took fire immediately. Within a few yards of this lava were found pieces of ice, formed on the outside of the stones by Frost, 'which here disputes every inch of ground with his fierce rival Fire.' Mr. Gladstone and his fellow-travellers were the first spectators of the great volcanic action of this year.* From the highest peak attainable the party gazed upon the splendid prospect to the east spread out before them, embracing the Messina Mountains and the fine kindred outline of the Calabrian coast, described by Virgil in the third book of the *Æneid*. Mr. Gladstone graphically describes the eruption which took place, and of which he was the enraptured witness. Lava masses, of 150 to 200 lbs. weight, were thrown to a distance of probably a mile and a half; smaller ones to a distance even more remote. The showers were most copious; and the writer was struck by the closeness of the descriptions in Virgil with the actual reality of the eruption witnessed by himself. On this point he observes:—

'Now how faithfully has Virgil (*Æ.* iii., 571, *et seqq.*) comprised these particulars, doubtless not without exaggeration, in his fine description! First, the thunder-clap, or crack—

"Horrificis juxta tonat Ætna ruinis."

Secondly, the vibration of the ground to the report—

"Et, fessum quoties mutet latus, intremere omnem
Murmure Trinacriam."

Thirdly, the sheet of flame—

"Attolitque globos flammarum, et sidera lambit.'

Fourthly, the smoke—

"Et cœlum subtexere fumo."

Fifthly, the fire-shower—

"Scopulos avulsaque viscera montis
Erigit eructans, liquefactaque saxa sub auras
Cum gemitu glomerat, fundoque exæstuat imo."

Sixthly, the column of ash—

"Atram prorumpit ad æthera nubem,
Turbine fumantem piceo et candente favillâ."

And this is within the limits of twelve lines. Modern poetry has its own merits, but the conveyance of information is not, generallly speaking, one of them. What

* Fuller details of this ascent of Mount Etna may be found in Murray's *Handbook to Sicily*.

would Virgil have thought of authors publishing poems with explanatory notes (to illustrate is a different matter), as if they were so many books of conundrums? Indeed, this vice is of very late years.'

The whole description from whence this extract is taken is very effective and animated. It gives with great freshness the first impressions of a mind susceptible to the grand and imposing aspects of nature.

CHAPTER III.

MEMBER FOR NEWARK.

England in 1832—Passing of the Reform Bill—Anticipated Results of the Measure—Mr. Gladstone a Candidate for Newark—His appearance before the Electors—The Youthful Candidate described—His First Election Address—'Heckling' on the Hustings—Mr. Gladstone returned by a large Majority—Local Opinions upon the New Member—A Political Prediction—The Vituperation of Opponents—First Step in a Parliamentary Career.

DURING the latter part of Mr. Gladstone's visit to Italy in 1832, England was in a condition of feverish political excitement and expectancy. The people had just fought and won one of the greatest constitutional battles recorded in our Parliamentary history. After a prolonged struggle, a defiance of public order, and riots in various parts of the country, the Reform Bill had become law. The King had clearly perceived the wishes of the people, and—disregarding the advice of those members of the aristocracy who recommended him to brave the national will—had signified his assent to the measure which could no longer be delayed with safety. The bill became law on the 7th of June, his Majesty being represented by Royal Commissioners, although a portion of the press loudly demanded the presence of the King himself at the final stage of a measure which transformed the whole of the electoral arrangements of the United Kingdom. It was alleged that the Sovereign would forfeit the confidence of all true patriots if he did not perform this ceremony in person, and exhibit himself as publicly as possible in testimony of the subjugation to which his crown and peers had been reduced. But the King, probably considering that he had already made sufficient sacrifices to the popular will, declined to attend the ceremony in the House of Lords. 'King and Queen sat sullenly apart in their palace. Peer and country gentleman moodily awaited the ruin of their country and the destruction of their property. Fanaticism still raved at the wickedness of a people; the people, clamouring for work, still succumbed before the mysterious disease which was continually claiming more and more victims. But the nation cared not for the sullenness of the Court, the fore-

bodings of the landed classes, the ravings of the pulpit, or even the mysterious operations of a new plague. The deep gloom which had overshadowed the land had been relieved by one single ray. The victory had been won. The bill had become law.' *

The friends of Reform now looked forward to a realisation of the fruits of victory; and men of all shades of opinion forecast with speculative wonder—mingled in not a few instances with apprehension—the composition of the first reformed House of Commons. The result was a surprise to the extreme politicians of both parties. The Reformers did not carry everything before them, as they anticipated, neither were the Tories the enormous losers which they expected to be. Ministers preserved their power, and were victorious in England, and still more so in Scotland. In Ireland, however, they sustained very serious defeats. Special constituencies, also, in England proved treacherous, and many popular men, and earnest friends of Reform, went to the wall. In addition to many counties, Bristol, Norwich, Stamford, Hertford, Newark, and other boroughs, pronounced against the Ministry. The Duke of Newcastle, who had propounded the memorable political maxim, 'Have I not a right to do what I like with my own?' once more regained his ducal influence, which had been rudely curtailed in 1831. During this time of revolution the Continent was greatly disturbed, and the internal condition of England was likewise one to be deeply deplored. There was little trade, and an unfavourable revenue; riots occurred in the provinces and in Ireland; the working classes were discontented; labour was diminishing, pauperism was increasing, and the cholera was claiming its victims everywhere. The poor looked to the operation of the Reform Bill as the first Act of their redemption, while the landed gentry regarded it as the first sign of the declension of our national greatness. Both classes were disappointed; the former had to look elsewhere for a revival of commercial prosperity, and the latter discovered that the ox in the stall, and the soil which they owned and tilled, were just as safe and inviolate as they were before the passing of the terrible Act.

Mr. Gladstone, having received an overture from the Duke of Newcastle (with whose son, the Earl of Lincoln, he was on terms of intimate friendship) to contest the representation of Newark, hurried back from the Continent for that purpose. Before the close of September, 1832, he was actively engaged in canvassing the borough. He immediately became very popular in the

* Walpole's *History of England from the Conclusion of the Great War in* 1815.

town, and one of the local journals remarked, that if candour and ability had any influence upon the electors, there would soon be a change in the representation. A week later came accounts of 'glorious' meetings, with the assurance that Gladstone's return might be fully calculated upon. The other candidates were Mr. W. F. Handley and Mr. Serjeant Wilde. The last named gentleman was an advanced Liberal, who had unsuccessfully contested the borough in 1829 and 1830. After the latter contest a piece of plate had been presented to him 'by his ardent friends, the Blue electors of the borough—who, by their exertions and sufferings in the cause of independence, largely conduced to awaken the attention of the nation to the necessity of a Reform in Parliament.' The inscription further went on to state, 'Upon this humble token of respect (contributed in the hour of defeat) the Blue electors of Newark inscribe their sense of the splendid ability, unwearied perseverance, and disinterested public spirit displayed by Serjeant Wilde in maintaining the two contests of 1829 and 1830, in order to emancipate the borough from political thraldom, and restore to its inhabitants the free exercise of their long-lost rights.' In the following year, 1831, when the Reform fever had attained its height, Serjeant Wilde was successful in defeating the Duke of Newcastle's nominee, and became member for the borough. The election which now succeeded upon the passing of the Reform Bill was consequently looked forward to with unusual interest, and it was early perceived that the struggle would be of a close and determined character.

Serjeant Wilde had the advantage of being already known in the borough, and he was extremely popular with a portion of the constituency. Mr. Gladstone was a complete stranger to the electors when he appeared amongst them in response to the Duke of Newcastle's invitation—though, as we have seen, he speedily gained favour. His age was twenty-two, and in appearance he was somewhat robust.* There were in his youthful face none of those deep lines which have rendered his countenance so striking in maturer years; and one who remembers him well at this period describes his bright, thoughtful look, and attractive bearing. He was considered a handsome man, and possessed a most intelligent and expressive countenance. This description is amply borne out by an oil painting of Mr. Gladstone, executed only a few years later for the Newark Conservative Club, on the walls of which club it

* Some of these personal details concerning Mr. Gladstone at the time of his first election for Newark have been courteously supplied to the author by Mr. Cornelius Brown, author of the *History of Newark*.

hung for many years. A few engravings still exist of this picture; and a casual glance at the portrait will scarcely enable the spectator to identify the plump features, the full face, the large dark eyes, and eyebrows, and decidedly robust aspect there presented with the later rugged aspect of the statesman's countenance, and his general appearance. Yet a closer inspection will serve to bring out some points of resemblance, for even at the early age of twenty-two there is to be perceived the same broad intellectual forehead, the somewhat massive and prominent nose, the same anxious eyes, and the earnest expression so characteristic of the man upwards of a generation later.

But while the personal appearance of Mr. Gladstone—so youthful and yet so manly—told in his favour, it was not long ere he made a still more favourable impression upon the burgesses by his oratory. His speeches demonstrated that he lacked neither arguments nor words wherewith to clothe them. He needed, indeed, to call into requisition all his ability as a speaker, for, as already observed, the contest was one of unusual vigour. Serjeant Wilde, a powerful antagonist in other respects, was also a veteran platform orator. He was, moreover, in possession, and did not reflect with complacency upon the prospect of being displaced by one whom he regarded as a mere political stripling. But besides having the weight of the ducal influence at his back, Mr. Gladstone was warmly supported by the Red Club, whose members were alike active and influential. The young Tory candidate and his supporters entered upon the contest with enthusiasm, and worked with unflagging spirit and untiring energy.

Mr. Gladstone's first election address was dated 'Clinton Arms, Newark, Oct. 9th, 1832,' and was inscribed 'To the worthy and independent electors of the Borough of Newark.' This document, in the light of subsequent events, has more than a passing interest, and is distinguished for its ingenious reasoning upon the great question of Slavery, then agitating the public mind. We append it in full:—

'Having now completed my canvass, I think it my duty as well to remind you of the principles on which I have solicited your votes, as freely to assure my friends that its result has placed my success beyond a doubt.

I have not requested your favour on the ground of adherence to the opinions of any man or party, further than such adherence can be fairly understood from the conviction I have not hesitated to avow, that we must watch and resist that unenquiring and indiscriminating desire for change amongst us, which threatens to produce, along with partial good, a melancholy preponderance of mischief; which, I am persuaded, would aggravate beyond computation the deep-seated evils of our social state, and the heavy burthens of our industrial classes; which, by disturbing our peace, destroys confidence, and strikes at the root of prosperity. Thus it *has done already*; and thus, we must therefore believe, it *will do*.

For the mitigation of those evils, we must, I think, look not only to particular measures, but to the restoration of sounder general principles. I mean especially that principle on which alone the incorporation of Religion with the State in our Constitution can be defended; that the duties of governors are strictly and peculiarly religious; and that legislatures, like individuals, are bound to carry throughout their acts the spirit of the high truths they have acknowledged. Principles are now arrayed against our institutions; and not by truckling nor by temporising —not by oppression nor corruption—but by principles they must be met.

Among their first results should be a sedulous and special attention to the interests of the poor, founded upon the rule that those who are the least able to take care of themselves should be most regarded by others. Particularly it is a duty to endeavour, by every means, that *labour may receive adequate remuneration;* which, unhappily, among several classes of our fellow-countrymen is not now the case. Whatever measures, therefore—whether by correction of the poor laws, allotment of cottage grounds, or otherwise—tend to promote this object, I deem entitled to the warmest support; with all such as are calculated to secure sound moral conduct in any class of society.

I proceed to the momentous question of Slavery, which I have found entertained among you in that candid and temperate spirit which alone befits its nature, or promises to remove its difficulties. If I have not recognized the right of an irresponsible society to interpose between me and the electors, it has not been from any disrespect to its members, nor from unwillingness to answer theirs or any other questions on which the electors may desire to know my views. To the esteemed secretary of the society I submitted my reasons for silence; and I made a point of stating these views to him, in his character of a voter.

As regards the abstract lawfulness of Slavery, I acknowledge it simply as importing the right of one man to the labour of another; and I rest it upon the fact that Scripture, the paramount authority upon such a point, gives directions to persons standing in the relation of master to slave, for their conduct in that relation; whereas, were the matter absolutely and necessarily *sinful*, it would not regulate the manner. Assuming sin as the cause of degradation, it strives, and strives most effectually, to cure the latter by extirpating the former. We are agreed, that both the physical and the moral bondage of the slave are to be abolished. The question is as to the *order*, and the order only; now Scripture attacks the moral evil *before* the temporal one, and the temporal *through* the moral one, and I am content with the order which Scripture has established.

To this end, I desire to see immediately set on foot, by impartial and sovereign authority, an universal and efficient system of Christian instruction, not intended to resist designs of individual piety and wisdom for the religious improvement of the negroes, but to do thoroughly what they can only do partially.

As regards immediate emancipation, whether with or without compensation, there are several minor reasons against it; but that which weighs with me is, that it would, I much fear, exchange the evils now affecting the negro for others which are weightier—for a relapse into deeper debasement, if not for bloodshed and internal war. Let *fitness* be made a condition for emancipation; and let us strive to bring him to that fitness by the shortest possible course. Let him enjoy the means of earning his freedom through honest and industrious habits; thus the same instruments which attain his liberty shall likewise render him competent to use it; and thus, I earnestly trust, without risk of blood, without violation of property, with unimpaired benefit to the negro, and with the utmost speed which prudence will admit, we shall arrive at that exceedingly desirable consummation, the utter extinction of slavery.

And now, gentlemen, as regards the enthusiasm with which you have rallied round your ancient flag, and welcomed the humble representative of those principles whose emblem it is, I trust that neither the lapse of time nor the seductions of prosperity can ever efface it from my memory. To my opponents, my acknowledgments are due for the good-humour and kindness with which they have received me; and while I would thank my friends for their zealous and unwearied exertions in my favour, I briefly but emphatically assure them, that if promises be an adequate foundation of confidence, or experience a reasonable ground of calculation, our victory *is sure*.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

Your obliged and obedient Servant,

W. E. GLADSTONE.

The Red or Conservative Club numbered within its ranks upwards of 650 voters, every one of whom promised their suffrages to Mr. Gladstone, the thorough Conservative candidate. He also received an absolute promise of support from about 240 other electors. The matter was thus regarded as settled by a writer in a periodical of the day entitled *Old England*. The question then frequently put, 'Who is Mr. Gladstone?' the same writer thus answered:—'He is the son of the friend of Mr. Canning, the great Liverpool merchant. He is, we understand, not more than four or five and twenty,* but he has won golden opinions from all sorts of people, and promises to be an ornament to the House of Commons.'

The nomination was held on the 11th of December, the polling being fixed for the two following days. At the hustings Mr. Gladstone was compelled to run the gauntlet of much hostile questioning, and had not the opportunity of doing more than making a brief reply. Scotch elections have rendered us familiar with the practice known as 'heckling,' and Mr. Gladstone was subjected to this process upon his first appearance at Newark. From the reports in the local journals, it would appear that after the nomination of Mr. W. Farnworth Handley, Mr. Serjeant Wilde, and Mr. William Ewart Gladstone respectively—

Mr. Gillson enquired of Mr. Gladstone how he came to Newark after he had neglected to attend a meeting of the electors to which he was invited, and whether he was not the Duke of Newcastle's nominee?

Mr. Gladstone wished to have Mr. Gillson's definition of the term "nominee," and then he would answer.

Mr. Gillson said he meant a person sent by the Duke of Newcastle to be pushed down the electors' throats, whether they would or not.

Mr. Gladstone replied, then according to that definition he was not a nominee. He came to Newark by the invitation of the Red Club, than whom none were more respectable and intelligent. The Club sent to the Duke of Newcastle to know if he could recommend a candidate to them, and in consequence he was appealed to, and accepted the invitation of the Red Club.

Mr. Kelk asked Mr. Gladstone what he thought of the passage in Exodus xxi.16—'He that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death;' and whether his father was not a dealer in human flesh?

Mr. Gladstone was aware of the crime of man-stealing being condemned.

Mr. Kelk—What state of things did he wish to return to? and ought a man to be put to death for forging a £1 note the same as for killing his fellow creature?

Mr. Gladstone said he had in view the time when our forefathers acted upon manly and God-fearing principles. We are not the nation we were two hundred years ago. The crime of forgery was difficult to decide upon, as we were a great commercial nation. The question put by Mr. Kelk, however, was easily answered in the negative.

Mr. Andrews, an elector, then entered upon a long address on the subject of negro slavery, and required Mr. Gladstone's opinion upon the subject.

Mr Gladstone gave it unequivocally, that he desired the emancipation of slaves upon such terms as would preserve them and the colonies from destruction. The slaves ought first to be fully prepared for emancipation

* The young candidate was not yet twenty-three.

A long discussion for and against the results of emancipation in St. Domingo and Antigua followed. Mr. Gladstone was now unfortunately placed. Being the third in order of the three candidates proposed, his address to the electors came last. Serjeant Wilde exhausted the patience of the people by his very lengthy speech, and the Tory candidate was condemned to follow amidst a scene of outrageous noise and uproar. The mass of people in front of the hustings had already stood for nearly seven hours, and showed a disinclination to be detained with another three hours' address, which, as a local chronicler naively puts it, 'from Mr. Gladstone's talents we were far from thinking not possible.' Serjeant Wilde's policy in occupying the attention of the electors for an inordinate length of time was almost universally condemned. Mr. Gladstone was but able to utter a few comments upon the prominent topic of slavery, when the hooting and hissing drowned his voice, and he found it impossible to proceed. A show of hands being demanded, it was declared to be in favour of Mr. Handley and Serjeant Wilde. For Mr. Gladstone few hands were held up beyond those of his supporters on the hustings. A poll was accordingly demanded on his behalf.

Since 1832, few of those scenes of violence, and even of bloodshed, which formerly distinguished Parliamentary elections in many English boroughs, have been witnessed. Some of these lawless outbreaks were doubtless due to the unpopularity of the candidates forced upon the electors; but even in the larger towns —where territorial influence had little sway—riots occurred upon which we look back now in almost doubtful amazement. Men holding strong political views have ceased to enforce those views by the aid of brickbats and other dangerous missiles. Yet at the beginning of the present century such arguments were very popular. And to the violence which prevailed was added the most unblushing bribery. Several boroughs long notorious for extensive bribery have since been disfranchised. The practice, however, extended to most towns in the kingdom, though it was not always carried on in the same open manner. By a long-established custom, a voter at Hull received a donation of two guineas, or four for a plumper. In Liverpool men were openly paid for their votes; and Lord Cochrane stated in the House of Commons that, after his return for Honiton, he sent the town-crier round the borough to tell the voters to go to the chief banker for £10 10s. each. The great enlargement of the constituencies, secured by the Reform Bill of 1832, did much to put an end to this disgraceful condition of things; but to a wider political enlightenment also, some portion of the credit for such a result must be attributed.

The election for Newark was of an exciting character, but devoid of those objectionable elements just alluded to. If Mr. Gladstone was out of favour at the hustings, the polling told a very different tale. From the first he took the lead, and became M.P. for Newark by a substantial majority, the numbers being —Gladstone, 882; Handley, 793; Wilde, 719. Commenting upon this result, the Newark representative of the *Nottingham Journal* said they had been told there was no reaction against the Ministry, no reaction in favour of Conservative principles. 'The delusion has now vanished, and made room for sober reason and reflection. The shadow satisfies no longer; and the return of Mr. Gladstone—to the discomfiture of the learned Serjeant and his friends—has restored the town of Newark to that high rank which it formerly held in the estimation of the friends of order and good government. We venture to predict that the losing candidate in this contest has suffered so severely that he will never more show his face at Newark on a similar occasion.'

A few days after the election Mr. Gladstone attended a meeting of the Constitutional Club at Nottingham, and delivered a lengthy address. Alluding to this address and to the young member, a Conservative journalist—who, if still living, may look back upon his words as the first prediction of Mr. Gladstone's great political future—observed, 'He is a gentleman of amiable manners and the most extraordinary talent; and we venture to predict, without the slightest exaggeration, that he will be one day classed amongst the most able statesmen in the British Senate.' This prophecy has been fulfilled strictly to the *letter*, but in a *spirit* wholly different from that which its utterer expected. Mr. Gladstone also spoke at Newark, in company with his friend, the Earl of Lincoln, delivering 'a manly, eloquent speech, replete with sound constitutional sentiments, high moral feeling, and ability of the most distinguished order.' Remembering what Mr. Gladstone has since done for the press of this country, it is curious to find him at this time stating that he could not support the abolition of taxes upon knowledge. He gave as his grounds for this policy, that the taxes not only assisted the revenue, but tended to prevent too great a circulation of bad matter.

It must not be supposed that, able and successful as Mr. Gladstone was, he had no enemies. On the contrary, he had many political opponents who were deeply envenomed against him. As we have given the approving language of his friends, we will now quote the opinion of his foes upon the fortunate candidate and his election. This opinion was expressed as

follows in the *Reflector*':—'Mr. Gladstone is the son of Gladstone of Liverpool, a person who (we are speaking of the father) had amassed a large fortune by West India dealings. In other words, a great part of his gold has sprung from the blood of black slaves. Respecting the youth himself—a person fresh from college, and whose mind is as much like a sheet of white foolscap as possible—he was utterly unknown. He came recommended by no claim in the world *except the will of the Duke.* The Duke nodded unto Newark, and Newark sent back the man, or rather the boy of his choice. What! Is this to be, now that the Reform Bill has done its work? Are sixteen hundred men still to bow down to a wooden-headed lord, as the people of Egypt used to do to their beasts, to their reptiles, and their ropes of onions? There must be something wrong—something imperfect. What is it? What is wanting? Why, the Ballot! If there be a doubt of this (and we believe there is a doubt even amongst intelligent men) the tale of Newark must set the question at rest. Serjeant Wilde was met on his entry into the town by almost the whole population. He was greeted everywhere, cheered everywhere. He was received with delight by his friends, and with good and earnest wishes for his success by his nominal foes. The voters for Gladstone went up to that candidate's booth (the slave-driver, as they called him) with Wilde's colours. People who had before voted for Wilde, on being asked to give their suffrage said, "We cannot, we dare not. We have lost half our business, and shall lose the rest if we go against the Duke. We would do anything in our power for Serjeant Wilde, and for the cause, but we cannot starve!" Now what say ye, our merry men, touching the Ballot?' Such were the hostile reflections passed upon the successful candidate. The adage, that 'all is fair in love and war'—including, we presume, political warfare—was transgressed on this and other occasions, the personal criticisms on Mr. Gladstone sometimes passing the bounds of decorum. But to the bitterness of their defeat must be attributed much of the rancour exhibited by the losing party; they had counted confidently upon victory.

In the ordeal through which political candidates are called upon to pass, there is a mingling of agreeable and objectionable elements; and if Mr. Gladstone met with considerable vituperation at the hands of his opponents, he had the solid and satisfying fact to fall back upon, that, in the contest which had just been waged, he had been placed at the head of the poll. The ambition of his youthful days was now in partial process of being realised. He had ardently desired to become a member of

that Senate whose glories of statesmanship and of eloquence were the theme of the civilised world. He was now entitled to cross its august threshold; the first step in his Parliamentary career had been successfully taken, and the whilom student of Christ Church was member for Newark.

CHAPTER IV.

EARLY SPEECHES IN PARLIAMENT.

The First Reformed Parliament—Mr. Gladstone's Maiden Speech—The Slave Trade—The Member for Newark's View of the Question—Abolition of Colonial Slavery—Bribery in Liverpool—A Defence of the Irish Church—The Universities Admission Bill—Demoralisation of the Whigs—Dismissal of the Melbourne Ministry—Mr. Gladstone Junior Lord of the Treasury under Sir Robert Peel—Election Incidents at Newark—The Premier and his Policy—The Under-Secretaryship for the Colonies—Defeat and Resignation of the Government—The Affairs of Canada—Speech by Mr. Gladstone on Church Rates—Death of King William IV.—Mr. Gladstone nominated for Manchester—Incidents of the Contest—The Session of 1838—The Slavery Question once more—Powerful Speech by Mr. Gladstone—His Appearance in the House—Personal Details—Character of his Oratory—Debate on National Education—The War with China—Fall of the Whig Government—Sir Robert Peel again in Office—Mr. Gladstone Vice-President of the Board of Trade—His Marriage, Family, &c.

THE first Parliament summoned after the passing of the Reform Act met on the 29th of January, 1833, and on the 5th of February the King attended and delivered the Royal speech in person. Of that celebrated Parliament but few members now remain. Who, in that popular House of Assembly, could have predicted the future of the newly-elected member for Newark? Even the member himself—who had nothing whatever against him, save, as Chatham said, 'the atrocious crime of being a young man'—sanguine as might be his political hopes, could scarcely have ventured to anticipate in his most ambitious dreams the period when he should be called upon to fill the position once held by the illustrious Canning. The new House of Commons—which might now be emphatically called the people's House of Parliament—did not fulfil all the expectations of the country, though the labours of its first session have given it an indelible place in history. Had the session of 1833 been barren of all other measures, it would still be entitled to immortal honour for wiping away a discreditable blot that had too long stained the escutcheon of England. The system of slavery, which until this year still existed in the British colonies, was abolished at a cost of twenty millions sterling. Besides the passing of this great humanitarian enactment, during the same session the commercial monopoly of the East India Company

was abolished. The trade to the East was thus thrown open to all merchants, and the beneficial effects of the measure were speedily apparent.

Mr. Gladstone's maiden speech in the House of Commons differed completely from the first melodramatic display of his great rival. From the first the young member for Newark appears to have favourably impressed the House. Modest in demeanour, earnest in manner, and fluent of speech, he at once commanded the respect and attention of his fellow-members. His earliest effort was in connection with the Slavery question, but the speech was delivered neither in the course of a great debate, nor upon a motion on the one topic then occupying the public mind. During the debate on the Ministerial proposition for the emancipation of slaves, which was brought forward on the 14th of May, 1833, Lord Howick, ex-Under-Secretary for the Colonies, had referred to an estate in Demerara owned by Mr. Gladstone's father, for the purpose of showing that a great destruction of human life had taken place in the West Indies, owing to the manner in which the slaves were worked. It was in reply to this accusation that Mr. Gladstone delivered his maiden speech on the 17th of May, the occasion being the presentation of a petition from Portarlington for the abolition of slavery. He challenged the noble lord's statement respecting the decrease of seventy-one slaves upon the estate of Vreeden Hoop, which had been attributed to the increased cultivation of sugar. The real cause of the decrease lay in the very large proportion of Africans upon the estate. When it came into his father's possession, it was so weak, owing to the great number of Africans upon it, that he was obliged to add two hundred people to the gang. It was notorious that Africans were imported into Demerara and Trinidad up to a later period than into any other colony; and he should, when the proper time arrived, be able to prove that the decrease on Vreeden Hoop was among the old Africans, and that there was an increase going on in the Creole population, which would be a sufficient answer to the statement of the noble lord. The quantity of sugar produced was small in proportion to that produced on many other estates. The cultivation of cotton in Demerara had been abandoned, and that of coffee much diminished, and the people employed in these sources of production had been transferred to the cultivation of sugar. Demerara, too, was peculiarly circumstanced, and the labour of the same number of negroes, distributed over the year, would produce in that colony a given quantity of sugar, with less injury to the people, than negroes could produce in other colonies, working only at the stated periods of crop. 'He was

ready to admit that this cultivation was of a more severe character than others; and he would ask, were there not certain employments in this and other countries more destructive to life than others? He would only instance those of painting and working in lead mines, both of which were well known to have that tendency. The noble lord attempted to impugn the character of the gentleman acting as manager of his father's estates; and in making this selection he had certainly been most unfortunate; for there was not an individual in the colony more proverbial for humanity and the kind treatment of his slaves than Mr. Maclean.' Mr. Gladstone, in concluding this warm defence of his relative, said he held in his hand two letters from the agent, in which that gentleman spoke in the kindest terms of the people under his charge; described their state of happiness, content, and healthiness—their good conduct, and the infrequency of severe punishment—and recommended certain additional comforts, which he said the slaves well deserved.

On the 3rd of June, on the resumption of the debate on the abolition of slavery, Mr. Gladstone again addressed the House. He now entered more fully into the charges which Lord Howick had brought against the management of his father's estates in Demerara, and showed their groundlessness. When he had discussed the existing aspect of slavery in Trinidad, Jamaica, and other places, he proceeded to deal with the general question. He confessed with shame and pain that cases of wanton cruelty had occurred in the colonies, but added that they would always exist, particularly under the system of slavery; and this was unquestionably a substantial reason why the British Legislature and public should set themselves in good earnest to provide for its extinction; but he maintained that these instances of cruelty could easily be explained by the West Indians, who represented them as rare and isolated cases, and who maintained that the ordinary relation of master and slave was one of kindliness and not of hostility. He deprecated cruelty, and he deprecated slavery, both of which were abhorrent to the nature of Englishmen; but, conceding these things, he asked, 'Were not Englishmen to retain a right to their own honestly and legally-acquired property?' But the cruelty did not exist, and he saw no reason for the attack which had recently been made upon the West India interest. He hoped the House would make a point to adopt the principle of compensation, and to stimulate the slave to genuine and spontaneous industry. If this were not done, and moral instruction were not imparted to the slaves, liberty would prove a curse instead of a blessing to them. Touching upon the property

question, and the proposed plans for emancipation, Mr. Gladstone said that the House might consume its time and exert its wisdom in devising these plans, but without the concurrence of the Colonial Legislatures success would be hopeless. He thought there was excessive wickedness in any violent interference under the present circumstances. They were still in the midst of unconcluded inquiries, and to pursue the measure then under discussion, at that moment, was to commit an act of great and unnecessary hostility towards the island of Jamaica. 'It was the duty of the House to place as broad a distinction as possible between the idle and the industrious slaves, and nothing could be too strong to secure the freedom of the latter; but, with respect to the idle slaves, no period of emancipation could hasten their improvement. If the labours of the House should be conducted to a satisfactory issue, it would redound to the honour of the nation, and to the reputation of his Majesty's Ministers, whilst it would be delightful to the West India planters themselves—for they must feel that to hold in bondage their fellow-men must always involve the greatest responsibility. But let not any man think of carrying this measure by force. England rested her power not upon physical force, but upon her principles, her intellect, and virtue; and if this great measure were not placed on a fair basis, or were conducted by violence, he should lament it, as a signal for the ruin of the Colonies and the downfall of the Empire.' The attitude of Mr. Gladstone, as borne out by the tenor of his speech, was not one of hostility to emancipation, though he was undoubtedly unfavourable to an immediate and an indiscriminate enfranchisement. He demanded, moreover, that the interests of the planters should be duly regarded.

The result of the labours of the House on this question is matter of history. The abolition of Colonial slavery was decreed. As already stated, a sum of £20,000,000 was voted to the slave-owners as compensation for their losses, and the great and noble work initiated by Mr. Wilberforce was thus finally crowned with success.

Mr. Gladstone rose on two or three other occasions during the session of 1833. On the 4th of July Mr. Mark Phillips moved that a Select Committee be appointed to pursue the inquiries entered into by the Committee appointed on the 6th of March, to take into consideration the petition presented to the House on the 21st of February from certain inhabitants of Liverpool, complaining of bribery and corruption in that borough. Mr Gladstone, speaking upon this motion, admitted that the proceedings at the election of 1830 were sufficient to secure for

the town of Liverpool an immortality of disgrace; but had it not been for this he should have had no apprehension as to the character of the votes of honourable gentlemen. Before 1830 direct bribery had not prevailed at the elections extensively or systematically. He denied that such a body of evidence had been collected with respect to the last election as to warrant the assumption that bribery and corruption did, during that election, prevail in Liverpool systematically or extensively. 'If the cases of bribery were so miserably few—if the cases of corruption, of asking for bribes, and of a disposition to receive them were equivocal, and limited to the allegations of one side, and contradicted as far as the nature of the case admitted by the other—he implored the House of Commons in the name of principle, in the name of equity, in the name of common sense, to refuse further inquiry, and not to immolate on such insufficient pretexts the rights of the freemen; he implored them not to offer so poor a morsel to appease the hunger of reform.' The inquiry, however, was voted by 166 to 84.

The name of the member for Newark appears in various division lists in the course of this session, and he spoke in the debate which took place upon Lord Althorp's Church Temporalities (Ireland) Bill. On the 8th of July, on the question that this bill should pass, Mr. Gladstone said he would not shelter himself under a silent vote. He was prepared to defend the Irish Church, and if it had abuses, which he did not now deny, those abuses were to be ascribed to the ancestors and predecessors of those who then surrounded him. He admitted that the Irish Church had slumbered. He feared that the effect of the bill would be to place the Church on an untenable foundation. He was unwilling to see the number of Irish bishops reduced. He had always regarded it as a well-established principle that as long as a Church was national the State ought to be taxed to support it; and if the Government meant to maintain the Protestant Church in Ireland, they ought to enforce this maxim; but it was not the proper way to establish or maintain the Church to proceed by laying further burdens on the body of the clergy—who, God knows, were already not overburthened with money—as was done by that measure. He had little doubt the Government would carry the bill by a large majority, and if they did, he could only hope that it would produce the effects which they had ascribed to it—namely, of securing and propping up the Irish Protestant Church. The bill was carried by 274 votes to 94, Mr. Gladstone's name appearing in the minority.

In 1834 he addressed the House very briefly in connection

with the Liverpool Freemen Bill, inflicting disfranchisement upon a section of the electors for bribery. When Mr. Hume's Universities Admission Bill was brought forward, it found a strenuous opponent in the young member. One great object of the bill was to remove the necessity of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles on entering the University of Oxford. Mr. Gladstone maintained that, although the measure proposed to alter materially the constitution of the universities, it would be practically inoperative. Yet the bill, while not working out its professed objects, would nevertheless inevitably lead to great dissension and confusion, and eventually to endless applications and legislation in the House. It was said of the ancient Romans that they—

'Made a solitude and called it peace.'

He very much feared that the House, in establishing their present principle of religious liberty, would drive from their functions men who had so long done honour and service to their country, and thus inaugurate their reign of religious peace by an act of the grossest tyranny. The bill passed by 164 to 75.

It was not to be expected either that the practical ability or the debating power foreshadowed in these early speeches of the new Tory member for Newark would escape the attention of the leaders of his party. But recognition came earlier than even the young orator himself could have anticipated. Towards the close of 1834 it became evident that there were no longer the necessary elements of cohesion in the Liberal Ministry. Amongst the many causes of its downfall, not the least was the transference of Lord Althorp to the Upper House. His lordship, during his continuance in the Commons, had been able to keep the Ministerialists together, as one tolerably compact body. But demoralisation quickly set in—a demoralisation accelerated by the growing unpopularity of the Whigs with the country. In the middle of October the Melbourne Ministry was summarily dismissed by the Sovereign. Lord Melbourne had waited upon the King at Brighton to take his commands on the appointment of a Chancellor of the Exchequer in the room of Lord Althorp, when his Majesty raised objections to the reconstruction of the Cabinet. The King, further, sent a letter to the Duke of Wellington, who attended upon his Majesty, and advised that Sir Robert Peel should be sent for. Sir Robert, who was then travelling in Italy, hastened home, and on the 9th of December accepted the King's commands to form a Ministry.

On the 24th Mr. Gladstone, having accepted the office of

Junior Lord of the Treasury under Sir Robert Peel, issued his address to his constituents at Newark. In that address he reviewed the position of parties, which, since the last general election two years before, had essentially changed. The best friends of the late Ministry had been alienated from it in consequence of its tendency towards rash, violent, and indefinite innovation; and there were even 'those among the servants of the King who did not scruple to solicit the suffrages of their constituents, with promises to act on the principles of Radicalism.' Mr. Gladstone went on to say, 'The question has then, as it appears to me, become, whether we are to hurry onwards at intervals, but not long ones, through the medium of the ballot, short parliaments, and other questions called popular, into republicanism or anarchy; or whether, independently of all party distinctions, the people will support the Crown in the discharge of its duty to maintain in efficiency, and transmit in safety, those old and valuable institutions under which our country has greatly flourished.' In the last paragraph of this address, however, the writer said, 'Let me add shortly, but emphatically, concerning the reform of actual abuses, whether in Church or State, that I regard it as a sacred duty—a duty at all times, and certainly not least at a period like this, when the danger of neglecting it is most clear and imminent—a duty not inimical to true and determined Conservative principle, nor a curtailment or modification of such principle, but its legitimate consequences, or rather an actual element of its composition.'

Mr. Handley, the second Conservative member for the borough of Newark, having retired, Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal candidate, Mr. Serjeant Wilde, were returned without opposition. The Junior Lord of the Treasury appears to have again quite fascinated his constituents, and, amongst other festivities, we find that he attended the Dispensary Ball at Newark with the Duke of Newcastle. A local journal describes him at this time as one of the most talented young men who entered the last Parliament. His 'splendid talents and amiable character' were the theme of conversation in the borough. Mr. Gladstone's speech on the hustings was an amplification of the address we have in substance just given. After the election came the old custom of chairing the members, when a scene of the most animated description took place. Mr. Gladstone's procession set out from the Clinton Arms Inn. His chair was splendid and elegant, and attracted general admiration; 'it was placed on a groundwork laid upon the springs of a four-wheel carriage, and drawn by six beautiful grey horses, the riders dressed in silk jackets.' As the procession wended its way

through the streets, the inhabitants were most peaceably inclined. 'Never before did the town of Newark present so pleasing and so glorious a sight!' The 'red' lion and the 'blue' lamb lay down together (the colours of the quadrupeds may be reversed at pleasure), and all was harmony and all was peace. Alighting at his committee room, Mr. Gladstone delivered an address of thanks to upwards of 6,000 persons, his speech being greeted with 'deafening cheers.'

The policy of the new Ministry was defined by its chief in his address to the electors of Tamworth. Sir Robert Peel said he considered the Reform Act a final and irrevocable settlement of a great constitutional question, and a settlement which no friend to the peace and welfare of the country would attempt to disturb by any means whatsoever. But the Government expressed their readiness to reform real abuses and defects still existing, though they declined to seek 'a false popularity by adopting every fleeting popular impression of the day.' Shortly after the assembling of Parliament in February, 1835, Mr. Gladstone was promoted to the office of Under-Secretary for the Colonies, and in March he brought in a bill for the better regulation of the carriage of passengers in merchant vessels to the continent and the islands of North America. This bill, which contained many humane provisions, was most favourably received.

For the moment, it seemed as though the Peel Ministry had a long life before it; but the course of politics is proverbially uncertain. Mr. Carlyle asks in his *Chartism*, 'Are not the affairs of this nation in a bad way? Hungry Greek meets hungry Greek on the floor of St. Stephen's, and wrestles with him and throttles him until he has to cry, Hold! the office is thine.' Fortunately for the reputation of statesmanship, there have been Ministers in every generation who have regarded the public service in a nobler light than this. Of such men was Sir Robert Peel, worthy alike of the esteem of friends and opponents for the uprightness of his character and the singleness of his aims. But although he acceded to office in 1834-5 under apparently favourable circumstances, and although his measures were conceived in no illiberal spirit, his Ministry had a very short lease of power. After sustaining a defeat on the election of Speaker, a more serious disaster befell the Government on the Irish Church question. Lord John Russell introduced on the 30th of March his resolution, 'That the House should resolve itself into a committee of the whole House to consider of the temporalities of the Church of Ireland.' This motion was met by a direct negative, and a protracted and acrimonious debate ensued.

Mr. Gladstone, in the course of the discussion, said the result of the motion would be first to enfeeble and debase, and then altogether overthrow, the principle on which the Church Establishment rested. The noble lord invited them to invade the property of the Church in Ireland. The system they were now called upon to agree to was in its essence transitory, and yet it involved the existence of all Church establishments. If the separation of Church and State was hastening on, the present motion, instead of retarding it, would increase its rapidity. 'If in the administration of this great country the elements of religion should not enter—if those who were called upon to guide it in its career should be forced to listen to the caprices and to the whims of every body of visionaries, they would lose that station all great men were hitherto proud of. He hoped that he should never live to see the day when any principle leading to such a result would be adopted in this country.'

On a division Ministers were defeated, the numbers being—For Lord John Russell's motion, 322; against, 289. The Irish Church Bill was subsequently discussed in committee, when Ministers were again defeated on the question of appropriating the surplus funds of the Church to the general education of all classes of Christians. Sir Robert Peel, seeing that he and his Government had no possibility of conducting the affairs of the country with the substantial support of the House, announced his resignation. Lord Melbourne again became Prime Minister. Mr. Gladstone, of course, ceased to be Under-Secretary for the Colonial Department, and retired with his chief. The field of politics was at this time conspicuous for the bitterness of its encounters, but Mr. Gladstone held himself aloof from mere gladiatorial exhibitions, and earned the respect of the whole House by his courteous bearing, and the general urbanity of his manners.

We now find the member for Newark in opposition for a considerable period; but it was impossible for one of his ardent temperament and strong convictions to refrain from taking a deep interest in the various public questions brought forward within the course of the next few years. On the 22nd of March, 1836, Mr. Fowell Buxton rose in the House of Commons to move for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the working of the apprenticeship system in the Colonies, the condition of the apprentices, and the laws and regulations respecting them. The Government, through Sir George Grey, agreed to the appointment of the committee. Mr. O'Connell said that under the apprenticeship system the negroes were worse off sometimes than they were in a state of slavery. Apprenticeship was, in fact,

but slavery under another name. Mr. Gladstone replied, and endeavoured to remove the unfavourable impression which had been created against the West Indian body. When he pleaded that many of the West Indian planters were humane men, Mr. Gladstone was undoubtedly right. Having his nearest relatives directly connected with the traffic so much denounced, he naturally defended their honour when it was assailed. He pointed out that while the evils of the apprenticeship system had been exaggerated, all mention of its advantages had been carefully withheld. Since the passing of the Emancipation Act the condition of the negroes had been gradually improving. He deprecated the attempt made to renew and perpetuate the system of agitation at the expense of candour and truth. The motion, being supported by the Government, was agreed to without a division.

Early in March, 1837, the affairs of Canada came on for discussion in the House of Commons. Lord John Russell proposed a series of resolutions by which it was hoped the breaches which had arisen between Upper and Lower Canada would be healed. These propositions were fiercely attacked, but Mr. Gladstone, amongst others, rallied to the support of the Government. The question that lay before them, he said, was—the support of Government and public order on one side, and the absolutism of the popular will on the other. The difficulty was not between the House of Assembly and the Legislative Council, but between the House of Assembly and the Crown and Parliament of Great Britain. There was an overwhelming preponderance of opinion in favour of the Government policy.

Mr. Gladstone was also heard in the debate on the Church Rates question. His speech on this subject occupies thirteen columns in *Hansard*, though it has apparently escaped the attention of previous writers. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Spring Rice, had propounded a plan for the re-arrangement of Church rates, which he hoped would be satisfactory at once to the scruples of Dissenters and the claims of the Establishment. His scheme, in essence, was to take the whole property of the bishops, deans, and chapters out of the hands of those dignitaries, and to vest them in the hands of a commission, under whose improved system of management it was calculated that, after paying to their full present amount all existing incomes, a sum not less than that assigned by Lord Althorp might be saved, and applied for the purposes of Church rates. When the House went into committee on Mr. Rice's resolutions they were opposed by Sir Robert Peel on financial as well as conscientious grounds. Mr. Gladstone followed in the same strain, and the peroration of

his speech—in which he drew a comparison between Rome and England, and insisted upon religion being the basis of the greatness of the State—was, perhaps, the most impassioned specimen of oratory with which he had yet favoured the House. 'It was not,' he said, 'by the active strength and resistless prowess of her legions, the bold independence of her citizens, or the well-maintained equilibrium of her constitution, or by the judicious adaptation of various measures to the various circumstances of her subject States, that the Roman power was upheld. Its foundation lay in the prevailing feeling of religion. This was the superior power which curbed the licence of individual rule, and engendered in the people a lofty disinterestedness and disregard of personal motives, and devotion to the glory of the republic. The devotion of the Romans was not enlightened by a knowledge of the precepts of Christianity; here religion was still more deeply rooted and firmly fixed. And would they now consent to compromise the security of its firmest bulwark? No Ministry would dare to propose its unconditional surrender; but with the same earnestness and depth of feeling with which they should deprecate the open avowal of such a determination, they ought to resist the covert and insidious introduction of the principle.' When the division came, however, the Ministry obtained a majority of 23, the numbers being—For the resolutions, 273; against, 250.

King William IV.—of whom Sir Robert Peel said that 'The reins of Government were never committed to the hands of one who bore himself as a Sovereign with more affability, and yet with more true dignity—to one who was more compassionate for the sufferings of others—or to one whose nature was more utterly free from all selfishness'—died on the 20th of June, 1837. A general election ensued, consequent upon the accession of her present Majesty. Mr. Gladstone again came forward for Newark, and was returned. But a curious incident arose in connection with the representation of Manchester. The Tories of that city, it appears, were extremely anxious to obtain Mr. Gladstone as their candidate, and endeavoured to wean his political affections from the Nottinghamshire borough. 'This must obviously have appeared a very senseless scheme to the cooler men of the party,' said the *Manchester Guardian*, writing shortly before the election; 'but nothing else presented itself, and they therefore packed off three gentlemen as a deputation on the hopeful errand of inviting Mr. Gladstone. When they met with that gentleman personally we have not learned; but he did not allow them to make a fool of him, and declined the invitation. There,

we believe, the matter rests at present; but as the party have raised some money, we suppose they will find some means of spending it.'

This report appears to have been premature, but only premature. The Tories first applied to Mr. Perceval, who declined to stand. Sir H. Hardinge then recommended them to apply to Mr. Gladstone, and subsequently, if he refused, to Sir James Graham, whose chances of success in East Cumberland were considered desperate. Mr. Gladstone was accordingly seen, but he declined to give up a safe seat at Newark to encounter an almost certain defeat at Manchester. The Tories, notwithstanding, determined to put him in nomination, and his name was placed before the electors. These proceedings were unauthorised by Mr. Gladstone, who neither issued an address nor appeared before the constituency.

A report, however, was speedily current at Newark to the effect that he had agreed to stand for Manchester; and in reply to this, Mr. Gladstone wrote the following address to the electors, dated Clinton Arms, July 22nd, 1837:—'My attention has just been called to a paragraph in the *Nottingham and Newark Mercury* of this morning, which announces, on the authority of some person unknown, that I have consented to be put in nomination for Manchester, and have promised, if elected, to sit in Parliament as its representative. I have to inform you that these statements are wholly without foundation. I was honoured on Wednesday with a deputation from Manchester, empowered to request that I would become a candidate for the borough. I felt the honour, but I answered unequivocally, and at once, that I must absolutely decline the invitation; and I am much at a loss to conceive how "a most respectable correspondent" could have cited language which I never used, from a letter which I never wrote. Lastly, I beg to state in terms as explicit as I can command, that I hold myself bound in honour to the electors of Newark, that I adhere in every particular to the tenor of my late address, and that I place my humble services during the ensuing Parliament entirely and unconditionally at their disposal.'

The other candidates in the Manchester election were Mr. Mark Phillips and the Right Hon. C. Poulett Thomson. Reports continued to be rife respecting Mr. Gladstone, and it was said that he had promised to produce £500 towards the election expenses, if returned. His name was taken to the poll contrary to his wishes, and at the nomination he was proposed by Mr. Denison, and seconded by Mr. Gardner. The former enlarged upon Mr. Gladstone's extraordinary talents, and

his determination to maintain, firm and indissoluble, the union between Church and State. The show of hands being against the Tory candidate, a poll was demanded on his behalf, which closed as follows:—Thomson, 4,155; Phillips, 3,760; Gladstone, 2,294. The numbers polled for Gladstone were certainly most surprising, considering that he had discountenanced the nomination, that he was never upon the scene, and that the Tories were deprived of the advantage of his great eloquence. The Liberals themselves were astonished at the strength of the Tory vote, alleging (by way of explanation) that their opponents had been most energetic, and had supplied dinners and liquor to about three hundred voters, which had the effect of altering their political principles! The Conservatives, after the election, gave a dinner to their candidate, at the Bush Inn, Manchester.

In responding to the toast of his health, Mr. Gladstone expressed his regret that they should have fought such a contest with so mean a name as his, and that they had the further disadvantage of attacks made on the cause in his absence. 'I have been told,' he said, 'that certain parties in Manchester were pleased to send over to Newark a Radical candidate to oppose me. I believe Manchester receives annually from Newark a great deal of useful commodities in the shape of malt and flour; and I suppose it was upon the principle of a balance of trade that this Radical candidate was sent. If, instead of sending back this Radical candidate, they had sent back one of their sacks of flour, they would have sent back what was nearly as intelligent, and much more useful.' This sally provoked much laughter. When the speaker resumed, he congratulated the Conservatives of Manchester on the energy which they had manifested, and on their exhibition of a strength which was the nucleus of future success.

The new Parliament assembled on the 20th of October, the young Queen attending in person to open the business of the session. Little progress, however, was made towards the settlement of important public questions before the two Houses were prorogued until the 16th of January.

In the year 1838, the troubles of Canada were still uppermost in the public mind. Lord John Russell introduced a proposal, in the House of Commons, for a bill to suspend for a certain time the existing constitution of Lower Canada, and moved at the same time an address to the Throne pledging the House to assist her Majesty in restoring tranquility to her Canadian dominions. Mr. Roebuck was subsequently heard at the bar of the House, on behalf of the Assembly of Lower Canada—after a

previous protest by Mr. Gladstone against any acknowledgment by the House of Mr. Roebuck as agent of the Assembly. On the motion for committing the Government bill, Mr. Hume moved its rejection. A long and very lively debate ensued, in the course of which Mr. Gladstone reviewed the order of events which had led to the existing disasters. He believed that the repeal of the Act of 1831—which made over the duties of 1774 to the Assembly—would have prevented the late occurrences. He next examined Lord Gosford's correspondence, and pointed out therein the most glaring contradictions. He concluded his speech by a series of very severe strictures on the incapacity and folly displayed by Lord Gosford and the Colonial Office. The Chancellor of the Exchequer endeavoured to answer the member for Newark, but Sir Robert Peel pronounced his attempt a miserable failure. The House, however, decided upon going into committee on the Government bill by an immense majority.

In this same year, 1838, there was another strong revival of the anti-Slavery agitation. Whether the reports which reached this country concerning the evils of negro apprenticeship were altogether accurate and trustworthy it does not fall within our province to inquire. Suffice it to state, that Lord Brougham, Dr. Lushington, and other eminent anti-slavery advocates, accepting and believing these reports, forthwith, and naturally, acted upon them. By the Emancipation Act slavery had been abolished from the year 1834, but negro apprenticeship was not to terminate until 1840. Basing his justification on the alleged oppression exercised upon the negroes, Lord Brougham introduced the subject of slavery in the House of Lords, and moved the immediate abolition of negro apprenticeship. His lordship cited many harrowing details of the cruelties practised, and said it could not be denied that attempts had been made to perpetuate slavery in a new form. The motion was unsuccessful. On the 29th of March Sir George Strickland proposed a similar resolution in the House of Commons. On the second day of the debate, Mr. Gladstone delivered a long and powerful speech, but on the side opposed to that of immediate abolition. This address, extending to thirty-three columns in the official reports, is printed from a corrected edition published by Hatchard. The importance thus attached to the speech was admitted further by the press, in whose columns it was very fully discussed. Mr. Gladstone began by saying that when the Abolition Act of 1833 was brought forward, those who were connected with West Indian property joined in the passing of that measure: 'We professed a belief that the state of slavery was an evil and a demoralising state, and desired to be relieved from it; we accepted a price in

composition for the loss which was expected to accrue; and if, after these professions and that acceptance, we have endeavoured to prolong its existence and its abuses under another appellation, no language can adequately characterize our baseness, and either everlasting ignominy must be upon us, or you are not justified in carrying this motion.' But he utterly and confidently denied the charge, as it affected the mass of the planters and as it affected the mass of the apprentices. By the facts to be adduced he would stand or fall. 'Oh, Sir,' he continued, 'with what depth of desire have I longed for this day! Sore, and wearied, and irritated, perhaps, with the grossly exaggerated misrepresentations, and with the utter calumnies that have been in circulation without the means of reply, how do I rejoice to meet them in free discussion before the face of the British Parliament! and I earnestly wish that I may be enabled to avoid all language and sentiments similar to those I have reprobated in others.' He then proceeded to show that the character of the planters was at stake. They were attacked both on moral and pecuniary grounds. The apprenticeship—as Lord Stanley distinctly stated when he introduced the measure—was a part of the compensation. Negro labour had a marketable value, and it would be unjust to those who had the right in it to deprive them of it. Besides, the House had assented to this right as far as the year 1840, and was morally bound to fulfil its compact. The committee presided over by Mr. Buxton had reported against the necessity for this change.

Mr. Gladstone, with great fulness of detail, next examined the relations between the planters and the negroes, and with regard to the cases of alleged cruelty, he showed that they had been constantly and enormously on the decrease since the period of abolition. He strongly deprecated all such appeals as were made to individual instances and exaggerated representations, and endeavoured, by elaborate statistics, to prove that the abuses were far from being general. The use of the lash, as a stimulus to labour, had died a natural death in British Guiana. During the preceding five months only eleven corporal punishments had been inflicted in a population of seven thousand persons, yielding an average of seven hundred lashes by the year, and these not for neglect of work, but for theft. Towards the close of his speech, Mr. Gladstone thus effectively turned the tables, in one sense, upon his opponents by a *tu quoque* argument. 'Have you, who are so exasperated with the West Indian apprenticeship that you will not wait two years for its natural expiration,—have you inquired what responsibility lies upon every one of you, at the moment when I speak, with reference

to the cultivation of cotton in America? In that country there are near three millions of slaves. You hear not from that land of the abolition—not even of the mitigation—of slavery. It is a domestic institution, and is to pass without limit, we are told, from age to age; and we, much more than they, are responsible for this enormous growth of what purports to be an eternal slavery. . . . You consumed forty-five millions of pounds of cotton in 1837, which proceeded from free labour; and, proceeding from slave labour, three hundred and eighteen millions of pounds! And this while the vast regions of India afford the means of obtaining at a cheaper rate, and by a slight original outlay to facilitate transport, all that you can require. If, Sir, the complaints against the general body of the West Indians had been substantiated, I should have deemed it an unworthy artifice to attempt diverting the attention of the House from the question immediately at issue, by merely proving that other delinquencies existed in other quarters; but feeling as I do that those charges have been overthrown in debate, I think myself entitled and bound to show how capricious are hon. gentlemen in the distribution of their sympathies among those different objects which call for their application.' The speaker concluded by asking for justice alone, and demanded that the Legislature should not be deaf to that call. With the influence of this vigorous defence of the planters upon it, the House went to a division. Sir George Strickland's motion was lost, the numbers being—Ayes, 215; Noes, 269—majority, 54. The *Times* newspaper, on the following day, admitted the force of Mr. Gladstone's speech, which, from an oratorical point of view, was completely successful. It also disposed of many allegations that had been made against the planters, although it did not remove the grounds upon which the anti-Slavery agitation was based, and by which evils it was justified. There were complaints of oppression and exaction which could not be denied, and the House of Assembly in Jamaica had by no means shown its readiness to fulfil that portion of the compact of 1833-4 which devolved upon it, and by which there had been secured to the West Indian proprietors a sum of twenty millions sterling, with an allowance of six years' apprenticeship.

This speech by Mr. Gladstone on negro apprenticeship, though delivered on the unpopular side of the question, confessedly brought him into the front rank of Parliamentary debaters. Detailed in its facts and fervid in appeal, it was alike successful as an example of strong and vigorous argument, and as an oratorical display. It will be interesting in this place to

turn for a moment to a personal sketch of the hon. gentleman, written by one who had ample opportunities for observing him, as he appeared in Parliament during the very session in which the above speech was delivered. 'Mr. Gladstone, the member for Newark,' says this writer,* 'is one of the most rising young men on the Tory side of the House. His party expect great things from him; and certainly, when it is remembered that his age is only thirty-five,† the success of the Parliamentary efforts he has already made justifies their expectations. He is well informed on most of the subjects which usually occupy the attention of the Legislature; and he is happy in turning his information to good account. He is ready on all occasions which he deems fitting ones with a speech in favour of the policy advocated by the party with whom he acts. His extempore resources are ample. Few men in the House can improvise better. It does not appear to cost him an effort to speak.' But by way of showing how dangerous it is to assume the *rôle* of political prophet, here is a passage from the same pen, which is both somewhat diverting and rather contradictory in spirit to that which has gone before:—'He is a man of very considerable talent, but has nothing approaching to genius. His abilities are much more the result of an excellent education and of mature study than of any prodigality of nature in the distribution of her mental gifts. *I have no idea that he will ever acquire the reputation of a great statesman. His views are not sufficiently profound or enlarged for that; his celebrity in the House of Commons will chiefly depend on his readiness and dexterity as a debater, in conjunction with the excellence of his elocution, and the gracefulness of his manner when speaking.*' What remains to be said now, with regard to the words we have placed in italics, and bearing in mind Mr. Gladstone's financial policy, and his Irish and other legislation? Yet be it remembered that it is the destiny of many critics to propound their theories, and afterwards to retract them, or live to find them falsified. On the question of Mr. Gladstone's style the same author remarks:—'His style is polished, but has no appearance of the effect of previous preparation. He displays considerable acuteness in replying to an opponent; he is quick in his perception of anything vulnerable in the speech to which he replies, and happy in laying the weak point bare to the gaze of the House. He now and then indulges in sarcasm, which is, in most cases, very felicitous. He is plausible even

* *The British Senate in* 1838. By the Author of *The Great Metropolis*, &c.

† Another mistake in Mr. Gladstone's age. He was only twenty-nine at this time.

when most in error. When it suits himself or his party, he can apply himself with the strictest closeness to the real point at issue; when to evade the point is deemed most politic, no man can wander from it more widely.' Mr. Gladstone's talent for amplification has doubtless led the writer in this last phrase to do him an injustice. That which seemed to him an evasion of the question was possibly capable of another explanation, and certainly that which is merely a politic course of action has never been allowed to sway Mr. Gladstone throughout his long public life. He has frequently acted upon impulse—the irresistible impulse of his own convictions. Whether these impulses—generous and sincere as they have ever been—have invariably also been in accord with true political and social progress is a question which has always divided, and will probably continue to divide, public opinion in this country.

Before leaving this part of our subject, we will append, from the writer whose sketches we have just drawn upon, the following personal details respecting Mr. Gladstone and his oratory at this early stage of his Parliamentary career:—

'Mr. Gladstone's appearance and manners are much in his favour. He is a fine looking man. He is about the usual height, and of good figure. His countenance is mild and pleasant, and has a highly intellectual expression. His eyes are clear and quick. His eyebrows are dark and rather prominent. There is not a dandy in the House but envies what Truefit would call his "fine head of jet-black hair." It is always carefully parted from the crown downwards to his brow, where it is tastefully shaded. His features are small (?) and regular, and his complexion must be a very unworthy witness if he does not possess an abundant stock of health.

Mr. Gladstone's gesture is varied, but not violent. When he rises he generally puts both his hands behind his back; and having there suffered them to embrace each other for a short time, he unclasps them, and allows them to drop on either side. They are not permitted to remain long in that locality before you see them again closed together and hanging down before him. Their re-union is not suffered to last for any length of time. Again a separation takes place, and now the right hand is seen moving up and down before him. Having thus exercised it a little, he thrusts it into the pocket of his coat, and then orders the left hand to follow its example. Having granted them a momentary repose there, they are again put into gentle motion; and in a few seconds they are seen reposing *vis-a-vis* on his breast. He moves his face and body from one direction to another, not forgetting to bestow a liberal share of his attention on his own party. He is always listened to with much attention by the House, and appears to be highly respected by men of all parties. He is a man of good business habits; of this he furnished abundant proof when Under-Secretary for the Colonies, during the short-lived administration of Sir Robert Peel.'

In the year 1839 Mr. Gladstone upon two occasions addressed the House on a topic collateral with that of slavery. He strongly opposed the Jamaica Government Bill, for the suspension of the Constitution, introduced by Sir S. Lushington, characterizing it as inconsistent and inexpedient, inasmuch as it would perpetuate the disunion which existed between the different classes of the community. He asserted that it would undermine the confidence

of our colonial fellow-subjects throughout the whole circle of our colonial possessions.

The question of National Education being introduced by Ministers in the House of Commons, on the 14th of June, 1839, Lord Stanley delivered a powerful speech against the proposals of the Government, and concluded by moving an amendment to the effect, 'That an address be presented to her Majesty to rescind the order in council for constituting the proposed Board of Privy Council.' Lord Morpeth defended the Government proposition. While his lordship held his own views respecting the doctrines of the Roman Catholics, and also respecting the Unitarian tenets, he maintained that as long as the State thought proper to employ Roman Catholic sinews, and to finger Unitarian gold, it could not refuse to extend to those by whom it so profited the blessings of education. After speeches by Lord Ashley, Mr. Buller, Mr. O'Connell, and others—in the course of which allusions were made to Mr. Gladstone's work on Church and State—the member for Newark addressed the House. He would not flinch, he said, from a word he had uttered or written upon religious topics; he claimed the privilege of contrasting his principles and trying their results in comparison with those professed by Lord John Russell, and of ascertaining the effects of both upon the institutions of the country, so far as they operated upon the Established Church in England, Scotland, and in Ireland. Turning upon Mr. O'Connell, who had expressed a great fondness for statistics, Mr. Gladstone said the use he had made of them reminded him of an observation of Mr. Canning's. 'He had a great aversion to hear of a fact in debate, but what he most distrusted was a figure.' He then went on to prove the inaccuracy of the hon. member's figures. Replying to Lord Morpeth's declaration concerning the duty of the State to provide education for Dissenters so long as it fingered their gold, Mr. Gladstone said that if the State was to be regarded as having no other function than that of representing the mere will of the people as to religious tenets, he admitted the truth of his principle, but not if they were to hold that the State was capable of duties, and that the State could have a conscience. It was not his habit to revile religion in any form, but he demanded what ground there was for confining the noble lord's reasoning to Christianity. Referring to the position held by the Jews upon this Education question, he read to the House a passage from a recent petition as follows:—'That your petitioners feel the deepest gratitude for the expression of her Majesty's most gracious wish that the youth of this country should be religiously brought up, and the

rights of conscience respected, while they earnestly hope that the education of the people, Jewish and Christian, will be sedulously connected with a due regard to the Holy Scriptures.' Mr. Gladstone asked how was the education of the Jewish people, who considered the New Testament an imposture, to be sedulously connected with a due regard to the Holy Scriptures, which consisted of the Old and the New Testament? To oblige the Jewish children to read the latter would be directly contrary to the principles of hon. gentlemen opposite. He would have no child forced to do so, but he protested against paying from the money of the State a set of men whose business would be to inculcate erroneous doctrines. At the conclusion of the debate the Government carried their motion by a very small majority. Two years later Mr. Gladstone again spoke on the unpopular side, when he opposed the Jews Civil Disabilities Removal Bill. He was on this occasion answered by Mr. (afterwards Lord) Macaulay in a speech of great point and force. The Bill was carried in the Commons, but lost in the Lords.

In the session of 1840 an important debate on the war with China was originated by Sir James Graham, who moved the following resolution:—'That it appears to this House, on consideration of the papers relating to China, presented by command of her Majesty, that the interruption in our commercial and friendly intercourse with that country, and the hostilities which have since taken place, are mainly to be attributed to the want of foresight and precaution on the part of her Majesty's present advisers, in respect to our relations with China, and especially to their neglect to furnish the superintendent at Canton with powers and instructions calculated to provide against the growing evils connected with the contraband traffic in opium, and adapted to the novel and difficult situation in which the superintendent was placed.' On the 8th of April, Mr. Gladstone spoke strongly in favour of the motion of his friend, Sir J. Graham. If it failed to involve the Ministry in condemnation, they would still be called upon to show cause for their intention of making war upon China. Answering the speech of Mr. Macaulay of the previous evening, Mr. Gladstone said, 'The right hon. gentleman opposite spoke last night in eloquent terms of the British flag waving in glory at Canton, and of the animating effects produced on the minds of our sailors by the knowledge that in no country under heaven was it permitted to be insulted. But how comes it to pass that the sight of that flag always raises the spirit of Englishmen? It is because it has always been associated with the cause of justice, with opposition to oppression, with respect to

national rights, with honourable commercial enterprise; but now, under the auspices of the noble lord, that flag is hoisted to protect an infamous contraband traffic, and if it were never to be hoisted except as it is now hoisted on the coast of China, we should recoil from its sight with horror, and should never again feel our hearts thrill, as they now thrill with emotion, when it floats proudly and magnificently on the breeze.' Notwithstanding the eloquence arrayed against them, Ministers obtained a bare majority upon the proposed vote of censure, the numbers being--For Sir J. Graham's motion, 262; against, 271.

The Whig Government, however, which for some time back had been growing very unpopular, was doomed to fall in the following year. Many causes had combined to render the Ministry obnoxious to the country. They had disappointed both their English Dissenting supporters and their Irish allies; and when the session of 1841 opened, their overthrow was felt to be imminent. In financial matters, their policy had proved a complete failure, and had grievously disappointed the nation. The deficit in the revenue this year amounted to no less a sum than two millions and a half. On all sides it was felt that the government of the country must be committed to stronger hands. Accordingly, on the 27th of May, Sir Robert Peel proposed in the Lower House a resolution to the effect that her Majesty's Government did not sufficiently possess the confidence of the House of Commons to enable them to carry through the House measures which they deemed of essential importance to the public welfare; and that their continuance in office under such circumstances was at variance with the spirit of the Constitution. Mr. Gladstone did not speak in this debate, which extended over five nights. On a division Ministers were in a minority of one. For Sir Robert Peel's motion there appeared 312; against, 311. On the 7th of June, Lord John Russell announced that the Ministry would at once dissolve Parliament, and appeal to the country. Parliament was accordingly prorogued on the 22nd, and the country was speedily in the turmoil of a general election. The results of the new elections were known by the end of July, when it was found that Ministers had been defeated, and that with greater loss than even the Tories themselves had anticipated. Of the new members returned the Tories had a great majority. The Liberal seats gained by the Tories were seventy-eight in number, while the Tory seats gained by Liberals were only thirty-eight, thus making a difference of eighty votes on a division. Lord Milton and Lord Morpeth were defeated in West Yorkshire, and Lord Howick in North Northumberland. Mr. Gladstone again stood

for Newark, where he was returned at the head of the poll, with 633 votes. Lord John Manners became his colleague, with 630 votes; Mr. Hobhouse, the Whig candidate, only polling 394 votes.

Parliament met on the 24th of August, and Ministers were defeated in both Houses on the Address. In the House of Commons, at the close of an animated discussion, the numbers were—For the Ministerial Address, 269; amendment, 360—majority against the Government, 91. Ministers now resigned office, and on the 31st of the month Sir Robert Peel accepted her Majesty's commands to form a Ministry. Mr. Gladstone received from his leader the appointments of Vice-President of the Board of Trade and Master of the Mint. In appearing on the hustings at Newark, he said there were two points upon which the British farmer might rely—the first being that adequate protection would be given to him, and the second that protection would be given him through the means of the sliding scale. There was no English statesman who could foresee at this period the results of that extraordinary agitation which, in the course of the next five years, was destined to secure the abrogation of the Corn Laws. Before this consummation arrived, Mr. Gladstone was to demonstrate that he not only possessed the arts of a fluent and vigorous Parliamentary debater, but the more solid qualities pertaining to the practical statesman and the financier.

We close this division of the present work by certain references to its subject of a personal and domestic nature. In the month of July, 1839, Mr. Gladstone was married to a lady who is almost as distinguished for her many benevolent and social qualities as Mr. Gladstone is in political and public life. The name of Mrs. Gladstone is widely known as that of a practical philanthropist, while to Mr. Gladstone himself—we may, perhaps, be pardoned for saying—she has ever been that interested sharer in his triumphs and consoler in his defeats, which the late Viscountess Beaconsfield was to his Parliamentary rival. Mrs. Gladstone was Miss Catherine Glynne, daughter of Sir Stephen Richard Glynne, of Hawarden Castle, Flintshire. Their union has been blessed by eight children, all of whom, save one, still survive. Of the four sons, the eldest, William Henry, is a member of the Legislature, and the second, the Rev. Stephen Edward Gladstone, is rector of Hawarden. The third and fourth sons are named Henry Neville and Herbert John Gladstone respectively. The former pursues a commercial career. Mr. Gladstone's eldest daughter, Anne, is married to the Rev. E. C. Wickham, M.A., head-master of

Wellington College; the second daughter, Miss Catherine Jessy Gladstone, died in 1850. Two other daughters still survive in addition to Mrs. Wickham, viz., the Misses Mary and Helen Gladstone. As Sir John Gladstone had the pleasure of seeing his son William Ewart become a distinguished member of the British Senate, so Mr. Gladstone in his turn was able to witness his eldest son take his seat in the House of Commons. Mrs. Gladstone's sister, Miss Mary Glynne, became the wife of Lord Lyttelton, with whom Mr. Gladstone was on terms of the most intimate friendship until his lordship's untoward and lamented death.

CHAPTER V.

MR. GLADSTONE ON CHURCH AND STATE.

Mr. Gladstone's Position in the Controversy—His Work on *The State in its Relations with the Church*—Plan and Analysis of the Treatise—A Defence of the Irish Church—Reasons for a Church Establishment—Macaulay's Criticism upon the Work—Its Defects—Article in the *Quarterly Review*—Tribute to the Author's Style—*Church Principles considered in their Results*—Why the Work was undertaken—Its Scope and Objects—*A Chapter of Autobiography*—Causes of its Appearance—The Author's frank Acknowledgment of a New Departure—Why the Irish Establishment could not be maintained—Mr. Gladstone's Changes of Opinion variously regarded.

WE shall now endeavour briefly to indicate Mr. Gladstone's position in the controversy on Church and State. To the perception that the *status* of the Church, in its connection with the secular power, was about to undergo the severe assaults of the opponents of the Union, was due his first published work, *The State in its Relations with the Church.* Preparations were already being made for attacking the national establishment of religion; and with all the fervour springing from conviction and a deep-seated enthusiasm, the member for Newark came forward to break a lance in its defence. To the ability with which he did this, even his opponents have testified. Macaulay, in his well-known searching criticism, said, 'We believe we do him no more than justice when we say that his abilities and demeanour have obtained for him the respect and good-will of all parties.' Again, 'That a young politician should, in the intervals afforded by his Parliamentary avocations, have constructed and propounded, with much study and mental toil, an original theory on a great problem in politics, is a circumstance which, abstracted from all consideration of the soundness or unsoundness of his opinions, must be considered as highly creditable to him. We certainly cannot wish that Mr. Gladstone's doctrines may become fashionable among public men. But we heartily wish that his laudable desire to penetrate beneath the surface of questions, and to arrive, by long and intent meditation, at the knowledge of great general laws, were much more fashionable than we at all expect it to become.' Many of the positions which Mr. Gladstone assumed in this

work have since been abandoned as untenable; but making allowance for the fact that these positions were readily exposed to the attack of the brilliant writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, it should still be borne in mind that Macaulay's destructive criticism owes much of its force, not to its inherent logic, but to its clever demonstration of the fallacies and weak illustrations of the author.

The treatise is 'inscribed to the University of Oxford; tried and not found wanting through the vicissitudes of a thousand years; in the belief that she is providentially designed to be a fountain of blessings, spiritual, social, and intellectual, to this and to other countries, to the present and future times; and in the hope that the temper of these pages may be found not alien from her own.'* Three years after the original publication a fourth edition appeared, revised and considerably enlarged. In his preface to this edition Mr. Gladstone gives the grounds upon which he first undertook the work. In the years 1837 and 1838 a very powerful feeling had been aroused amongst the English people in favour of the national establishment; and as popular feeling does not always discover those forms most closely allied with truth, Mr. Gladstone was afraid of the contingency that the affections thus called into vivid action might content themselves with a theory which teaches, indeed, that the State should support religion, but neither sufficiently explores the grounds of that proposition nor intelligibly limits the religion so to be supported; and which also seems relatively to assign too great a prominence to that kind of support which taxation supplies. The author anticipates that such a theory would neither guarantee purity of faith nor harmony nor permanence of operation. Disclaiming all pretensions to an adequate development of the profound and comprehensive question he had essayed to discuss, Mr. Gladstone hoped to do something to meet the need indicated. As he had himself discovered grave faults in abler and earlier writers upon Church and State, he did not complain of the censure passed upon his own work, but set down many of the important misapprehensions to which it had given rise to his own account. Mr. Gladstone met the prominent objection, that the doctrine of a conscience in the nation or the State implied a tendency towards exclusion, or even persecution, by the following general question:—'What political or relative doctrine is there which does not become an absurdity when

* An interesting copy of the first edition of this work, containing copious notes by his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, will be found in the British Museum. The Duke appears from these notes to have been not only a diligent reader, but an interested critic.

pushed to its extremes? The taxing powers of the State, the prerogatives of the Crown to dissolve Parliaments and to create peers, the right of the House of Commons to withhold supplies, the right of the subject, not to civil franchises only, but even to security of person and property,—all these, the plain uncontested rules of our Constitution, become severally monstrous and intolerable when they are regarded in a partial and exclusive aspect.' The opponents of Mr. Gladstone's theories of course answered that the taxation of the State is equal upon all persons, and has for its object their individual, social, and political welfare and safety; but that the taxation of one man for the support of his neighbour's religion does not come within the limits of such taxation, and is, in fact, unjust and inequitable.

It appeared to the author that in an age which leant towards a rigidly ecclesiastical organisation of the State, it was wise and laudable to plead warmly for the rights of the individual conscience; but in an age which seemed inclined to secularise the State, and ultimately to curtail or overthrow civil liberty by the subtraction of its religious guarantees, to declaim against intolerance became a secondary duty, and it was infinitely more important and more rational to plead earnestly for those great ethical laws under which we are socially constituted, and which economical speculations and material interests had threatened altogether to subvert. While acknowledging still the defects of his work as a treatise upon a portion of political science, he objected to the dictum that no man should write upon a subject of political science until he was so completely master of it as to give it *vice simplici* a perfect development. He added that the spirit and intention of the book, as well as his view of the principles upon which its whole argument was constructed, remained altogether unchanged.

In his introductory chapter, Mr. Gladstone states his special reasons for entertaining the subject, and briefly touches upon the theories of Hooker, Warburton, Paley, Burke, Coleridge, Chalmers, Hobbes, Bellarmine, and others. He quotes the Puritan historian Neal to show that a State may give sufficient encouragement to a national religion without invading the liberties of dissidents. The writer then devotes himself to an examination of the theory of the connection between the Church and the State, treating first of the duty of the State in respect to religion, and, secondly, of the inducements of the State in respect to religion. The third aspect of the question dealt with is the ability of the State in respect to

religion. Next we have an elaborate argument on the function of the State in the choice and the defence of the national religion, followed by an examination of the subsisting connection between the State of the United Kingdom and the Church of England and Ireland. The seventh chapter of the work is concerned with the Reformation as relating to the doctrine and practice of private judgment; the eighth deals with the doctrine and practice of private judgment as it is related to the Union between Church and State; the ninth furnishes details of the present administrative practice of the State of the United Kingdom; and the tenth and concluding chapter shows the ulterior tendencies of the movement towards the dissolution of the connection.

From the opening chapter of the second volume of this treatise—a chapter treating of the then subsisting connection between the State of the United Kingdom and the Church of England and Ireland—we will quote a passage giving Mr. Gladstone's view at this period of his life upon the relations of the Church as affecting Ireland in particular. This passage not only affords a favourable specimen of the author's style, but it will serve as a landmark, indicating the changes that have taken place in his mind since the time when he thus eloquently expounded principles that have long ago in part been modified, and in part abandoned:—

'The Protestant legislature of the British Empire maintains in the possession of the Church property of Ireland the ministers of a creed professed, according to the parliamentary enumeration of 1835, by one-ninth of its population, regarded with partial favour by scarcely another ninth, and disowned by the remaining seven. And not only does this anomaly meet us full in view, but we have also to consider and digest the fact, that the maintenance of this Church for near three centuries in Ireland has been contemporaneous with a system of partial and abusive government, varying in degree of culpability, but rarely, until of later years when we have been forced to look at the subject and to feel it, to be exempted in common fairness from the reproach of gross inattention (to say the very least) to the interests of a noble but neglected people.

But however formidable at first sight these admissions, which I have no desire to narrow or to qualify, may appear, they in no way shake the foregoing arguments. They do not change the nature of truth and her capability and destiny to benefit mankind. They do not relieve Government of its responsibility, if they show that that responsibility was once unfelt and unsatisfied. They place the legislature of this country in the condition, as it were, of one called to do penance for past offences; but duty remains unaltered and imperative, and abates nothing of her demand on our services. It is undoubtedly competent, in a constitutional view, to the Government of this country, to continue the present disposition of Church property in Ireland. It appears not too much to assume that our imperial legislature has been qualified to take, and has taken in point of fact, a sounder view of religious truth than the majority of the people of Ireland, in their destitute and uninstructed state. We believe, accordingly, that that which we place before them is, whether they know it or not, calculated to be beneficial to them; and that if they know it not now, they will know it when it is presented to them fairly. Shall we, then, purchase their applause at the expense of their substantial, nay, their spiritual interests?

It does, indeed, so happen that there are also powerful motives on the other

side concurring with that which has here been represented as paramount. In the first instance we are not called upon to establish a creed, but only to maintain an existing legal settlement, where our constitutional right is undoubted. In the second, political considerations tend strongly to recommend that maintenance. A common form of faith binds the Irish Protestants to ourselves, while they, upon the other hand, are fast linked to Ireland; and thus they supply the most natural bond of connection between the countries. But if England, by overthrowing their Church, should weaken their moral position, they would be no longer able, perhaps no longer willing, to counteract the desires of the majority tending, under the direction of their leaders (however, by a wise policy, revocable from that fatal course), to what is termed national independence. Pride and fear, on the one hand, are therefore bearing up against more immediate apprehension and difficulty on the other. And with some men these may be the fundamental considerations; but it may be doubted whether such men will not flinch in some stage of the contest, should its aspect at any moment become unfavourable.'

Mr. Gladstone thus summarises his chief reasons for the maintenance of the Church Establishment:—'Because the Government stands with us in a paternal relation to the people, and is bound in all things to consider not merely their existing tastes, but the capabilities and ways of their improvement; because it has both an intrinsic competency and external means to amend and assist their choice; because to be in accordance with God's mind and will it must have a religion, and because to be in accordance with its conscience that religion must be the truth, as held by it under the most solemn and accumulated responsibilities; because this is the only sanctifying and preserving principle of society, as well as to the individual that particular benefit without which all others are worse than valueless; we must disregard the din of political contention, and the pressure of worldly and momentary motives, and in behalf of our regard to man, as well as of our allegiance to God, maintain among ourselves, where happily it still exists, the union between the Church and the State.'

Macaulay observed that Mr. Gladstone's whole theory in this work rested upon one great fundamental proposition, viz., that the propagation of religious truth is one of the chief ends of government, *as* government; and he proceeded to combat this theory. Admitting that government was designed to protect our persons and our property, the critic declined to receive the doctrine of paternal government, until some such government should be shown as loved its subjects as a father loves his child, and was as superior in intelligence to its subjects as a father was to his child. Macaulay then demonstrated, by happy illustrations, the fallacy of the doctrine that every association of human beings which exercises any power whatever is bound, as such an association, to profess a religion. Further, there could be unity of action in large bodies without unity of religious views. Persecutions would naturally follow, or be justifiable, in a society where Mr. Gladstone's views were

paramount. No circumstances could be conceived in which it would be proper to establish, as the one exclusive religion of the State, the religion of the minority. The religious instruction which the ruler ought, in his public capacity, to patronise, is the instruction from which he, in his conscience, believes that the people will learn the most good with the smallest mixture of evil. It is not necessarily his own religion that he will select. He may prefer the doctrines of the Church of England to those of the Church of Scotland, but he would not force the former upon the inhabitants of Scotland. These were the objections raised by Macaulay, though he goes on to state the conditions under which an established Church might be retained with advantage. There are many institutions which, being set up, ought not to be rudely pulled down.

In addition to the adverse comments it elicited from eminent Dissenters, the dissertation was dealt with by the *Quarterly Review* from yet another stand-point. Here, the writer remarked that as a necessary consequence of a profounder philosophy than that of Coleridge and similar thinkers, Mr. Gladstone had taken far higher grounds in his argument than had been occupied by the defenders of the Church for many years. 'He has seen through the weakness and fallacy of the line of reasoning pursued by Warburton and Paley. And he has most wisely abandoned the argument from expediency, which offers little more than an easy weapon to fence with, while no real danger is apprehended; and has insisted chiefly on the claims of duty and truth—the only consideration which can animate and support men in a real struggle against false principles.' The reviewer, nevertheless, manifested considerable divergence from some of Mr. Gladstone's theories, and he observed that a popular Government cannot long maintain a religion which is opposed to the feelings of the nation. If the people of this country combined to attack the Church, the King, Lords, and Commons would be compelled to abandon it. Mr. Gladstone supported this view when, thirty years later, he disestablished the Irish Church. The *Quarterly* reviewer proceeded to argue that morality in a State cannot be established without religion, that religion should be the object of Government, and that to preserve the Church with the State, the great body of the nation must be brought back to it.

Commenting upon the style in which Mr. Gladstone's first work was written, the same writer eulogised its singular vigour, depth of thought, and eloquence. Mr. Gladstone 'is evidently not an ordinary character; though it is to be hoped that many others are now forming themselves in the same school with him,

to act hereafter upon the same principles. And the highest compliment which we can pay him is to show that we believe him to be what a statesman and philosopher should be—indifferent to his own reputation for talents, and only anxious for truth and right.' Lord Macaulay observed upon the same question of style, 'Mr. Gladstone seems to us to be, in many respects, exceedingly well qualified for philosophical investigation. His mind is of large grasp; nor is he deficient in dialectical skill. But he does not give his intellect fair play. There is no want of light, but a great want of what Bacon would have called dry light. Whatever Mr. Gladstone sees is refracted and distorted by a false medium of passions and prejudices. His style bears a remarkable analogy to his mode of thinking, and indeed exercises great influence on his mode of thinking. His rhetoric, though often good of its kind, darkens and perplexes the logic which it should illustrate. Half his acuteness and diligence, with a barren imagination and a scanty vocabulary, would have saved him from almost all his mistakes. He has one gift most dangerous to a speculator—a vast command of a kind of language, grave and majestic, but of vague and uncertain import,—of a kind of language which affects us much in the same way in which the lofty diction of the Chorus of Clouds affected the simple-hearted Athenian.' It is a dangerous and transparent haze, the critic complains, like that through which the sailor sees capes and mountains of false sizes, and in false bearings—more perilous than utter darkness. Mr. Gladstone had of course the faults of rhetoric and of argument almost inseparable from youth, but this vigorous denunciation of his style by Lord Macaulay, accurate as it is in many respects, probably owed some of its point to the critic's antipathy to his theories. As regards the theories themselves, it is not within our province, nor is it our purpose, to defend them. Their propounder, as we shall presently see, has himself in large measure abandoned them.

In 1840 Mr. Gladstone followed up his defence of the union of Church and State, by the publication of another work on a subject nearly related thereto, entitled *Church Principles Considered in their Results*. This was written 'beneath the shades of Hagley,' and dedicated 'in token of sincere affection' to the author's life-long friend and relative, Lord Lyttelton. In a preliminary chapter Mr. Gladstone points out that periods of reaction and variation may be expected in religion, compatibly with the permanence of the Faith. The Church was at that moment going through a period of transition, the old forms battling with the new. Indicating the course of procedure in

his new treatise, he says that he shall attempt, in the first instance, to present a familiar or partial representation of the moral characteristics and effects of those doctrines which are now perhaps more than ever felt in the English Church to be full of intrinsic value, and which likewise appear to have much special adaptation to the circumstances of the time. These characteristics he defines more particularly to be (leaving out points for the most part minor) the doctrine of the visibility of the Church, of the apostolical succession in the ministry, of the authority of the Church in matters of faith, of the things signified in the sacraments. Having dealt with the right of private judgment in his previous work, he should forbear from re-opening that topic. Before coming to his real subject-matter, however, Mr. Gladstone devotes a chapter to Rationalism, endeavouring to define the proper work of the understanding, and also indicating the limits of its province. This the writer understands to be the true view of Rationalism, 'That Rationalism is generally taken to be a reference of Christian doctrine to the human understanding as its measure and criterion. That, in truth, it means a reference of the Gospel to the depraved standard of the actual human nature, and by no means to its understanding, properly so called, which is an instrumental faculty, and reasons and concludes upon the Gospel according to the mode in which our affections are disposed towards it. That the understanding is incompetent to determine the state of the affections, but is, on the contrary, governed by them in respect to the elementary ideas of religion. That, therefore, to rely upon the understanding, misinformed as it is by depraved affections, as our adequate instructor in matters of religion, is most highly irrational. That, without any prejudice to these conclusions, the understanding has a great function in religion, and is a medium of access to the affections, and may even correct their particular impulses.'

He then proceeds to treat of the Church, the sacraments, the apostolical succession, the specific claim of the Church of England, and Church principles in relation to existing circumstances. With regard to the reconversion of England to Rome—earnestly desired by some—Mr. Gladstone asks, 'England, which with ill grace, and ceaseless efforts at remonstrance, endured the yoke when Rome was in her zenith, and when the powers of thought were but here and there evoked—will the same England, afraid of the truth which she has vindicated, or even with the licence which has mingled like a weed with its growth, recur to that system in its decrepitude which she repudiated in its vigour?' If the Church of England should be worsted, she will be worsted

not by an undistinguishing repentance, and a precipitate self-submission, a hurrying back to Romanism, 'but by that principle of religious insubordination and self-dependence which, if it refuse her tempered rule and succeed in its overthrow, will much more surely refuse, and much more easily succeed in resisting, the unequivocally arbitrary impositions of the Roman scheme.' Here we have the key-note of many of Mr. Gladstone's utterances in later years upon the subject of Rome, her pretensions and aspirations. Though frequently charged with drifting towards the Romish Church, that Church has had in some respects no more persistent and consistent opponent. In this matter, he held precisely the same opinions in 1840 and 1870. It must be admitted, however, coming now to another question, that the surprise evinced by English Protestants was but natural, when one who took so high a view of the duties and privileges of the Established Church became, a generation later, an advocate for the disestablishment of the Irish branch of that Church. That surprise would probably have been less had not Mr. Gladstone written with such eloquence and ability upon the duty of maintaining the Church in Ireland as by law established, for the benefit alike of those who belonged and those who did not belong to her communion. Mr. Gladstone himself felt that some explanation was due of the circumstances which led the author of *The State in its Relations with the Church* to become the destroyer of the State fabric of the Irish Church. He accordingly published, in 1868, *A Chapter of Autobiography*. This treatise must be read together with, and by the light of, his early ecclesiastical writings. By this means the great transition which must have been wrought in the author's mind will not seem so strange and harsh. It should be remembered, moreover, that the value of certain principles may, under given circumstances, prove evanescent. They are not eternally and immutably applicable. Founded upon, and deriving their force from, existing conditions of society, when those conditions radically change they necessarily become effete.

Some reference to Mr. Gladstone's apology for, and defence of, his later conduct in connection with the Church in Ireland will most fitly come in at this point. His treatise appeared with the following introduction:—'At a time when the Established Church of Ireland is on her trial it is not unfair that her assailants should be placed upon their trial too; most of all, if they have at one time been her sanguine defenders. But if not, the matter of the indictment against them, at any rate that of their defence, should be kept apart, as far as they are concerned, from the public controversy, that it may not darken or perplex the greater issue. It is in the character of the author of a book called *The*

State in its Relations with the Church that I offer these pages to those who may feel a disposition to examine them. They were written at the date attached to them; but their publication has been delayed until after the stress of the general election.' The author's motives in putting forth this chapter of autobiography were two. First, there was 'the great and glaring change' in his course of action with respect to the Established Church of Ireland, which was not due to the eccentricity or perversion of an individual mind, but to the silent changes going on at the very basis of modern society. Secondly, there was danger that a great cause then in progress might suffer in point of credit, if not of energy and rapidity, from the real or supposed delinquencies of the author.

After citing instances in the present century of what was called political inconsistency on the part of eminent statesmen, Mr. Gladstone claims that we are not at once to jump to the conclusion that public character has been, as a rule, either less upright or less vigorous. He then proceeds to say that the book which was so brilliantly, if not quite fairly, assailed by Lord Macaulay was supposed to have for its distinctive principle that the State had a conscience. But the controversy really lay not in the existence of a conscience in the State, so much as in the extent of its range. 'The work attempted to survey the actual state of the relations between the State and the Church; to show from history the ground which had been defined for the National Church at the Reformation; and to inquire and determine whether the existing state of things was worth preserving and defending against encroachment from whatever quarter. This question it decided emphatically in the affirmative.' Lord Macaulay had added to the main proposition of the work another, to the effect that it contemplated not indeed persecution, but yet the retrogressive process of disabling and disqualifying from civil office all those who did not adhere to the religion of the State. Mr. Gladstone wrote to his hostile critic disclaiming such a conclusion. He had never expressed himself to the effect either that the Test Act should be repealed, or that it should never have been passed. The author had upheld the doctrine that the Church was to be maintained for its truth, and that if the principle was good for England, it was good also for Ireland. But he denied that he had ever propounded the maxim *simpliciter* that we were to maintain the Establishment. He admitted that his opinion of the Church of Ireland was the exact opposite of what it had been; but if the propositions of his work were in conflict with an assault upon the existence of the Irish Establishment, they were even more hostile

to the grounds upon which it was now sought to maintain it. He did not wish to maintain the Church upon the basis usually advanced, but for the benefit of the whole people of Ireland; and if it could not be maintained as the truth, it could not be maintained at all.

Mr. Gladstone then admits and enlarges upon the fact that while it was a duty to exhaust every chance on behalf of the Irish Church, it had fallen out of harmony with the spirit and use of the time. And establishments of religion must be judged by a practical rather than a theoretic test. In concluding his *Chapter of Autobiography*, the author thus puts antithetically the case for and against the maintenance of the Church in Ireland:—'An establishment that does its work in much, and has the hope and likelihood of doing it in more: an establishment that has a broad and living way open to it, into the hearts of the people: an establishment that can command the services of the present by the recollections and traditions of a far-reaching past: an establishment able to appeal to the active zeal of the greater portion of the people, and to the respect or scruples of almost the whole, whose children dwell chiefly on her actual living work and service, and whose adversaries, if she has them, are in the main content to believe that there will be a future for them and their opinions: such an establishment should surely be maintained. But an establishment that neither does, nor has her hope of doing, work, except for a few, and those few the portion of the community whose claim to public aid is the smallest of all: an establishment severed from the mass of the people by an impassable gulf, and by a wall of brass: an establishment whose good offices, could she offer them, would be intercepted by a long, unbroken chain of painful and shameful recollections: an establishment leaning for support upon the extraneous aid of a State, which becomes discredited with the people by the very act of lending it: such an establishment will do well, for its own sake, and for the sake of its creed, to divest itself, as soon as may be, of gauds and trappings, and to commence a new career, in which, renouncing at once the credit and the discredit of the civil sanction, it shall seek its strength from within and put a fearless trust in the message that it bears.'

Such then, very briefly, are the arguments which led the defender of the Irish Church to become its assailant. That a man should change his opinions is no reproach to him; it is only inferior minds that are never open to conviction. On Church questions, Mr. Gladstone must always, and necessarily, have his opponents and his apologists. The former will urge that, having once cherished and expressed the views which he formulated in

his early work upon the Church and State, he ought never to have abandoned them: the latter will welcome the change that came at an advanced stage in his career, and recognise in it the light of a nobler conviction. Both, we trust, without violence to charity, may yield the eminent statesman credit for the sincerity of his later beliefs, and the honesty of his purpose.

CHAPTER VI.

MEMORABLE DECADE—1841-1850.

Policy of Sir Robert Peel—New Sliding Scale of Corn Duties—Distress and Dissatisfaction in the Country—Corn Law Debates—The Budget of 1842—The Revised Tariff Scheme—Largely the Work of Mr. Gladstone—Lord Howick's Motion on the Distress in the Manufacturing Industry—Mr. Gladstone becomes President of the Board of Trade—Abolition of the Restrictions on the Export of Machinery—Mr. Gladstone on Education—The Railway Bill of 1844—Religious Endowments of Dissenters—Mr. Gladstone's Resignation of Office—The Maynooth Question—Remarks upon recent Commercial Legislation—Repeal of the Corn Laws announced—Mr. Gladstone accepts the Secretaryship for the Colonies—Endorses Sir Robert Peel's Corn Law Policy—Retires from Newark—Mr. Gladstone and Free Trade—Sir Robert Peel's Measure carried—Defeat of the Peel Government—A Whig Ministry—Mr. Gladstone returned for Oxford University—Jewish Disabilities—1848—A Year of Revolution—Financial Measures of the Government—Mr. Gladstone's Defence of Free Trade—Diplomatic Relations with Rome—Parliamentary Oaths—Speech on the Navigation Laws—The Affairs of Canada—Colonial Reforms—Mr. Gladstone on Agricultural Depression—The Australian Colonies Government Bill—Slavery and the Sugar Duties—State of the Universities—Great Debate on the Foreign Policy of the Government—The Affairs of Greece—Remarkable Speech by Mr. Gladstone—Death of Sir Robert Peel—Disintegration of his Party—Mr. Gladstone and Sir James Graham.

IN the brief sitting of Parliament which followed Sir Robert Peel's accession to office in 1841, the Premier was questioned by his opponents as to his future policy. There had been hitherto no indications of this save in the scattered utterances of newly-appointed Ministers appealing for the confidence of their constituencies. Sir Robert Peel naturally declined to state the nature of the measures which he contemplated maturing in the recess, and claimed the intervening months for the purpose of constructing his political programme. On his motion for a Committee of Supply on the 17th of September, a lengthened debate ensued on the policy of the past as compared with the new Government. An amendment, moved by Mr. Fielden, to the effect that it was the duty of the House to inquire into the existing distress before voting supplies, was defeated by 149 to 41 votes. Three weeks later Parliament was prorogued by Royal Commission.

The following session, however, was marked by several measures of a high practical character. The condition of the country at this time was lamentable; distress and discontent were

widely prevalent, and the difficulties of the Government were enhanced by popular tumults. On the 9th of February Sir Robert Peel brought forward his new sliding scale of corn duties in the House of Commons. He proposed that a duty of twenty shillings should be levied when wheat was at fifty-one shillings per quarter, to descend to one shilling when the price was seventy-three, with rests at intermediate prices, intended to diminish the possibility of tampering with the averages. Having detailed the remaining portions of his plan, the Premier said he considered the present not an unfavourable time for discussing the question of the Corn Laws. 'There was no great stock of foreign growth on hand to alarm farmers; the recess, notwithstanding the distress, had been marked by universal calm; there was no popular violence to interrupt legislation; and there was a disposition to view any proposal for the adjustment of the question with calmness and moderation.' The Minister's view of the national situation was not altogether in accordance with the published facts, for her Majesty even, on her appearance at the London theatres, had been hooted. But Sir Robert Peel's opinion of what was comparative quietude was quickly and rudely disturbed. Great excitement prevailed throughout the country; and, in order to give effect to the popular voice, on the 14th of February, on the motion for the Speaker to leave the chair, preparatory to a discussion in committee on the Corn Laws, Lord John Russell moved as an amendment, 'That this House, considering the evils which have been caused by the present Corn Laws, and especially by the fluctuation of the graduated or sliding scale, is not prepared to adopt the measure of her Majesty's Government, which is founded on the same principles, and is likely to be attended by similar results.'

It fell to Mr. Gladstone to lead the opposition to this motion. He denied that the proposed plan was founded on the same principle as the existing one, except, indeed, as both involved a sliding scale. The existing law was not chargeable with the present mass of distress, which he attributed rather to the unavoidable fluctuation of the seasons. Four successive bad harvests must result in producing high prices of food. He adduced a series of illustrations to show that these unavoidable fluctuations were not aggravated by the Corn Laws, and he contrasted the working of Lord John Russell's plan with that of Sir Robert Peel, insisting upon the great superiority of the latter. As to the late drains of the currency, he did not believe that they could have been prevented by a fixed duty; they must have followed as the necessary consequence of bad harvests, whatever the rate of import duties had been. A uniform

protection could not be given to corn, as it could be to other articles, because at high prices of corn no duty could be maintained; therefore, at low prices, it was just to give a duty which would be an effectual protection. 'Between the opposite extremes of those who thought with the Anti-Corn Law Convention and those who thought with the Agricultural Association of Boston, he believed that the measure of Government was a fair medium; and that it would give relief to consumers, steadiness to prices, an increase to foreign trade, and a general improvement of the condition of the country.* The debate which followed was characterised by vigorous speeches from Mr. Roebuck and Lord Palmerston. Lord John Russell's amendment was negatived by a majority of 123, the numbers being—For the amendment, 226; against, 349. By way of contradiction to Sir Robert Peel's statement that the country was tranquil, the Premier himself had the honour of being burnt in effigy during a lively riot at Northampton, and a similar forcible expression of opinion occurred in other towns.

On the 24th, Mr. Villiers—to whose unselfish and untiring efforts on behalf of Free Trade too warm a tribute cannot be paid—brought forward a motion for the immediate repeal of the Corn Laws, but his resolution was lost by the enormous majority of 303 in a House composed of less than 500 members. The Commons had not yet begun to march with the people on this great question. On the 11th of March the Budget was introduced by Sir Robert Peel. There was a deficit, he said, of £2,750,000; and the utmost limit of taxation upon articles of consumption had been reached. He therefore proposed a tax on incomes, calculated to produce £3,700,000; the Irish equalised stamp and spirit duties would give £410,000; and an export duty of four shillings on coal would yield £200,000. The surplus thus obtained he should apply to a reduction of duties in a revised tariff. The Budget had for its chief object the taxation of wealth and the relief of manufacturing industry. The income-tax, calculated at 7d. per pound on incomes of £150 and upwards, was to be limited for three years, with a possible extension to five at the discretion of the House. The resolutions upon the income-tax

* See the *Annual Register* for 1842, and also *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*. As the author, in every instance, quotes only from authentic reports of the speeches of Mr. Gladstone and other members of the Legislature, he has not deemed it necessary to burden his pages with foot-notes giving the formal references to pages and columns. In addition to the authorities above-mentioned, he would also acknowledge the valuable aid he has received in regard to dates, facts, and in some instances public addresses, from Irving's *Annals of our Time*, Maunder's *Treasury of History* (new edition, edited by the Rev. G. W. Cox), and the daily journals. In every important Parliamentary speech, however, he has relied upon *Hansard*.

were carried early in April with very little opposition. Some days later Lord John Russell was defeated, by a majority of 106, in an attempt to overthrow the Government scheme, and a bill founded on these fiscal propositions was subsequently passed.

The second branch of the financial plan of the Government, the revised Tariff or Customs Duties scheme, was a formidable undertaking. Though brought into the House by the Prime Minister, it was understood to be almost wholly the work of his able lieutenant, Mr. Gladstone. Out of some 1,200 duty-paying articles, a total abolition, or a considerable reduction, took place in no fewer than 750 of such articles. Sir Robert Peel's boast, that he had endeavoured to relieve manufacturing industry, was more than justified by this great and comprehensive measure. He had acknowledged, amidst loud cheers from the Opposition, that all were agreed in the general rule that we should purchase in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest; but he added, 'If I proposed a greater change in the Corn Laws than that which I submit to the consideration of the House, I should only aggravate the distress of the country, and only increase the alarm which prevails among important interests.' Mr. Hume, however, hailed with joy the appearance of the Premier and his colleagues as converts to the principles of Free Trade. Mr. Gladstone replied that though it was not worth while now to discuss who were the authors of the principles on which the Government measure was founded, he must enter his protest against the statement that the Ministry came forward as converts to principles which they had formerly opposed. The late Government had certainly done very little for the principles of commercial relaxation.

Again and again, during the progress of the Tariffs Bill, was Mr. Gladstone called upon to defend the details of the Government scheme. Something was said upon almost every article of consumption included in or excluded from the plan; but it was admitted on all hands that great fiscal reforms had been conceived and executed. No measure with which Mr. Gladstone's name has since been connected more fully attested his mastery over detail, his power of comprehending the commercial interests of the country, or his capacity as a practical statesman in suggesting the best means for relieving the manufacturing industries of their burdens, than the revised Tariff scheme of 1842. Some idea of the strain involved upon him during this session may be gathered from the fact that *Hansard* records he rose to his feet no fewer than 129 times, in connection with measures before the House, but chiefly touching the provisions of the Tariff Bill. A writer, by no means favourable to the Tories, says of the session of 1842, 'The nation saw and felt

that its business was understood and accomplished, and the House of Commons was no longer like a sleeper under a nightmare. The long session was a busy one. The Queen wore a cheerful air when she thanked her Parliament for their effectual labours. The Opposition was such as could no longer impede the operations of the next session. The condition of the country was fearful enough; but something was done for its future improvement, and the way was now shown to be open for further beneficent legislation.*

But the distress in the country nerved the Corn Law reformers to renewed efforts. Scarcely had the session of 1843 opened, when Lord Howick called for a committee of the whole House to consider the reference in the Queen's Speech to the long-continued depression of manufacturing industry. Mr. Gladstone opposed the motion, delivering a long speech in rejoinder. Admitting the distress, he said he could assign various causes for it; the country was familiar with the fact, and so was the House, and no good could come from such a motion. The noble lord proposed to renew past and present agitations with tenfold violence, for he had not thought fit to state the measures upon which he had depended for the relief of the distress of the country. The Corn Laws were at the root of the matter, and yet there was a difficulty felt how to unite the noble lord and his friends, who were so divided in opinion as to what ought to follow the repeal of the Corn Laws; and he thought it must have been clear that the movement in favour of the fixed duty could not be repeated. The question between the Government and the Opposition was not really so great as the latter wished to make out. It was simply one as to the amount of relaxation the country could bear in the duties. It was the intention of the First Lord of the Treasury to attain his object 'by increasing the employment of the people, by cheapening the prices of the articles of consumption, as also the materials of industry, by encouraging the means of exchange with foreign nations, and thereby encouraging in return an extension of the export trade; but besides all this, if he understood the measure of the Government last year, it was proposed that the relaxation should be practically so limited as to cause no violent shock to existing interests, such as would have the tendency of displacing that labour which was now employed, and which, if displaced, would be unable to find another field.' Mr. Gladstone proceeded to show that the measure of the previous year had resulted in no great shock to any commercial industry, nor had it displaced

* Harriet Martineau.—*History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace.*

English labour. He desired members to ask themselves the question, Whether or not they were in a condition to repeal the Corn Laws without the displacement of a vast mass of labour? He was not prepared to abandon the principle of the Corn Law while the principle of Protection was applied to other articles of commerce. The speaker also demonstrated the working of foreign duties in neutralising the benefit of greater cheapness of imported commodities as compared with those produced at home. Alluding to the American tariff, he demanded what better was the British manufacturer if he escaped paying twenty per cent. to British agriculture, and had to pay forty per cent. to the American Government? Foreign countries were not disposed to be taught the true principles of trade. The only question, he repeated, before the House, was one of time and degree. 'That view had been recognised in this country for the last twenty-five years by every Government which had successively held office; there was no one who held office during that period who had not introduced measures in the nature of relaxation of our commercial code. But he must say that the Government to which right hon. gentlemen and noble lords opposite belonged was, of all others, most slack in introducing such measures until the memorable year 1841.'

Sir Robert Peel concluded this debate with an eloquent speech, and Lord Howick's motion was defeated by a majority of 115. The question of the Corn Laws, however, was not suffered to sleep, for on the 16th of May Mr. Villiers moved for a committee of the whole House upon the subject. Mr. Gladstone opposed the motion in a speech devoted rather to details than general principles. His address bristled with facts, and the gist of his argument was that, in the absence both of experiment and of altered circumstances to justify it, a change so soon after the adjustment of the law would be a step ruinous in itself, and a breach of contract. The motion, nevertheless, was not rejected by so large a majority as in the previous year, the numbers being—For Mr. Villiers's resolution, 125; against, 381. A month later Lord John Russell re-opened the whole subject, whereupon Mr. Gladstone strongly protested against the constant renewal of uneasiness in the country by successive motions of this kind in Parliament. It was unjust not to give a fair trial to the existing law; and he believed that the agriculturists in general, though dissatisfied with present prices, were not dissatisfied with the law. When the division came the Ministerial majority was found to have again diminished, the numbers being—For Lord John Russell's motion, 145; against, 244. Mr. Gladstone spoke in the same

session upon the subject of the Canadian Corn Laws. The Government carried a bill embodying a series of resolutions by Lord Stanley, securing a reduction of the duties on corn imported from Canada. A motion introduced by Mr. Hawes to reduce the duty on foreign sugar was opposed by Mr. Gladstone on the ground of its tendency to encourage the slave trade, and it was rejected.

Having succeeded the Earl of Ripon as President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Gladstone introduced, in this same session of 1843, a bill for the abolition of the restrictions on the exportation of machinery—a measure of great practical commercial value. The Minister showed that the existing law of William the Fourth, which prohibited the export of machinery, was really nugatory. It was pronounced by the authorities of the Customs to be impracticable, and was practically evaded. The law had also injured our trade, and increased that of Belgium. The new bill, abolishing the existing law, received the Royal assent before the session concluded.

Though thus engrossed with schemes of practical legislation, Mr. Gladstone found time—as he has, indeed, throughout the whole of his long career—to interest himself in social and educational questions. One of the most forcible of his speeches upon education was delivered at the opening of the Collegiate Institution of Liverpool. He addressed himself first to the general topic, and after discussing its religious aspect, together with its nature and objects, he continued, 'We believe that if you could erect a system which should present to mankind all branches of knowledge save the one that is essential, you would only be building up a Tower of Babel, which, when you had completed it, would be the more signal in its fall, and which would bury those who had raised it in its ruins. We believe that if you can take a human being in his youth, and if you can make him an accomplished man in natural philosophy, in mathematics, or in the knowledge necessary for the profession of a merchant, a lawyer, or a physician; that if in any, or all, of these endowments you could form his mind—yes, if you could endow him with the science and power of a Newton, and so send him forth,—and if you had concealed from him, or, rather, had not given him a knowledge and love of the Christian faith,—he would go forth into the world, able indeed with reference to those purposes of science, successful with the accumulation of wealth for the multiplication of more, but "poor, and miserable, and blind, and naked" with reference to everything that constitutes the true and sovereign purposes of our existence—nay, worse, worse—with respect to the sovereign purpose—than if he had still remained in the ignor-

ance which we all commiserate, and which it is the object of this institution to assist in removing.'

In the session of 1844 Mr. Gladstone addressed the House on a variety of topics, including Railways, the Law of Partnership, the Agricultural interest, the Abolition of the Corn Laws, the Dissenters' Chapels Bill, and the Sugar Duties. Amendments to the Address were moved on the subject of the Corn Laws, and also with regard to the distress in the country, but both were negatived. But before the session was a week old, Mr. Gladstone had obtained the appointment of a Select Committee to consider the standing orders relating to Railways, with a view to new provisions in future railway bills for the improvement of the railway system. It was universally felt that some improvement in this direction was necessary, and the President of the Board of Trade accordingly introduced his Railway Bill, a measure of great and acknowledged importance, and one whose beneficial provisions were warmly welcomed by the House. The bill was based on the report of the Select Committee which Mr. Gladstone had obtained. It provided that after the expiration of fifteen years the Board of Trade should be authorised to purchase any of the railways that came within its provisions, at twenty-five years' purchase of the annual divisible profits, not exceeding ten per cent.; but this option of purchase was not to extend to railways in which a revised scale of tolls had been imposed. One of the clauses regulated the conditions upon which third-class trains were to be established; and all future railways were to act upon the provisions of the bill from the commencement of their traffic. The bill also provided that at least one train on every week-day should start from each end of the line to carry passengers in covered carriages for one penny per mile; that the speed of such trains should not be less than twelve miles an hour including stoppages; that they should stop to take up and set down passengers at every station; that half a hundred-weight of luggage should be allowed each passenger without extra charge; and that children under three years of age should be conveyed in such trains without charge, and those under twelve at half price. This bill, so salutary in its provisions for the poorer classes, met with considerable opposition in the outset from the various railway companies, but with some modifications it ultimately became law.

One other subject legislated upon this session is worthy of notice, as showing that at this period Mr. Gladstone's mind was undergoing significant changes in the direction of religious toleration. The Lord Chancellor introduced a bill for confirming the possession of religious endowments in the hands of

Dissenters, and arresting such litigations as had recently taken place in the case of the Lady Hewley Charities—originally given by her ladyship to Calvinistic Independents, but which had gradually passed to Unitarians, who were ousted from their benefits. The bill proposed to vest property left to Dissenting bodies in the hands of that religious body with whom it had remained for the preceding twenty years. The measure passed both Houses substantially in its original shape. When it was discussed in the Commons, Mr. Gladstone said that it was a bill which it was incumbent upon the House to endorse. There was no contrariety between his principles of religious belief and those on which legislation in this case ought to proceed. There was a great question of justice, viz., whether those who were called Presbyterian Dissenters, and who were a century and a half ago universally of Trinitarian opinions, ought not to be protected at the present moment in the possession of the chapels which they held, with the appurtenances of those chapels? On that question of substantial justice he pronounced the strongest affirmative opinion. After this speech, there were those who thought, and expressed their hope and belief in words, that the 'champion of Free Trade' would ere long become the advocate of the most unrestricted liberty in matters of religion. Their hope, if sanguine as to its immediate fulfilment, was far from groundless.

Scarcely had Parliament met in 1845 when it became known that Mr. Gladstone had resigned his post in the Ministry. In the course of the debate on the Address he explained his reasons for this step, and set a good deal of speculation at rest by the announcement that his resignation was due solely to the Government intentions with regard to Maynooth College. The contemplated increase in the Maynooth endowment, and the establishment of non-sectarian colleges, were at variance with the views he had written and uttered upon the relations of the Church and the State. 'I am sensible how fallible my judgment is,' said Mr. Gladstone, 'and how easily I might have erred; but still it has been my conviction that although I was not to fetter my judgment as a member of Parliament by a reference to abstract theories, yet, on the other hand, it was absolutely due to the public and due to myself that I should, so far as in me lay, place myself in a position to form an opinion upon a matter of so great importance, that should not only be actually free from all bias or leaning with respect to any consideration whatsoever, but an opinion that should be unsuspected. On that account, I have taken a course most painful to myself in respect to personal feelings, and have separated

myself from men with whom, and under whom, I have long acted in public life, and of whom I am bound to say, although I have now no longer the honour of serving my most gracious Sovereign, that I continue to regard them with unaltered sentiments both of public regard and private attachment.' Mr. Gladstone added that he was not prepared to war against the religious measures of his friend, Sir Robert Peel. He would not prejudge such questions, but would give to them calm and deliberate consideration. A high tribute was paid to the retiring Minister, both by Lord John Russell and the Premier. The latter avowed the highest respect and admiration for Mr. Gladstone's character and abilities; admiration only equalled by regard for his private character. He had been most unwilling to lose one whom he regarded as capable of the highest and most eminent services. By an act of strict conscientiousness, Mr. Gladstone thus severed himself from a Ministry in which he had rapidly risen to power and influence. His motives were appreciated by men of all parties, and it was generally predicted that one so useful to the State could not long remain in the position of a private member.

On the second reading of the Maynooth Improvement Bill, the right hon. gentleman fully expressed himself upon the topic then greatly agitating the public mind. In opposition to the feeling out of doors, and to his own deeply-cherished prepossessions, he announced that he was prepared to give his deliberate support to the measure. The question was to a considerable extent new, as the grant, instead of annual, was to be made permanent; and the college, by being under the care of the Government Board, was to be brought into close connection with the Government. He disclaimed, in the name of the law, the Constitution, and the history of the country, the voting of a sum of money as a restitution to the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland. His support of the measure was based on the feeling that whatever tended to give ease and comfort to the professors of the College of Maynooth would also tend to soothe and soften the tone of the college itself. 'He found arguments in favour of the measure in the great numbers and poverty of the Roman Catholic people of Ireland, in the difficulty they experienced in providing for themselves the necessaries of life, and in the still greater difficulty which they found in providing for themselves preachers of their own faith, and in procuring means of education for them. He found additional arguments in the inclination to support it exhibited by all the great statesmen on both sides of the House, and in the fact that those who paid the taxes of a country had a right to share in the benefits

of its institutions.' The opponents of the measure said it had been an experiment of Mr. Pitt's, and that it had signally failed; but he reminded them that the view of Mr. Pitt was, that the Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland should not only be trained in the College of Maynooth, but that they should also have a subsequent provision made for their support. No such provision had been made, and it was unjust to say Mr. Pitt's scheme had failed when it had only been partially tried.

To show how far Mr. Gladstone's views had undergone modification in the course of seven years, we may add that in this speech he went on to observe how that exclusive support to the Established Church was a doctrine that was being more and more abandoned day by day. Mr. Burke considered it contrary to wise policy to give exclusive privileges to a negative creed like that of Protestantism, and to deny all privileges to those who had a positive creed like the Roman Catholic. They could not plead their religious scruples as the reason for denying this grant to the Roman Catholics, for they gave votes of money to almost every Dissenting sect. He hoped the concession now made—which was a great and liberal gift, because unrestricted and given in a spirit of confidence—would not lead to the renewal of agitation in Ireland by Mr. O'Connell. It might be well for him to reflect that agitation was a two-edged weapon. 'The number of petitions which had been laid on the table that evening proved that there was in this country a field open to agitation, opposed to that which he might get up in Ireland. He deprecated agitation on one side and on the other. He trusted that a wiser spirit would preside over the minds of both parties, and that a conviction would spring up in both, that it was a surrender which ought to be made of rival claims for the sake of peace. 'Believing the measure to be conformable to justice, and not finding any principle on which to resist it, he hoped it would pass into law, and receive, if not the sanction, at least the acquiescence of the people of England.'

This speech exercised a most favourable effect, owing to its candour, its breadth of view, and its evident desire for conciliation. As the Earl of Arundel remarked, Sir Robert Peel had now the support of every statesman on either side of the House who deserved the name. A little later in the session Government redeemed its pledge to propose a scheme for the extension of academical education in Ireland. This measure, framed upon the same lines as the Maynooth Improvement Bill, was regarded with equal hostility by those who opposed all concessions to the Roman Catholics. Sir James Graham introduced the bill, which was at once the subject of warm debate. Sir Robert

Inglis, that most immovable of Conservatives, declared that 'a more gigantic scheme of godless education had never been proposed in any country than that which was now under consideration.' After such a description of a measure which he intended to support, Mr. Gladstone could not remain silent, and in the discussion on the second reading, he said that though the measure was imperfect, the question was not whether it was a perfect measure, but whether it was the best which could be devised to meet the present state of Ireland and its exigencies. He thought the Roman Catholic bishops ought to be consulted on the adjustment of the principles and details of the measure, and that a direct diplomatic correspondence with the Court of Rome should be renewed. He entered his emphatic protest against Sir R. Inglis's declaration that the bill was 'a gigantic scheme of godless education.' 'The bill contained a provision for religious education, so far as it was safe to do so; for it provided rooms in each of the colleges for theological lectures, which was an explicit admission of the efficacy of religious education. Nay, more, it provided facilities for the voluntary payment of professors to deliver such lectures. The difficulties besetting the measure would not be insuperable if both parties laid aside their prejudices.' The bill was subsequently carried through the House.

Before the close of this year, Mr. Gladstone published a pamphlet entitled *Remarks upon Recent Commercial Legislation.* It had been suggested by the expository statement of the revenue from customs, and other papers lately submitted to Parliament. The author dealt in several aspects with the recent reductions of customs duty—showing the proportion of the entire trade which they had affected, the entire amount of revenue surrendered, and the particular results of the reductions on revenue and on trade. He also discussed their results upon domestic producers, and examined the policy of these financial measures with special reference to the recent proceedings of foreign Powers in matters of trade. His general conclusion was that English statesmen should use every effort to disburden of all charges, so far as the law was concerned, the materials of industry, and thus enable the workman to approach his work at home on better terms, as the terms in which he entered foreign markets were altered for the worse against him. With a few more years of experimental instruction, such as that afforded by the figures of the statement he had given of the relative growth of the British trade with Europe and the world, such results could not fail to exercise a powerful influence on the intelligence and the will of governments, and of the nations whom they ruled.

These ideas were speedily to receive a nobler and a fuller acceptance and expansion. On the 4th of December, 1845, the *Times* announced that Parliament would be summoned for the first week in January, and that the Royal Speech would recommend an immediate consideration of the Corn Laws, preparatory to their total repeal. This startling news took the other daily journals by surprise, and several of them gave it the most direct and positive contradiction. The original announcement, however, was speedily confirmed. The hour had come, and the Corn Laws were doomed. Mr. Gladstone, though unable to mingle in the debates in Parliament during this last episode of a great struggle, was in thorough harmony with the policy of Sir Robert Peel. His investigations and financial experiments for some years back had been tending in this direction, though —with one brought up in the rigid school of Protection—a complete reversal of past policy, and the acceptance of an entirely new commercial *régime*, could not be the work of a moment. But the time came when he could no longer resist the arguments in favour of Free Trade, and he at once announced his changed convictions. As upon many other occasions in his history, his attitude on the question of the Corn Laws led to the severance of long and closely-cherished political and personal friendships.

Sir Robert Peel having been informed by Lord Stanley and the Duke of Buccleuch that they could not support a measure for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and being doubtful whether he could conduct the proposal to a successful issue, felt it his duty to tender his resignation to her Majesty. Lord John Russell was accordingly summoned to form a Ministry; but failing in this, the Queen desired Sir Robert Peel to withdraw his resignation. That statesman resumed office, and when the list of the restored Peel Cabinet was made known, it was found that Mr. Gladstone had accepted the post of Colonial Secretary, in the room of Lord Stanley.

Mr. Gladstone's acceptance of office in a Ministry pledged to the repeal of the Corn Laws led to his retirement from the representation of Newark. The Duke of Newcastle was an ardent Protectionist, and could not sanction the candidature of a supporter of Free Trade principles. His patronage was therefore of necessity withdrawn from Mr. Gladstone; but, unless his action could have been endorsed by the constituency, the latter would naturally have felt honourable scruples in continuing to represent, merely under the friendship and influence of the Duke, a borough for which he had so long sat upon opposite principles.

The new Minister accordingly issued his retiring address to

the electors of Newark, which is dated January 5th, 1846. Its chief paragraph runs thus:—'By accepting the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, I have ceased to be your representative in Parliament. On several accounts I should have been peculiarly desirous at the present time of giving you an opportunity to pronounce your constitutional judgment on my public conduct, by soliciting at your hands a renewal of the trust which I have already received from you on five successive occasions, and held during a period of thirteen years. But as I have good reason to believe that a candidate recommended to your favour through local connections may ask your suffrages, it becomes my very painful duty to announce to you on that ground alone my retirement from a position which has afforded me so much of honour and of satisfaction.' The right hon. gentleman further goes on to explain that he accepted office because he held that 'it was for those who believed the Government was acting according to the demands of public duty to testify that belief, however limited their sphere might be, by their co-operation.' He had acted 'in obedience to the clear and imperious call of public obligation.' An exile from Newark, Mr. Gladstone remained without a seat in the House during the ensuing session; and to this fact is to be attributed the lack of his powerful personal advocacy of the great Government measure of that memorable year.

It is no secret that the most advanced statesman on the Free Trade question in the Peel Cabinet was Mr. Gladstone. The policy of the Government in regard to the great measure of 1846 was largely moulded by him, and his representations of the effects of Free Trade on the industry of the country and the general well-being of the people strengthened the Premier in his resolve to sweep away the obnoxious Corn Laws. The pamphlet on recent commercial legislation had prepared the way for the later momentous changes; and to Mr Gladstone is due much of the credit for the speedy consummation of the Free Trade policy of the Peel Ministry. In the official sphere he may be regarded, perhaps, as the leading pioneer of the movement.

But that terrible calamity in Ireland—the failure of the potato crop—had furnished a final argument in the mind of Sir Robert Peel for the abolition of Protection. With the prospect of famine in Ireland—and such a famine as had never been experienced in that island—the Premier saw clearly that the time had come when corn must be admitted into the country free of duty. Moreover, the Anti-Corn Law League was becoming a powerful and irresistible body, while many influential

landlords, both in Great Britain and Ireland, who did not belong to the League, were prepared to extend to Sir Robert Peel their hearty support. The friends of Protection, knowing that the personal power of the Premier was greater, perhaps, than that of any other Minister who has virtually governed this empire, opposed the repeal by every means at their command, legitimate or otherwise. Happily, their efforts were doomed to be frustrated. The question whether Peel ought to have left the passing of the Corn Law Repeal Bill to the Liberals is out of the sphere of practical politics. Free Trade had by no means received the support of every member of the Liberal party, even up to so late a date as the year preceding that in which it became an actuality; and Sir R. Peel was placed in a peculiarly favourable position for carrying the measure. Mr. Cobden wrote at this juncture that the Premier had the power, and that it would be disastrous for the country if he hesitated.

But this great Minister did not hesitate. He felt that a crisis had arrived, and he determined to grapple with it. His duty to the country at this period was higher and greater than any fancied loyalty to party. Accordingly, when Parliament assembled, he entered into a detailed explanation of the late Ministerial crisis, and unfolded his proposed measures. The failure of the potato crop, he said, had led to the dissolution of the late Government, and matters now could brook no further delay. An immediate decision required to be taken on the subject of the Corn Laws; but while the calamity in Ireland had been the immediate cause of his determination, he could not withhold the homage due to the progress of reason and of truth, and frankly confessed that his opinions on the subject of Protection had undergone a great change. The experience of the past three years had confirmed him in his new opinions, and he could not conceal the knowledge of his convictions, however much it might lay him open to the imputation of inconsistency. Though he had been accused of apathy and neglect, he and his colleagues were even then engaged in the most extensive and arduous inquiries into the true condition of Ireland. As these inquiries had proceeded, he had been driven to the conclusion that the protective policy was unsound, and consequently untenable.

Mr. Gladstone had rendered conspicuous service in these inquiries, as well as in other investigations of a general character which led to the Premier's determination. But it is instructive to note his rival's attitude at this juncture. Speaking in the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli said, 'To the opinions which I have expressed in this House in favour of Protection I adhere. They sent me to this House, and if I had relinquished them I

should have relinquished my seat also.' It would be an unprofitable task to unravel the many inconsistencies of Lord Beaconsfield's career; but with regard to this present deliverance upon Protection, the curious in such matters may turn back to the records of 1842, when they will discover that at that time he was quite prepared to advocate measures of a Free Trade character. But we must pass on from this important question of the Corn Laws, with the angry controversy to which it gave rise. Sir Robert Peel brought forward his measure, and, after lengthened debates in both Houses, it became law, and grain was admitted into English ports under the new tariff.

Having carried their important Corn Law Repeal scheme, Sir Robert Peel and his colleagues were doomed to fall upon an Irish question. The very day which witnessed the passing of the Corn Law Repeal Act in the House of Lords, saw the defeat of the Ministry in the House of Commons on their bill for the suppression of outrage in Ireland. Being in a minority of 73, Sir Robert Peel tendered his resignation; whereupon Lord John Russell was sent for, and he succeeded in forming a Whig Ministry.

It was not until the brief session in the autumn of 1847 that Mr. Gladstone again appeared in the House of Commons. On the 23rd of July the Queen had dissolved Parliament in person. The succeeding elections turned in many notable instances upon ecclesiastical questions, and more especially upon the Maynooth grant. Mr. Gladstone was brought forward for Oxford University. Sir R. H. Inglis was admitted to have a safe seat, so that the contest lay between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Round. The latter candidate was of the ultra-Protestant and Tory school. The contest excited the keenest interest, and was expected on all hands to be very close. Mr. Gladstone, in his address to the electors of his *Alma Mater*, confessed that when he entered Parliament, and for many years after, he had struggled for the exclusive support of the national religion by the State, but in vain. The time was against him. 'I found that scarcely a year passed without the adoption of some fresh measure involving the national recognition, and the national support, of various forms of religion, and in particular that a recent and fresh provision had been made for the propagation from a public chair of Arian or Socinian doctrines. The question remaining for me was, whether, aware of the opposition of the English people, I should set down as equal to nothing, in a matter primarily connected not with our own but with their priesthood, the wishes of the people of Ireland; and whether I should avail myself of the popular feeling in regard to the Roman Catholics

for the purpose of enforcing against them a system which we had ceased by common consent to enforce against Arians—a system, above all, of which I must say that it never can be conformable to policy, to justice, or even to decency, when it has become avowedly partial and one-sided in its application.' This address intensified the resolve of a section of the electors to defeat Mr. Gladstone. A great portion of the press, however, was in his favour. Several influential journals were very satirical upon Mr. Round, and eulogistic of Mr. Gladstone. They praised the earnest attachment of the latter to the Church, and spoke of his distinguished talent and industry. He had relaxed the exclusiveness of his politico-ecclesiastical principles, and no longer called on the Legislature to ignore all forms of religion but those established by law, or which were exactly coincident with his own belief. 'His election (said the *Times*), unlike that of Mr. Round, while it sends an important member to the House of Commons, will certainly be creditable, and may be valuable to the University; and we heartily hope that no negligence or hesitation among his supporters may impede his success.' The election was regarded with great interest by those outside the pale of the Church. The nomination took place on the 29th of July. The ceremony having been completed, the voting commenced in the Convocation-house, which was densely crowded. We learn from the local journals that more than one gentleman was carried out in a fainting state, so great was the pressure. Many distinguished men (including his political leader) came from a great distance to plump for Mr. Gladstone. At the close of the poll, the numbers were: Inglis, 1700; Gladstone, 997; Round, 824. To the supporters of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Round, however, must be added 154 pairs. The total number of those polled exceeded that registered at any previous election.

Probably the one feature of this general election which excited the widest popular comment was the return of Baron Rothschild for the City of London. There was nothing illegal in the election of a Jew, but the statutory declaration required of him virtually precluded him from taking his seat in the House of Commons. To obviate this difficulty, Lord John Russell proposed, shortly after the meeting of Parliament, a resolution affirming the eligibility of Jews to all functions and offices to which Roman Catholics were admissible by law. Sir R. H. Inglis opposed the motion, which was supported by his colleague Mr. Gladstone. The latter inquired whether there were any grounds for the disqualification of the Jews which distinguished them from any other classes in the community.

With regard to the stand now made for a 'Christian Parliament, the present measure did not make a severance between politics and religion; it only amounted to a declaration that there was no necessity for excluding a Jew, as such, from an assembly in which every man felt sure that a vast and overwhelming majority of its members would always be Christian. It was said that by admitting a few Jews they would un-Christianise Parliament; that was true in word, but not in substance. He had no doubt that the majority of the members who composed it would always perform their obligations on the true faith of a Christian. It was too late to say that the measure was un-Christian, and that it would call down the vengeance of heaven. When he opposed the last law for the removal of Jewish disabilities, he foresaw that if we gave the Jew municipal, magisterial, and executive functions, we could not refuse him legislative functions any longer. 'The Jew was refused entrance into that House because he would then be a maker of the laws; but who made the maker of the law? The constituencies; and into these constituencies we had admitted the Jews. Now, were the constituencies Christian constituencies? If they were, was it probable that the Parliament would cease to be a Christian Parliament?' Mr. Gladstone admitted the force of the prayer in Archdeacon Wilberforce's petition, that in view of this concession measures should be taken which would give greater vigour to the Church, and thus operate to the prevention of an organic change in the relations between Church and State. Concluding his defence of Lord John Russell's motion, he was of opinion that if they admitted Jews into Parliament, prejudice might be awakened for a while, but the good sense of the people would soon allay it, and members would have the consolation of knowing that in a case of difficulty they had yielded to a sense of justice, and by so doing had not disparaged religion or lowered Christianity, but had rather elevated both in all reflecting and well-regulated minds.

The logic of this speech could not be controverted, though Mr. Newdegate declared that Mr. Gladstone would never have gained his election for the University of Oxford had his sentiments on the Jewish question been then known. Lord John Russell's motion was carried by a large majority, whereupon he announced first a resolution, and then a bill, in accordance with its terms.

The year 1848 was a year of agitation and revolution. Europe was in a state of perturbation, and in France was effected one of those national surprises which have been so frequent and so prominent a feature of her political history. The news of the revolution across the Channel caused the greatest

excitement in England, and it became the signal for disturbances in the metropolis. On the 6th of March, demonstrations took place at Trafalgar Square and Charing Cross, but, as in the case of more recent *emeutes*, the mass meetings assumed more of a burlesque than of a serious character. In the provinces, however, and especially at Glasgow, the riots bore a different complexion. Shops were sacked, and at length the military were compelled to fire with fatal effect upon the mob. There were risings of a less formidable nature at Manchester, Edinburgh, Newcastle, and other places. On the 13th, a Chartist meeting was held on Kennington Common; but although this meeting had been looked forward to with grave apprehensions by all lovers of law and order, it proved by no means so serious an affair as had been anticipated. Great preparations were made in view of the demonstration, which fortunately passed off without loss of life. Those who were politically concerned in it were few in number, but, as is usual in such cases, the meeting had furnished a pretext for the assembling of a lawless mob. Special constables in great numbers were sworn in previous to this notorious demonstration; and it is interesting to note that amongst those who hastened in London to enrol themselves as preservers of the public peace were Prince Louis Napoleon, the Duke of Norfolk, Edward Geoffrey Stanley (Earl of Derby), and William Ewart Gladstone.

Meanwhile, the Government of the country was becoming unpopular—not, it must fairly be said, from any grave faults of its own, apart from the nature of its financial measuree. There was a deficiency in the national accounts of upwards of two millions. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in introducing his budget, said that although they might expect an improvement in income and a diminution of the expenditure caused by the Caffre War, a temporary increase of taxation would be necessary. He therefore proposed that they should continue the income-tax, which would expire in the following April, for five years, and increase its amount from sevenpence to one shilling in the pound. In consequence of the distress in Ireland, he did not propose to extend this proposition to that branch of the United Kingdom. The property tax he proposed on exactly the same principles as Mr. Pitt—principles upon which it was also imposed and defended in 1842 by Sir Robert Peel. The Ministerial scheme was severely criticised, and the depressed state of the finances was attributed by many members to the operations of Free Trade. In the course of the debate which followed, Sir Robert Peel recapitulated the circumstances under which his income-tax had originated, and said, he should

give his decided support to the Ministerial proposition for three years. He had been alarmed by the great increase of expenditure, and while assenting to this proposal, he trusted that there would be no relaxation in conducting the most searching investigations. Mr. Disraeli denied the success of Sir Robert Peel's policy, and described himself as 'a free-trader, but not a freebooter of the Manchester school.' In a clever phrase, he dubbed the blue-book of the Import Duties Committee 'the greatest work of imagination that the nineteenth century has produced.' The Government, by acting upon it, and taking it for a guide, resembled, he said, a man smoking a cigar on a barrel of gunpowder.

Mr. Disraeli's epigrammatic speech brought up Mr. Gladstone. Premising that he could not hope to sustain the lively interest created by the remarkable speech of his predecessor—a display to which he felt himself entirely unequal—he would pass over the matters of a personal description touched upon by the honourable gentleman, and confine himself to defending the policy which had been assailed. By a series of elaborate statistics, Mr. Gladstone then demonstrated the complete success of Sir Robert Peel's policy. The confidence of the public would be much shaken on that occasion by an adverse vote. In his concluding observations, the speaker introduced a reference to the unsettled condition of affairs upon the Continent. 'I am sure,' said Mr. Gladstone, 'that this House of Commons will prove itself to be worthy of the Parliaments which preceded it, worthy of the Sovereign which it has been called to advise, and worthy of the people which it has been chosen to represent, by sustaining this nation, and enabling it to stand firm in the midst of the convulsions that shake European society; by doing all that pertains to us for the purpose of maintaining social order, the stability of trade, and the means of public employment; and by discharging our consciences, on our own part, under the difficult circumstances of the crisis, in the perfect trust that if we set a good example to the nation—for whose interests we are appointed to consult—they, too, will stand firm as they have done in other times of almost desperate emergency; and that through their good sense, their moderation, and their attachment to the institutions of the country, we shall see these institutions still exist, a blessing and a benefit to posterity, whatever alarms and whatever misfortunes may unfortunately befall other portions of civilised Europe.' It was fortunate for the future interest of the country that the proposals of the Government were at this juncture supported by a great majority of the House of Commons. In a moment of

unreasoning panic, there was some danger of the adoption of a reactionary policy—a step that would have lost to the country those blessings which it subsequently enjoyed, as the outcome of Free Trade.

Mr. Gladstone delivered during this session an important speech upon the Navigation Laws. On the 15th of May, Mr. Labouchere, President of the Board of Trade, propounded the Ministerial plan for the modification of these laws. After taking a lengthy survey of previous legislation on the subject, he announced the alteration contemplated. Reserving the coasting trade and fisheries of Great Britain and the colonies, it was proposed to strike out of the Statute Book altogether the present system, and 'to throw open the whole navigation of the country, of every sort and description.' The Queen, however, retained the right of putting such restrictions on the navigation of foreign countries as she might think fit, if those countries did not meet us on equal terms. Each colony should be allowed, if it were deemed advisable, to pass an Act throwing open its coasting trade to foreign countries. The Government contemplated the formation of a new department of the Board of Trade, to be called the Department of the Mercantile Marine, which should consist of unpaid officers, and be presided over by a Lord of the Admiralty.

These proposals were opposed by Lord George Bentinck, Lord Ingestre, and others; and on the 29th Mr. Herries brought forward a resolution in favour of maintaining the fundamental principles of the Navigation Laws. It was during the debate upon this resolution that Mr. Gladstone delivered his lengthy speech, examining closely the operation of the existing laws, and showing the necessity for their repeal. A seasonable time, he said, had arrived for making the necessary alterations, though he did not think the Government proposals in every respect unexceptionable. It would have been better to have proceeded by more gradual measures. With regard to the discretionary power to be lodged in the Queen in Council, with a view of enforcing reciprocity, Mr. Gladstone said, 'I confess it appears to me there is a great objection to conferring such a power as that which is proposed to be given to the Queen in Council.' On the whole, the Government would have acted more safely and wisely by undoing the legislation of the past in a gradual and piecemeal manner, than by introducing a measure of such a sweeping character. The policy of excluding the coasting trade from the measure he also condemned; it would have been much more frank to have offered to admit the Americans to our coasting trade if they would admit us to

theirs. If England and America concurred in setting an example to the world, he hoped that we should 'live to see the ocean, that great highway of nations, as free to the ships that traverse its bosom as the winds that sweep it. England would then have achieved another triumph, and have made another powerful contribution to the prosperity of mankind.'

Although the Government obtained a large majority upon this question, so many delays occurred in prosecuting the bill founded on the Ministerial proposals, that it was eventually postponed till the following year.

In the session of 1848, Mr. Gladstone further addressed the House on the proposed grant of Vancouver's Island to the Hudson's Bay Company. He felt justified in saying that the island was a most valuable possession, and a fair opportunity ought to be afforded for its free colonisation. Certainly, the Hudson's Bay Company could not be expected to rear that, to the very life and substance of which it was opposed. There was a great opportunity of planting a society of Englishmen which, if it did not afford a precise copy of our institutions, might still present a reflex of the truth, integrity, and independence which constituted at that moment the honour and glory of this country. Mr. Gladstone also spoke several times in the course of the debates upon the Sugar Duties Bill; but perhaps the most noteworthy speech of the session was that which he delivered upon the measure to legalise diplomatic relations with the Court of Rome.

Strong objections were made against recognising the spiritual governor of Rome and of all the Roman Catholic population of the world; and it was said that the bill would neither conciliate the affections of the Protestants nor satisfy the wishes of the Roman Catholics, who had denounced it strongly to the Pope. Mr. Gladstone dealt with the question in a broad and comprehensive manner. Although there were several reasons, he urged, why it was painful to him to support this bill, he felt he could not oppose its principle. It was unfortunate that they were called upon to debate the question at that moment, when, looking to the state of affairs in Italy, the whole of the subject-matter in dispute would probably have passed away in a short time. England must stand upon one of two grounds. If she declined political communication with the See of Rome, she had no right to complain of any steps which the Pope might take with respect to the administration of his own ecclesiastical affairs; but an act so directly in contravention of the laws of the land as the partitioning of the country into archbisopries and bishoprics was a most unfortunate proceeding; not only becaus-

it was generally and justly offensive to the feelings of the people of England, and totally unnecessary, as he believed, for Roman Catholic purposes, but also because it ill assorted with the grounds on which the Parliament was invited by the present bill to establish definite relations with the See of Rome. Although he could not decline to vote for the second reading, he thought the Government ought to have postponed the measure until the following session. For one hundred years after the Reformation the Pope was actually in arms for the purpose of recovering by force his lost dominion in this country. It was only natural, therefore, that we should have prohibited relations with the See of Rome when it attacked the title of the Sovereign of these realms; but there was no such reason for continuing the prohibition at the present moment. There was, moreover, an inevitable necessity for a bill of this kind; for the enactment of the Irish Colleges Bill had rendered it absolutely imperative for the Government to consult with the Roman Catholic authorities as to the statutes by which they were to be governed. It followed that if we had to communicate with the Roman Catholic authorities, we must have to communicate with the Pope, for a valid obligation could not be made with the Court of Rome without communication with the Pope himself. It was perfectly right and proper that such communication should be direct and avowed instead of being clandestine. He could not look to the state of Ireland and recollect that there were men in that House charged with the maintenance of peace in Ireland and refuse to give them any aid not illegitimate which they might wish to make available for this great purpose. He would not from any fear of being misapprehended, and of being thought to entertain views regarding future schemes—which he would leave to be dealt with when their time of ripeness came—he would not, from any such considerations, withhold his support from this measure.

Ten years before, the speech whose gist we have just given—or at least the exposition of the latter portion of its arguments—would have been an impossibility with Mr. Gladstone. But to close observers of the changes being gradually wrought in his convictions upon ecclesiastical questions, it would have added one more straw indicating the direction of the current. Early in the succeeding session another example was furnished of his liberalising tendencies in matters of conscience.

Lord John Russell having moved that the House of Commons resolve itself into a committee on the oaths to be taken by members of the two Houses of Parliament, with a view to further relief upon this subject, Mr. Gladstone rose and said

that he should not shrink from stating his opinions thereon. He was deliberately convinced that the civil and political claims of the Jew to the discharge of civil and political duties ought not, in justice, to be barred, and could not beneficially be barred because of a difference in religion. But there were sufficient grounds for going into committee independent of this main purpose. Oaths, when taken by large masses of men, and under associations not very favourable to solemn religious feelings, had a tendency to degenerate into formalism. Nor could he say that the present oaths had no words in them which could not with advantage be omitted. At the same time he was glad that the noble lord had retained the words 'on the true faith of a Christian' in respect to all Christian members of that House. The measure now brought forward should have his support at every stage.

In a subsequent debate upon Church rates, while opposing an abstract resolution on the subject, he said that he felt as strongly as any one the desirableness of settling this question, if they could do so. The evils attending the existing system were enormous, and we had certainly deviated in practice from the original intention of the law, which was not to impose a mere uncompensated burden upon any man, but a burden for which every man bearing it should receive a benefit; so that while each member of the community was bound to contribute his quota to the Church, every member of the Church was entitled to go to the church-wardens and demand a free place to worship his Maker in the house of that Maker. The case at present was, and above all in towns, that the centre and best parts of the church were occupied by pews exclusively for the middle classes, while the labouring classes were jealously excluded from almost every part of sight and hearing in the churches, and were treated in a manner which was most painful to reflect upon. Matters being in this unsatisfactory condition, they were bound to give consideration to proposals for relief. While voting against any and every abstract resolution, he would not oppose the introduction of a bill dealing with the question, but was at any time prepared to consider such a measure, though he might not be able to give it his approval.

The Ministerial bill for the repeal of the Navigation Laws was re-introduced by Mr. Labouchere. During the debate on the second reading of this measure—one of the most important of the session of 1849—Mr. Gladstone supported generally the Government proposals in a remarkably full and exhaustive speech. He dwelt upon the beneficial effects which had already

resulted from a system of relaxation as regarded the Navigation Laws. So far from this relaxation being destructive to our shipping, the total tonnage had been steadily increasing. After pointing out the compensations which the shipowner might fairly demand from the Legislature on being deprived of protection, Mr. Gladstone said he had never entertained the notion that we should proceed in this matter by treaties of reciprocity with Foreign Powers. By adopting a policy of conditional relaxation, they would avoid the dangers besetting a system of reciprocity. Conditional relaxation would give to the vessels of such States as conferred privileges upon our shipping corresponding advantages in our ports. He considered that this plan had the advantage over that proposed by the Government; it was in accordance with precedent and experience, was demanded by justice, and would be found much more easy of execution. If the Government would not consent to legislate on the subject conditionally, he would advise it to do so directly, without the accompaniment of retaliation. This plan would do more for the general liberty of commerce than that which emanated from the Treasury Bench. He also regarded the Government proposition upon the coasting trade as defective, and prophesied that it would be found ineffectual. Before we could expect to get the boon of the American coasting trade, we must throw our own coasting trade unreservedly open to that country. He was aware that the Colonies were supposed to want an unconditional repeal of the Navigation laws; but they did not want such a repeal with a reserved power of retaliation. Having once tasted the sweets of unrestrained commercial intercourse with the whole world, the Colonies would not be very ready to return to the system of restriction, either wholly or partially, should that system be reverted to by the mother-country, either in whole or in part, by the exercise of the power of retaliation. Mr. Gladstone therefore submitted to the Government the propriety of erasing this feature from its plan, if it was resolved to proceed upon the principle of unconditional legislation. Another flaw in the Government scheme was the contemplated removal of the inter-colonial trade and the direct trade between the Colonies and foreign States from beyond the jurisdiction of Parliament. Yet, notwithstanding these defects, the speaker could not refuse his assent to the second reading of the bill. Mr. Gladstone concluded by referring to the fears and alarms expressed by the Marquis of Granby at the consequences which might arise from a change in the Navigation Laws. 'The noble Marquis,' he observed, 'desired to expel the vapours and exhalations that had been raised with regard to the principle of

political economy, and which vapours and exhalations I find for the most part in the fears with which those changes are regarded. The noble Marquis consequently hoped that the Trojan horse would not be allowed to come within the walls of Parliament. But however applicable the figure may be to other plans, it does not, I submit, apply to the mode of proceeding I ventured to recommend to the House, because we follow the precedent of what Mr. Huskisson did before us. Therefore, more than one moiety of the Trojan horse has already got within the citadel—it has been there for twenty-five years, and yet what has proceeded from its bowels has only tended to augment the rate of increase in the progress of your shipping. Therefore, let us not be alarmed by vague and dreamy vaticinations of evil, which never had been wanting on any occasion, and which never will be wanting so long as this is a free State, wherein every man can find full vent and scope for the expression not only of his principles, but of his prejudices and his fears. Let us not be deterred by those apprehensions from giving a calm and serious examination to this question, connected as it is with the welfare of our country. Let us follow steadily the lights of experience, and be convinced that He who preserved us during the past will also be sufficient to sustain us during all the dangers of the future.'

Although Mr. Labouchere stated that the Government could not accept Mr. Gladstone's leading suggestions, on the motion for going into committee on the bill, the President of the Board of Trade announced a material alteration in the measure. Originally, he had proposed, under certain modifications, to admit foreign nations to a share of the coasting trade. He now discovered that the proposal would involve a loss to the revenue. The Head Commissioner of Customs had reported that it would be a matter of extreme difficulty to frame any regulations which would not leave the revenue exposed to the greatest danger, if they allowed vessels, either British or foreign, to combine the coasting with the foreign voyage. Under these circumstances, he withdrew his proposal. Mr. Gladstone, after observing that he had objected to this clause on the second reading, proceeded to refer to the subject of conditional legislation, and sketched a plan by which it might have been carried out. It was not now his intention to propose an amendment, but he wished that the Navigation Laws could have been repealed in such a manner as to prevent any serious shock to the great interests involved. But the Government and the party representing the views of the shipowners alike seemed to prefer a decisive course upon the whole question: and as his

intention had never been to propose any plan for the mere purpose of obstruction, he thought that it would not now conduce to the public advantage if, by submitting his plan, he wasted the time of the House in fruitless discussions. As the issue now was between the continuance of the present law and its unconditional repeal, he would not be responsible for any course which might result in retarding the repeal of the law, preferring the plan of the Government, with all its defects, to the continuance of the present system.

At a later stage of this important measure, viz., upon the motion that the chairman report progress, a lively episode occurred in consequence of a caustic speech by Mr. Disraeli. The honourable gentleman alluded to the 'great sacrifices' which had been made by Mr. Labouchere and Mr. Gladstone. The former had withdrawn ten of the most important clauses of his bill, which did not now differ from the measure of last year; and Mr. Gladstone, imitating the President of the Board of Trade, announced that he also was about to give up that great development of the principle of reciprocity which the House had awaited with so much suspense He was reminded by their conduct of that celebrated day in the French Revolution when the nobles and the prelates vied with each other in throwing coronets and mitres to the dust, as useless appendages. The day was still called 'the day of dupes,' and he hoped the House and the country, in recalling the incidents of that evening, would not be reminded that they might have had some share in the appellation. The Bill for the repeal of the Navigation Laws had that evening received a paralytic stroke. There was distress out of doors, and the people complained of the precipitate and ill-advised legislation of the Government, which had perniciously affected the great interests of the country. Mr. Disraeli concluded his clever and very severe attack upon the conduct of the Government by affirming that they were not only injuring and destroying the material interests of the nation, but were laying the foundation of a stock of political discontent, which would do more than diminish the revenues of the kingdom and the fortunes of its subjects—which might shake the institutions of the country to their centre.

Mr. Gladstone replied to the strictures upon himself. Two charges had been made against him—first, that having undertaken to explain in committee the reasons which led him to prefer the mode of proceeding by conditional legislation to the direct legislation proposed by the Government, he had failed to fulfil that pledge; secondly, that in stating his reasons

for refraining from pressing his proposals upon the House he had been inconsistent. He knew that he should have been supported in the outset, but not with a *bonâ fide* acceptance of his proposition; it was merely wished to make a tool of him against a plan of which in its general objects he approved, and then to abandon him on the third reading of the bill. For these reasons he would not embarrass the Government. As to the charge of having given a pledge which he had failed to fulfil, he appealed to the recollections of every member whether he had not stated most distinctly that he would exercise his own discretion as to making any proposal in the committee. Though differing from the Government in important particulars, he was not willing to risk the rejection of their measure. Mr. Disraeli himself (continued the right hon. gentleman) saw that the course he had pursued was one favourable to the objects he had in view, or he would not have made that attack upon him. 'I am perfectly satisfied to bear his sarcasm, good-humoured and brilliant as it is, while I can appeal to his judgment as to whether the step I have taken was unbecoming in one who conscientiously differs with him on the freedom of trade, and has endeavoured to realise it; because, so far from its being the cause of the distress of the country, it has been, under the mercy of God, the most signal and effectual means of mitigating this distress, and accelerating the dawn of the day of returning prosperity.' Mr. Gladstone spoke frequently in committee upon this bill, which eventually passed by a substantial majority.

Another subject, and one of very grave importance, that came before the House in the session of 1849, arose out of the affairs of Canada, which, by the month of May, were in a most serious condition. Riots, involving the loss of considerable property, had broken out, while in Montreal menacing demonstrations against her Majesty's representative had taken place. Lord Elgin, the Governor-General, had given his assent to the Rebellion Losses Indemnity Bill, a measure which provided compensation to parties whose property had been destroyed during the rebellion in 1837-8. The Tory party in Canada had opposed this bill with might and main, but unsuccessfully. When Lord Elgin returned from the Parliament House, after having giving his assent to it, he was stoned by the populace. The streets were filled by an exasperated mob; the Parliament House was attacked and burned down; and the houses of some of the Ministers were sacked. Intense excitement prevailed in the province, and England itself was greatly agitated by the news of these disturbances. They became the subject of debate in both Houses. In the Commons, Mr. Roebuck entreated the House

to beware how they interfered with the national and proper constitutional expression of their opinion by the Canadians. The money about to be appropriated was the money of Canada, and not the money of England. Mr. Gladstone, while agreeing that the subject was not as yet ripe for judgment, maintained that the House of Commons had a perfect right to interfere in all imperial concerns. The fact that this money was the money of Canada was not of itself a conclusive reason against interference, if upon other grounds it should seem to be called for. The very fact that the sanction of the Crown was required and given must bring the matter within the cognisance and jurisdiction of that House.

On the motion for going into Committee of Supply on the 14th of June, Mr. Gladstone formally introduced the whole subject of the Canadian difficulties, by calling attention to certain parts of the Indemnity Bill. The question, he maintained, was of the first importance, involving the very principles and duties of Government, and touching the very foundation of all social order. Passing by the conduct of Lord Elgin and that of her Majesty's Government, he should confine himself strictly to imperial considerations. The first question they had to consider was whether the Indemnity Act was passed for the purpose of indemnifying, or was intended to embrace the indemnification of persons who had borne arms against the State? Secondly, could it be said that such an act of legislation involved imperial consideration? and thirdly, if so, was it consistent or at variance with the honour and dignity of the Crown? Upon the second and third questions, no serious doubt could be felt as to this being an imperial consideration, and that such a measure would be inconsistent with the honour of the Crown. Mr. Gladstone then pointed out the ambiguities in the Act, which would let in claims for indemnity of persons who had been guilty of high treason. He next showed by a series of facts and illustrations that the evident intention of the framers of the Act was not to treat participation in the rebellion as a disqualification. He denied that the sense of the Canadian people had been unequivocally expressed in favour of this Act; but if it had been, he denied that this should be an ultimate criterion, or be regarded as conclusive upon a question involving the highest considerations, which appertained to the Imperial Parliament alone. Mr. Gladstone did not argue for disannulling the Act, but he asked from the Government an assurance that rebels should not be compensated under it, and that reasonable *primâ facie* evidence should be forth-

coming, before parties received any public money, that they had not taken part in the rebellion. If the Government did not give this assurance, he recommended that the House should suspend the final ratification of the Act until the Colonial Legislature had had an opportunity of amending it.

Lord John Russell replied, contending that Mr. Gladstone's speech would tend to aggravate the dissensions in Canada, and to embitter the feelings of hostile parties. He avowed at once the intention of the Government to leave the Act in operation. Upon this Mr. Herries moved an address to her Majesty to withhold her assent to the measure, but his proposition was defeated by 291 votes to 150.

The subject of colonial reform came before the House on several occasions, directly and indirectly, during this session. An abortive motion by Mr. Roebuck, for leave to bring in a bill for the better government of our colonial possessions, received Mr. Gladstone's support. He was not inclined to throw all the blame upon the Colonial Minister, for he believed the evil lay much deeper. No measure could pass that session, but it would be important that the plan of the bill should go out in a tangible shape to the different colonies, in order to enable them to offer such suggestions as would be of practical use towards maturing the scheme in a future session. The motion was negatived by 116 to 73. But on the 26th of June the subject was re-opened, on a motion of Sir W. Molesworth, for an address to the Queen, praying 'that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to issue a commission to inquire into the administration of her Majesty's colonial possessions, with a view of removing the causes of colonial complaint, diminishing the cost of colonial government, and giving free scope to individual enterprise in the business of colonising.' The motion was seconded by Mr. Hume, and Mr. Gladstone supported it, though he recognised that some objection might be taken to its terms. Lord Grey, notwithstanding his talents and his services, had been led into serious errors, which called for preventive measures. The time had come when an attempt should be made to improve our colonial system, and Mr. Gladstone based his opinion not upon one single consideration, but upon the joint result of many. A commission appointed by the Executive Government, and acting in harmony with that Government, would lead to many useful results. After having touched upon various questions connected with our colonial policy, the right hon. gentleman concluded by expressing his belief that if they studied the welfare of the colonies, it would be the way to maintain our connection with them, and to maintain that which was even

more important than the mere political connection between the colonies and this country—namely, the love of the colonies for the mother-country, and a desire to imitate the laws and institutions of the great country from which they had sprung. Sir W. Molesworth's motion, however, was unsuccessful—a majority of 74 appearing against it on a division.

When Mr. J. Stuart Wortley introduced his bill for the purpose of removing the legal restriction against marriage with a deceased wife's sister, Mr. Gladstone strongly opposed the measure upon theological, social, and moral grounds. He begged the House to respect the sentiment of nearly the entire country by rejecting the bill. To do otherwise would be to inflict upon the Church the misfortune of having anarchy introduced amongst its ministers. He hoped they would do all that in them lay to maintain the strictness of the obligations of marriage, and the purity of the hallowed sphere of domestic life. In the end the bill was rejected.

One of the chief topics discussed in the Parliamentary session of 1850 was the great depression which still affected the agricultural interests of the country. Although the nation was tranquil, and the state of the revenue satisfactory, and although our foreign trade had largely increased, the farmers still made loud complaints of their disastrous condition, which they attributed to Free Trade measures. The whole of the agricultural interests had, they alleged, been seriously affected. Consequently, on the 19th of February, Mr. Disraeli moved for a committee of the whole House to consider such a revision of the Poor Laws of the United Kingdom as might mitigate the distress of the agricultural classes. Sir James Graham strongly opposed the motion; but Mr. Gladstone supported it, and entered at length into the reasons which led him to differ from his right hon. friend upon the subject. If he saw in the motion then before the House a reversal of the policy of Free Trade, he stated that he should join in offering the firmest resistance to such a course. He did not agree with Sir J. Graham as to the effects of the motion upon the recent commercial policy, or upon the stability of the Administration. No one, by voting for the motion, would be committed to these views. Mr. Disraeli had urged that there was a considerable portion of the charges connected with the Poor Law which might be transferred to the Consolidated Fund, without detracting from the advantages of local management or impairing the stimulus which local management gave to economy. Concurring with him in that opinion, he (Mr. Gladstone) was prepared to go into committee, and to consider what establishment charges, or what other charges there

were upon the poor-rates (whether in England, Scotland, or Ireland), or what expenses of management there were which, without injury to the great principle of local control, might be advantageously transferred to the Consolidated Fund. The motion could not be construed into a return of Protection, and in fact it had rather a tendency to weaken the arguments in favour of a retrograde policy, and to draw off the moderate Protectionists. He would vote for this motion on the ground upon which his right hon. friend had declared he should resist it—the ground of justice. It was impossible to look at the nature of the tax for the support of the poor without being struck by the inequality of its incidence. The rate was levied locally for two reasons: first, for the purposes of police, and secondly for the discharge of a sacred obligation enforced upon us by religion. The rate ought to fall upon all descriptions of property, taking an abstract view; and though this might be impracticable, that objection did not lie against the motion before the House. With regard to the position of the landed interest, they were asking at present to be relieved from only a portion of the burden which had descended to them. They did inherit poor-rates with their land, but they also inherited with it a protective system, which had given to this property an artificial value—a system which he admitted was as contrary to abstract justice as the inequality of the incidence of the poor-rate, which, on the ground of this protective system being thus contrary to abstract justice, the House had effectually destroyed. Mr. Gladstone entirely differed from Sir James Graham as to the class which would be relieved by the transfer of the rate. He believed that the farmer and the independent yeoman would be the persons to benefit by the change; and even if the landlord should ultimately receive the entire benefit, that would not be a fatal objection to the motion. The condition of the farming class and of the agricultural labourers in a large portion of England, to say nothing of Ireland, was such as to demand the careful attention and consideration of the House. He trusted something to the spirit of liberality and conciliation; but he trusted likewise that some who might not consider the claim as exactly one which could be mathematically demonstrated to be one of justice, but who regarded it as a claim connected with the gallant struggle of the farmers and yeomen, and with the independent condition of a large portion of the peasantry of the country—he trusted that there were many such who would not hesitate to give their support to a proposition, the reasonableness of which was, to his mind, clear and satisfactory both in its substance and spirit.

Mr. Disraeli's motion was negatived by a narrow majority, the numbers being—For the resolution, 252; against, 273. Mr. Gladstone voted in the minority, and Sir Robert Peel in the majority.

Another important question of this session was the proposed extension of the benefits of constitutional government to certain of the colonial dependencies. In a comprehensive speech, Lord John Russell unfolded the details of the Government policy on this subject, and introduced the Australian Colonies Government Bill. This measure was combated at every stage. In the outset, referring to the proposition for a single chamber, Mr. Gladstone said he should hereafter press upon the House the expediency of having a double chamber in the scheme of the Australian constitutions. When the colonists knew that the Cape was to have an elective upper chamber they would desire one too. Accordingly, when Mr. Walpole moved his amendment, the object of which was to establish two chambers, one nominated by the Crown, the other elected by the colonists, Mr. Gladstone supported the separation into two chambers. The original clause, however, was carried by 198 to 147. On the bringing up of the report, Sir W. Molesworth moved that the bill be recommitted for the purpose of omitting all clauses which empowered the Colonial Office to disallow colonial laws, to cause colonial bills to be reserved, and to instruct colonial governors as to their conduct in the local affairs of the colonies, and for the purpose of adding clauses defining imperial and colonial powers. Mr. Gladstone, in explaining his vote in favour of this motion, said it was a most important and valuable object to emancipate the colonies from the control of the Government at home, as far as was consistent with imperial interests. The difficulties suggested were not a sufficient answer to a motion for considering whether it was not practicable to devise a sufficiently strict enumeration of imperial questions, and thereby get rid of a great portion of the machinery of an administrative department which had of necessity worked in a way to cause painful disputes. Sir W. Molesworth's motion having been rejected, Mr. Gladstone then moved the insertion of a clause empowering the bishop, clergy, and laity of the Church of England in any colonial diocese to meet, and by mutual consent make regulations for the conduct of their ecclesiastical affairs, guarding the enactment with various provisoes.

The proposed clause was opposed by Mr. Labouchere and others, and upon a division it was rejected by 187 votes to 102. Mr. Gladstone, notwithstanding, carried his opposition to the Government measure to its final stage. On

the order for the third reading on the 13th of May, he moved an amendment with the object of suspending the passing of the bill until the colonies should have had an opportunity of considering its provisions, in conjunction with the proposals varying from them which had been submitted to the House. There was nothing strange, he maintained, in the demand for delay, and they had no proof that the wishes of the colonists in general were in favour of the bill. He adduced evidence to prove that any of its provisions were repugnant to their declared wishes. He objected to the bill in that it permitted, and even required, the constant interference and review of the authorities at home in the local affairs of the colonies; that it authorised the creation, at the requisition of two colonies, of a General Assembly, to exercise a legislative power over all: that it bequeathed, as the last act of imperial legislation for the colonies, a constitution which entrusted the great work of colonial legislation to a single chamber in each colony, and that chamber composed in part of Government nominees. He complained that they had never given the colonists a chance of a double chamber at all, while the very Government which had denied this chance to the Australian colonists had given to the colonists of the Cape of Good Hope a chamber of representatives and a legislative council based upon the principle of election. On a division, the motion was lost by 226 against 128. Mr. Gladstone acted as teller in this division, his colleague being his seconder, Mr. Roebuck. In the minority, supporting Mr. Gladstone, were Mr. Disraeli, Mr. J. Evelyn Denison, Mr. Sidney Herbert, Mr. Goulburn, Mr. R. Palmer, and Mr. Walpole. Looking back upon this division list, and upon Mr. Gladstone's co-teller and supporters, we are tempted to exclaim over the many Parliamentary changes that have since occurred—as Wycherley said in contemplating the portrait of his youth—*Quantum mutatus ab illo!*

Twice during the session Mr. Gladstone addressed the House on questions connected with slavery. On the 31st of May, Sir Edward N. Buxton brought forward the following resolution:—'That it is unjust and impolitic to expose the free-grown sugar of the British Colonies and possessions abroad to unrestricted competition with the sugar of foreign slave-trading countries.' The Chancellor of the Exchequer opposed the motion on the ground that it would check the growing spirit of energy in the West Indies, and inspire the delusive hope of a revival of Protection. Mr. Gladstone supported the motion, but asked for only a limited period of Protection, exceptional circumstances seeming to demand it. It was not emancipation, he said, which had

ruined the West Indies, but the false policy that succeeded it; for the artificial scarcity of labour in the islands Parliament was responsible. Sir R. Peel had referred to the West Indies as being an exception from the general category of Free Trade. If the evils from which the sugar-growing colonies were suffering could be cured by the restoration of Protection, he (Mr. Gladstone) would vote for it. But though they could not be, he was still of opinion that the scale of duties ought to be arrested in its descent. The negro population had fallen back in the social scale, and this question vitally affected them as well as the ill-used West India proprietors. He claimed for the latter a fixed period of Protection, which would enable them to surmount their present difficulties. Lord Palmerston touched upon the various inconsistencies of the debate, insisting (not altogether fairly) that Mr. Gladstone intended to vote for a resolution to perpetuate Protection, a system which he condemned. Sir E. N. Buxton's motion was negatived by 275 against 234. The second debate connected with slavery (which, in fact, preceded in point of time that on Sir E. N. Buxton's motion) arose on a resolution proposed by Mr. Hutt for an address to the Crown to direct that negotiations be forthwith entered into for the purpose of releasing this country from all treaty engagements with foreign States for maintaining armed vessels on the coast of Africa to suppress the traffic in slaves. The motion was defeated by a considerable majority. Mr. Gladstone, in supporting it, stated that he joined with those who stigmatised the slave trade as a detestable traffic; but as regarded the system of armed repression, it had long ago been pronounced futile by Sir F. Buxton; it had also been condemned by Lord John Russell, and by the most responsible and credible witnesses. Not only had the squadron failed to extinguish the trade, but it had made no progress towards extinction; and Mr. Gladstone read statements in support of his assertion. The success of our squadron in Africa would be visionary unless we repealed the Sugar Duties Act, doubled the squadron, obtained the right of search from France and America, with power to punish foreign crews; and finally Spain and Brazil must be forced to fulfil their treaties. But the object England had in view eluded her grasp; the slave trader mocked at our vigilance; and while they were in pursuit of that end which philanthropists held most dear, they were only increasing those sufferings which it was their object and desire to prevent.

Upon a motion being brought forward by Mr. Heywood for an inquiry into the state of the English and Irish universities, the Government unexpectedly gave their consent to the issuing of a

Royal Commission for that purpose. In the course of the debate, Mr. Gladstone said that any person who might be deliberating with himself whether he would devote a portion of his substance for prosecuting the objects of learning, civilisation, and religion, would be checked by the prospect that at any given time, and under any given circumstances, a Minister, who was the creature of a political majority, might institute a State inquiry into the mode in which the funds he might devise were administered. It was not wise to discourage eleemosynary establishments. Yet while he pleaded the cause of the English universities, he admitted that they had not done for learning all that they might have done; but they had, nevertheless, answered the circumstances of the times, and the exigencies of the country. It would be better for the Crown to see what could be done to improve the colleges under its control by administering the existing law, rather than to issue the proposed Commission.

But the most important debate of this session—and one in which the whole foreign policy of the Government was virtually challenged—arose out of the affairs of Greece. The facts lay in a comparatively small compass. The Greek Government having refused to afford compensation in response to certain demands which the English Government had made on account of the claims of specified British subjects, Admiral Sir Wm. Parker was directed to proceed to Athens, for the purpose of obtaining satisfaction. Failing in this, the Admiral blockaded the Piræus. The news of this somewhat high-handed proceeding produced dissatisfaction in certain quarters in England, the policy being condemned as unworthy of the dignity, and discreditable to the reputation, of a power like Great Britain. The debates in both Houses initiated upon this Greek question took a wider scope than the facts just enumerated, and eventually included our relations with France. The stability of the Whig administration depended upon the results of the discussions. Lord Palmerston, whose policy as Foreign Minister was thus assailed, before the great debate in the House of Commons came on, tendered an explanation of the circumstances attending the withdrawal of the French Minister from London, and related the proceedings which had taken place on the part of the representatives of both Governments; alleging also his strong desires to conciliate the French Government, and to restore an amicable understanding between the two countries. In the House of Lords, upon a resolution moved by Lord Stanley, the Government found themselves in a minority of 37. This gave the impending debate in the Commons additional importance, the fall of the Ministry following as a natural consequence,

unless the Lower House should reverse the condemnation pronounced by the Upper. Mr. Roebuck—much to the surprise of many—came to the defence of the Government, by proposing the following motion:—'That the principles which have hitherto regulated the foreign policy of her Majesty's Government are such as were required to preserve untarnished the honour and dignity of this country, and, in times of unexampled difficulty, the best calculated to maintain peace between England and the various nations of the world.' The debate commenced on the 24th of June, and extended over four nights. It was marked on both sides of the House by speeches of unusual oratorical excellence and brilliancy. Sir Robert Peel delivered a powerful speech against Ministers, and one memorable now, not only for its eloquence, but also from the melancholy fact that it was the last speech he was fated to deliver before that assembly in whose midst he had so long been a conspicuous figure. Lord Palmerston energetically defended his policy in a speech of nearly five hours' duration. At its close he challenged the verdict of the House whether the principles which had guided the foreign policy of her Majesty's Ministers had been proper and fitting, and whether, as a subject of ancient Rome could hold himself free from indignity by saying *Civis Romanus sum*, a British subject in a foreign country should not be protected by the vigilant eye and the strong arm of the Government against injustice and wrong.

Mr. Gladstone's speech in a rhetorical sense was worthy of the occasion, and fully entitled to rank with the remarkable orations of Lord Palmerston, Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Cockburn, Mr. Cobden, and Mr. Disraeli. It was trenchant and exhaustive, producing a great effect on the House. Touching first upon the position of the Government, and the constitutional doctrines which they had laid down in regard to it, Mr. Gladstone severely condemned the conduct of the First Minister of the Crown in sitting down contentedly under the censure of the House of Lords, and in sheltering himself under precedents which were in reality no precedents at all. The champion of the Government, the hon. member for Sheffield, had not deemed it prudent to raise the same issue as that raised in the House of Lords, but had shifted his issue, in order to enlist in favour of Lord Palmerston the sympathies of those who believed that he studied to promote popular principles. There was an indication of a very great unwillingness to meet the discussion upon the affairs of Greece. With reference to this Greek question, he (Mr. Gladstone) repudiated precedents which involved the conduct of strong countries against weak ones. He then examined the cases upon

which the main issue depended. In that of Stellio Sumachi no redress had been demanded; his wrongs, which, if true, were most serious, remained to that hour unrequited; if he was tortured, he had not even twenty pounds' worth of consolation, nor had the police officers charged with maltreating him been dismissed. Then there was the case of Mr. Finlay, even more important still, in which there came out the grand question, how the relations of British subjects, domiciled in foreign countries, were to be regulated. Where the law of the country was applicable to the case, it had been admitted that the tribunals must first be resorted to. The law applied in this case, yet, although Mr. Finlay was bound to go before those tribunals to which he had always been referred by the Greek Government, diplomatic measures had been employed in his behalf. The Greek Government threw no impediment in the way of arbitration. Baron Gros, who acted as the representative of France, stated most distinctly that the reason why the arbitration had made no progress was this: that Mr. Finlay, who was the complaining party, and whose duty it was to make his case before the arbitrators, did not produce the necessary documents and proofs of his claim. The case of M. Pacifico stood upon the same footing as that of Mr. Finlay; if the Courts were not resorted to, a recourse to diplomatic action was unjustifiable. Under ordinary circumstances, the character of M. Pacifico would not matter one straw in considering his claims to compensation; but M. Pacifico himself compelled the House to examine rather narrowly into the question of his character. With regard to the enormous claims on his behalf—claims amounting to something like £30,000 out of a total of £32,000 or £33,000—it was a fact that the whole of the allegations respecting these claims rested entirely on his personal credit. After a close examination of the details of the claims, Mr. Gladstone asked—Did M. Pacifico seek civil redress? No, he did not even attempt it; all such complaints were received without scrutiny by the British Minister, and reprisals were made upon Greek property to the amount of £80,000. In summing up his charges against Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone affirmed that instead of trusting and trying the tribunals of the country, and employing diplomatic agency simply as a supplemental resource, he had interposed at once in the cases of Mr. Finlay and M. Pacifico the authority of foreign power, in contravention both of the particular stipulations of the treaty in force between this country and Greece, and of the general principles of the law of nations; and had thus set the mischievous example of abandoning the methods of law

and order, in order to repair to those of force. The fruit of this policy had been humiliation in regard to France, and a lesson received without reply from the Autocrat of all the Russias. Non-interference had been laid down as the basis of our conduct towards other nations; but the policy of Lord Palmerston had been characterised by a spirit of active interference. British influence might, on fit occasions, be exercised with other countries to extend institutions from which we derived so much benefit; but we were not to make occasions, and become propagandists of even sound political doctrines. No Minister could really protect Englishmen, except upon principles of policy which universal consent had prescribed for the government of nations. Mr. Gladstone then replied in the following terms to Lord Palmerston's allusion to the Roman citizen:—

'Sir, great as is the influence and power of Britain, she cannot afford to follow, for any length of time, a self-isolating policy. It would be a contravention of the law of nature and of God, if it were possible for any single nation of Christendom to emancipate itself from the obligations which bind all other nations, and to arrogate, in the face of mankind, a position of peculiar privilege. And now I will grapple with the noble lord on the ground which he selected for himself, in the most triumphant portion of his speech, by his reference to those emphatic words, *Civis Romanus sum*. He vaunted, amidst the cheers of his supporters, that under his administration an Englishman should be, throughout the world, what the citizen of Rome had been. What then, sir, was a Roman citizen? He was the member of a privileged caste; he belonged to a conquering race, to a nation that held all others bound down by the strong arm of power. For him there was to be an exceptional system of law; for him principles were to be asserted, and by him rights were to be enjoyed, that were denied to the rest of the world. Is such, then, the view of the noble lord as to the relation which is to subsist between England and other countries? Does he make the claim for us that we are to be uplifted upon a platform high above the standing-ground of all other nations? It is, indeed, too clear, not only from the expressions but from the whole tone of the speech of the noble viscount, that too much of this notion is lurking in his mind; that he adopts, in part, that vain conception that we, forsooth, have a mission to be the censors of vice and folly, of abuse and imperfection, among the other countries of the world; that we are to be the universal schoolmasters; and that all those who hesitate to recognise our office can be governed only by prejudice or personal animosity, and should have the blind war of diplomacy forthwith declared against them. And certainly, if the business of a Foreign Secretary properly were to carry on diplomatic wars, all must admit that the noble lord is a master in the discharge of his functions. What, sir, ought a Foreign Secretary to be? Is he to be like some gallant knight at a tournament of old, pricking forth into the lists, armed at all points, confiding in his sinews and his skill, challenging all comers for the sake of honour, and having no other duty than to lay as many as possible of his adversaries sprawling in the dust? If such is the idea of a good Foreign Secretary, I, for one, would vote to the noble lord his present appointment for his life. But, sir, I do not understand the duty of a Secretary for Foreign Affairs to be of such a character. I understand it to be his duty to conciliate peace with dignity. I think it to be the very first of all his duties studiously to observe, and to exalt in honour among mankind, that great code of principles which is termed the law of nations, which the honourable and learned member for Sheffield has found, indeed, to be very vague in their nature, and greatly dependent on the discretion of each particular country, but in which I find, on the contrary, a great and noble monument of human wisdom, founded on the combined dictates of reason and experience, a precious inheritance bequeathed to us by the generations that have gone before us, and a firm foundation on which we must take care to build whatever it may be our part to add to their acquisi-

tions, if, indeed, we wish to maintain and to consolidate the brotherhood of nations and to promote the peace and welfare of the world.'

Mr. Gladstone went on to contend that it was our insular temper, and our self-glorifying tendency, which the policy of the noble lord, and the doctrines of his supporters, tended so much to strengthen, and which had given to that policy the quarrelsome character that marked some of their speeches. Then came the peroration of his speech:—

'Sir, I say the policy of the noble lord tends to encourage and confirm in us that which is our besetting fault and weakness, both as a nation and as individuals. Let an Englishman travel where he will as a private person, he is found in general to be upright, high-minded, brave, liberal, and true; but with all this, foreigners are too often sensible of something that galls them in his presence, and I apprehend it is because he has too great a tendency to self-esteem—too little disposition to regard the feelings, the habits, and the ideas of others. Sir, I find this characteristic too plainly legible in the policy of the noble lord. I doubt not that use will be made of our present debate to work upon this peculiar weakness of the English mind. The people will be told that those who oppose the motion are governed by personal motives, have no regard for public principles, no enlarged ideas of national policy. You will take your case before a favourable jury, and you think to gain your verdict; but, sir, let the House of Commons be warned—let it warn itself—against all illusions. There is in this case also a course of appeal. There is an appeal, such as the honourable and learned member for Sheffield has made, from the one House of Parliament to the other. There is a further appeal from this House of Parliament to the people of England; but, lastly, there is also an appeal from the people of England to the general sentiment of the civilised world; and I, for my part, am of opinion that England will stand shorn of a chief part of her glory and pride if she shall be found to have separated herself, through the policy she pursues abroad, from the moral supports which the general and fixed convictions of mankind afford—if the day shall come when she may continue to excite the wonder and the fear of other nations, but in which she shall have no part in their affection and regard.

No, sir, let it not be so; let us recognise, and recognise with frankness, the equality of the weak with the strong; the principles of brotherhood among nations, and of their sacred independence. When we are asking for the maintenance of the rights which belong to our fellow-subjects resident in Greece, let us do as we would be done by, and let us pay all the respect to a feeble State, and to the infancy of free institutions, which we should desire and should exact from others towards their maturity and their strength. Let us refrain from all gratuitous and arbitrary meddling in the internal concerns of other States, even as we should resent the same interference if it were attempted to be practised towards ourselves. If the noble lord has indeed acted on these principles, let the Government to which he belongs have your verdict in its favour; but if he has departed from them, as I contend, and as I humbly think and urge upon you that it has been too amply proved, then the House of Commons must not shrink from the performance of its duty under whatever expectations of momentary obloquy or reproach, because we shall have done what is right; we shall enjoy the peace of our own consciences, and receive, whether a little sooner or a little later, the approval of the public voice for having entered our solemn protest against a system of policy which we believe, nay, which we know, whatever may be its first aspect, must, of necessity, in its final results be unfavourable even to the security of British subjects resident abroad, which it professes so much to study—unfavourable to the dignity of the country, which the motion of the honourable and learned member asserts it preserves—and equally unfavourable to that other great and sacred object, which also it suggests to our recollection, the maintenance of peace with the nations of the world.'

In a debating sense, this speech was the finest which Mr. Gladstone had yet delivered in the House of Commons, and its power was acknowledged by members on both sides of the House.

The importance attached to it may be gathered from a sentence in the speech of Mr. (now Lord Chief Justice) Cockburn, who on the following night rose to reply to it. Referring to Mr. Gladstone, the distinguished advocate said, 'I suppose we are now to consider him as the representative of Lord Stanley in this House—Gladstone *vice* Disraeli, am I to say, resigned or superseded?' On a division upon Mr. Roebuck's motion, the Government succeeded in obtaining a majority of 46, the numbers being—Ayes, 310; Noes, 264.

A lamentable accident which occurred to Sir Robert Peel on the 29th June, 1850, deprived England of one of her most illustrious statesmen. It appears that only a few minutes before this sad incident, Sir Robert had called at Buckingham Palace for the purpose of leaving his card upon her Majesty. In proceeding up Constitution Hill he had met one of Lady Dover's daughters, and exchanged salutes with her. Immediately afterwards his horse became slightly restive, swerved towards the rails of the Green Park, and threw Sir Robert sideways on his left shoulder. Assistance was speedily at hand—Dr. Foucart amongst others having witnessed the accident, and hastened to the spot. On being raised, Sir Robert groaned heavily, and in reply to the question whether he was much hurt, said, 'Yes, very much.' He was conveyed home, but the effect of meeting his family was extremely painful, and he swooned in the arms of Dr. Foucart. He was placed upon a sofa in the dining-room, and from this room he was never removed. A consultation was held between Sir Benjamin Brodie, Mr. Cesar Hawkins, Dr. Seymour, and Mr. Hodgson, but Sir Robert's sufferings were so acute, that a minute examination of his injuries could not be made. He lingered for two or three days before the end came. An examination made after death disclosed the important fact that the fifth rib on the left side was fractured. This was the region where Sir Robert complained of suffering the greatest pain, and was probably the seat of the mortal injury—the broken rib pressing on the lung, and producing what is technically known as effusion and pulmonary engorgement.* The news of Sir Robert Peel's death caused a feeling of poignant grief throughout the country. Great and universal were the tokens of respect paid to the memory of one who, whatever may have been his errors (and they were few and insignificant compared with his merits), had reflected undying lustre upon English statesmanship.

The French Assembly gave testimony of their appreciation of

* *Annual Register* for 1850.

the deceased by unanimously entering an official minute respecting his death, with a record of their sympathetic regret. In England, the national sorrow found voice in the House of Commons. On the 3rd of July, Mr. Hulme alluded to the great loss which the nation had sustained, and moved that the House should at once adjourn, without transacting any further business. In the Lords, the Duke of Wellington and Lord Brougham referred in touching terms to the departed statesman. The latter, who had frequently been in antagonism with Sir Robert Peel, acknowledged cheerfully and unreservedly the splendid merits of that eminent individual, and said, 'At the last stage of his public career, chequered as it was—and I told him in private that chequered it would be—when he was differing from those with whom he had been so long connected, and from purely public-spirited feelings was adopting a course which was so galling and unpleasing to them—I told him, I say, that he must turn from the storm without to the sunshine of an approving conscience within. Differing as we may differ on the point whether he was right or wrong, disputing as we may dispute on the results of his policy, we must all agree that to the cause which he believed to be advantageous to his country he firmly adhered, and that in pursuing it he made sacrifices compared with which all the sacrifices exacted from public men by a sense of public duty, which I have ever known or read of, sink into nothing.' Such was the leader whom Mr. Gladstone had faithfully followed for many years. In his own tribute to his late chief in the House of Commons, some of the emotion which naturally arose in his breast after the loss of one so eminent found vent in words. Supporting Mr. Hume's motion, Mr. Gladstone said:—

'I am quite sure that every heart is much too full to allow us, at a period so early, to enter upon a consideration of the amount of that calamity with which the country has been visited in his, I must even now say, premature death; for though he has died full of years and full of honours, yet it is a death which our human eyes will regard as premature; because we had fondly hoped that, in whatever position he was placed, by the weight of his character, by the splendour of his talents, by the purity of his virtues, he would still have been spared to render to his country the most essential services. I will only, sir, quote those most touching and feeling lines which were applied by one of the greatest poets of this country to the memory of a man great indeed, but yet not greater than Sir Robert Peel:—

"Now is the stately column broke,
The beacon light is quenched in smoke;
The trumpet's silver voice is still;
The warder silent on the hill."*

Sir, I will add no more—in saying this I have, perhaps, said too much. It might have been better had I simply confined myself to seconding the motion. I am sure the tribute of respect which we now offer will be all the more valuable from the silence

* Sir Walter Scott's lines on William Pitt, which will be found in the introduction to the First Canto of *Marmion*.

with which the motion is received, and which I well know has not arisen from the want, but from the excess, of feeling on the part of members of this House.'

After the death of Sir Robert Peel began the disintegration of the party distinguished by his name. Several of its members formally joined the Conservative ranks; but others, such as Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Sidney Herbert, held themselves aloof both from the Whigs and the Tories. They did not feel themselves at liberty at once to throw in their lot with the former, for Conservative traditions still exercised considerable influence over them, and they could not join the latter, as they were already the subjects of strong liberalising tendencies. From this time forward, and almost until Sir James Graham's death, eleven years afterwards, Mr. Gladstone was greatly indebted to that statesman for his growth in the principles and the administrative art in politics. Although by no means always a popular, Sir James Graham was eminently a practical statesman, skilled in the routine of Parliamentary life, and capable of greatly influencing and impressing younger politicians with strongly-developed business aptitudes. Indeed, the influence he wielded over many of his contemporaries appears to have been much greater than that exercised by men of more commanding talents in the world of statesmanship. His knowledge of Parliamentary tactics made him a power; and it was said of him that if he could be prevailed upon to speak in the course of a great debate, his speech was worth fifty votes. His Parliamentary lore was displayed with such advantage in the Committee on Privilege, in reference to the right of the Lords to interfere on a money bill, that he averted a collision between the two Houses of the Legislature. He was confessedly—said an estimate formed of him upon his death—the best educated and most thoroughly accomplished statesman of the period, though in regard to particular endowments he was inferior to several other distinguished men. No contemporary speaker was able so entirely to command the undivided attention of the House of Commons. He appears, however, to have had two serious defects—in the first place, his great understanding was not balanced by an equally strong judgment; and, secondly, he suffered from a moral timidity which paralysed him at the most anxious and critical moments. However great may have been the indebtedness of Mr. Gladstone to Sir James Graham, if the former had not been possessed of far wider sympathies—to say nothing of superior special intellectual qualities—than his political mentor, he could never have conceived and executed those important legislative Acts by which his name will now chiefly be remembered.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NEAPOLITAN PRISONS.

Mr. Gladstone's Visit to Naples—Letters to Lord Aberdeen on the Despotism of the Neapolitan Government—Opposition Deputies Imprisoned—'The Negation of God erected into a System of Government'—Description of the Prisons—The Case of Poerio—Mr. Gladstone's Second Letter to Lord Aberdeen—His Charges substantially correct—The matter brought before the House of Commons—Lord Palmerston's reply—Character of the Answers to Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet—Official Reply of the Neapolitan Government—Completely inadequate in its Nature—Examination of the Document—Mr. Gladstone supported in his Charges—Results of his Intervention—The Struggles for Italian Independence—Work of Cavour and Garibaldi—The Movement assisted by Mr. Gladstone.

FOR several months in the course of the winter of 1850-51, Mr. Gladstone resided at Naples, circumstances which the right hon. gentleman himself described as 'purely domestic' having taken him thither. The results of this residence in the Neapolitan capital were destined to acquire a more than even European celebrity. Having learned that a large number of the citizens of Naples, who had formed the Opposition in the Chamber of Deputies, had been exiled or imprisoned by King Ferdinand, and that upwards of twenty thousand of that monarch's subjects (as reported) had been thrown into prison on a charge of political disaffection, Mr. Gladstone's sympathies were immediately enlisted on behalf of the oppressed Neapolitans. The question possessed both a humanitarian and a political aspect, though in the outset it was upon the former ground that Mr. Gladstone felt himself impelled to attempt the redress of evils which were a scandal to the name of civilisation in Europe.

England and the Continent shortly rang with his denunciations of the Neapolitan system of Government. Having first carefully inquired into the truth of the statements made, only to attest their accuracy, Mr. Gladstone published two letters on the subject, addressed to the Earl of Aberdeen. In the first of these, he disclaimed any idea of having gone to Naples for the purpose of political criticism or censorship, to look for grievances in the administration of the Government, or to propagate ideas belong-

ing to another meridian. But after a residence of three or four months in the southern city, he had returned home with a deep sense of the duty upon him to make some endeavour to mitigate the horrors amidst which the Government of Naples was carried on. Three reasons had chiefly led him to adopt the present course: 'First, that the present practices of the Government of Naples, in reference to real or supposed political offenders, are an outrage upon religion, upon civilisation, upon humanity, and upon decency. Secondly, that these practices are certainly, and even rapidly, doing the work of Republicanism in that country —a political creed which has little natural or habitual root in the character of the people. Thirdly, that as a member of the Conservative party in one of the great family of European nations, I am compelled to remember that that party stands in virtual and real, though perhaps unconscious, alliance with all the established Governments of Europe as such; and that, according to the measure of its influence, they suffer more or less of moral detriment from its reverses, and derive strength and encouragement from its successes.'

Passing over the important prefatory consideration whether the actual Government of the Two Sicilies was one with or without a title, one of law or one of force, Mr. Gladstone came to the real purpose of his letter. His charge against the Neapolitan Government was not one of mere imperfection, not corruption in low quarters, not occasional severity, but that of incessant, systematic, deliberate violation of the law by the power appointed to watch over and maintain it. In this, perhaps the most impassioned passage of his letter, Mr. Gladstone formulates his indictment :— .

'It is such violation of human and written law as this, carried on for the purpose of violating every other law, unwritten and eternal, human and divine; it is the wholesale persecution of virtue, when united with intelligence, operating upon such a scale that entire classes may with truth be said to be its object, so that the Government is in bitter and cruel, as well as utterly illegal, hostility to whatever in the nation really lives and moves, and forms the main spring of practical progress and improvement; it is the awful profanation of public religion, by its notorious alliance in the governing powers with the violation of every moral rule under the stimulants of fear and vengeance; it is the perfect prostitution of the judicial office which has made it, under veils only too threadbare and transparent, the degraded recipient of the vilest and clumsiest forgeries, got up wilfully and deliberately, by the immediate advisers of the Crown, for the purpose of destroying the peace, the freedom, aye, and even, if not by capital sentences, the life of men amongst the most virtuous, upright, intelligent, distinguished, and refined of the whole community; it is the savage and cowardly system of moral as well as in a lower degree of physical torture, through which the sentences obtained from the debased courts of justice are carried into effect.

The effect of all this is a total inversion of all the moral and social ideas. Law, instead of being respected, is odious. Force, and not affection, is the foundation of government. There is no association, but a violent antagonism, between the idea of freedom and that of order. The governing power, which teaches of itself that it is the image of God upon earth, is clothed in the view of the overwhelming

majority of the thinking public with all the vices for its attributes. I have seen and heard the strong and too true expression used, "This is the negation of God erected into a system of Government." ' *

There was a general belief that the political prisoners in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies numbered between fifteen or twenty and thirty thousand; but as the Government withheld all means of information the exact numbers could not be given. From inquiries made Mr. Gladstone believed that twenty thousand was not an unreasonable estimate. In Naples alone there were some hundreds under indictment, *capitally*. He had been inclined to regard as monstrous and incredible a statement that nearly all those who formed the Opposition in the Chamber of Deputies under the Constitution were in prison or exile; but he was confronted with a list in detail which too fully proved the truth of the assertion. Out of 140 deputies—this being the average of those who came to Naples to exercise the functions of the Chamber—76 had been either arrested or had gone into exile. So that the Government of Naples had 'consummated its audacity by putting into prison, or driving into banishment undergone for the sake of escaping prison, an actual majority of the representatives of the people.'

So much for the numbers of those incarcerated. But the mode of procedure, also, was arbitrary in the extreme. The law of Naples required that personal liberty should be inviolable, except under a warrant from a court of justice. Yet in utter defiance of this law the Government watched the people, paid domiciliary visits, ransacked houses, seized papers and effects, and tore up floors at pleasure under pretence of searching for arms, imprisoned men by the score, by the hundred, by the thousand, without any warrant whatever, sometimes without even any written authority at all, or anything beyond the word of a policeman, constantly without any statement whatever of the nature of the offence. Charges were fabricated to get rid of inconvenient persons. Perjury and forgery were resorted to in order to establish charges, and the whole mode of conducting trials was a burlesque of justice. Describing the dungeons, Mr. Gladstone says, 'The prisons of Naples, as is well known, are another name for the extreme of filth and horror. I have really seen something of them, but not the worst. This I have seen, my Lord: the official doctors not going to the sick prisoners, but the sick prisoners, men almost with death on their faces, toiling up-stairs to them at that charnel-house of the Vicaria, because the lower regions of such a palace of darkness are too foul and loathsome to allow it to be expected that professional

* '*E la negazione di Dio eretta a sistema di governo.*'

men should consent to earn bread by entering them.' The diet was abominable, and the filth of the prisons unendurable. After narrating the hardships of one Pironte, formerly a judge, and of the Baron Porcari, Mr. Gladstone deals with the case of the distinguished patriot, Carlo Poerio. He was a refined and accomplished gentleman, a copious and elegant speaker, a respected and blameless character, yet he had been arrested and condemned for treason. After a pretty full examination of his case, the writer said, 'The condemnation of such a man for treason is a proceeding just as conformable to the laws of truth, justice, decency, and fair play, and to the common sense of the community—in fact, just as great and gross an outrage on them all—as would be a like condemnation in this country of any of our best-known public men—Lord John Russell, or Lord Lansdowne, or Sir James Graham, or yourself.' There was no name dearer to the English nation than was that of Poerio to his Neapolitan fellow-countrymen. The case of Settembrini was also a mournful and remarkable one. The capital sentence passed upon him was not executed, but he was reserved for a fate much harder—double irons for life on a remote sea-girt rock, and it was feared that he was directly subjected to physical torture. The mode specified was that of thrusting sharp instruments under the finger nails. Mr. Gladstone narrates in detail the iniquitous proceedings in connection with Poerio, who had been tried and condemned on the sole acusation of a worthless character named Jervolino. Yet Poerio would have been acquitted by a division of four to four of his judges, had not Navarro (who sat as a judge while directly concerned in the charge against the prisoner), by the distinct use of intimidation, procured the number necessary for a sentence. A statement is furnished, on the authority of an eye-witness, as to the inhumanity with which invalid prisoners were treated by the Grand Criminal Court at Naples; and Mr. Gladstone also minutely describes the manner of the imprisonment of Poerio and sixteen of his co-accused. Each prisoner bore a weight of chain amounting to thirty-two pounds, and for no purpose whatever were these chains undone. All the prisoners were confined night and day in a small room, which may be described as amongst the closest of dungeons. But Poerio was condemned after this to even a still lower depth of calamity. 'Never before have I conversed,' says Mr. Gladstone, speaking of Poerio, 'and never probably shall I converse again, with a cultivated and accomplished gentleman, of whose innocence, obedience to law, and love of his country, I was as firmly and as rationally assured as of your lordship's or that of any other man of the very highest character,

whilst he stood before me amidst surrounding felons, and clad in the vile uniform of guilt and shame. But he is now gone where he will scarcely have the opportunity even of such conversation. I cannot honestly suppress my conviction that the object in the case of Poerio, as a man of mental power sufficient to be feared, is to obtain the scaffold's aim by means more cruel than the scaffold, and without the outcry which the scaffold would create.' Mr. Gladstone concluded his letter by saying that it was time either the veil should be lifted from scenes fitter for hell than for earth, or that some considerable mitigation should be voluntarily adopted.

The second letter to Lord Aberdeen was the sequel to the first. In it the writer said he had been anxious, in the first instance, that all that was possible in the way of private representation and remonstrance should be attempted; and he did not regret the course he had taken, though it entailed serious delays. Meeting the natural inquiry why he should simply appear in his personal capacity through the press, instead of inviting to this grave and painful question the attention of that House of Parliament to which he belonged, Mr. Gladstone said that he had advisedly abstained from mixing up his statements with any British agencies or influences which were official, diplomatic, or political. The claims and interests which he had in view were either wholly null and valueless, or they were broad as the extension of the human race, and long-lived as its duration. As to his general charges he had nothing to retract. He stood upon the conviction that his representations had not been too highly charged and that the most disgraceful circumstances were those which, rested upon public notoriety, or upon his own personal knowledge. It was alleged that he had greatly overstated the number of prisoners; and though his own calculation was founded on reasonable opinion, he would give the Neapolitan Government the full benefit of the contradiction. The number of political prisoners, *in itself*, was a secondary feature of the case; if they were fairly and legally arrested, fairly and legally treated before trial—fairly and legally tried, that was the main matter. He was aware that, for the honour of human nature, statements such as he had made should in the first instance be received with incredulity. Men ought to be slow to believe that such things could happen, and happen in a Christian country, the seat of almost the oldest European civilisation. But though thus disposed in the outset, he hoped they would not bar their minds to the entrance of the light, however painful were the objects it might disclose. The general probability of his statements could not, unfortunately, be gainsaid. Having established this, he proceeds to set forth

certain material points connected with the political position of the Government of Naples. He examines the articles of the Neapolitan Constitution, and contrasts them with the actual government of the country, in contradiction and defiance, at every point, of its indisputable and fundamental law. He also shows, from a catechism in vogue, the debased ideas concerning moral, political, and religious questions taught to the youths of Naples. He concludes, however, by exempting —regarding them as a body—the clergy of the Roman Catholic Church from implication in the proceedings of the Government.

As a natural consequence, these letters excited great indignation in this country, the proceedings of the Neapolitan Government being utterly repugnant and abhorrent to the feelings of every true Englishman. Before the House of Commons was prorogued, attention was drawn to Mr. Gladstone's statements. Sir De Lacy Evans put the following question to the Foreign Secretary:—'From a publication entitled to the highest consideration, it appears that there are at present above 20,000 persons confined in the prisons of Naples for alleged political offences; that these prisoners have, with extremely few exceptions, been thus immured in violation of the existing laws of the country, and without the slightest legal trial or public inquiry into their respective cases; that they include a late Prime Minister and a majority of the late Neapolitan Parliament, as well as a large proportion of the most respectable and intelligent classes of society; that these prisoners are chained two and two together; that these chains are never undone, day or night, for any purpose whatever, and that they are suffering refinements of cruelty and barbarity unknown in any other civilised country. It is, consequently, asked if the British Minister at the Court of Naples has been instructed to employ his good offices in the cause of humanity, for the diminution of these lamentable severities, and with what result?' Lord Palmerston replied that her Majesty's Government had received with pain a confirmation of the impressions which had been created by various accounts they had received from other quarters, of the very unfortunate calamitous condition of the kingdom of Naples. The British Government, however, had not deemed it a part of their duty to make any formal representations to the Government of Naples on a matter that related entirely to the internal affairs of that country. 'At the same time,' his lordship continued, 'Mr. Gladstone—whom I may freely name, though not in his capacity of a member of

Parliament—has done himself, I think, very great honour by the course he pursued at Naples, and by the course he has followed since; for I think that when you see an English gentleman, who goes to pass a winter at Naples, instead of confining himself to those amusements that abound in that city, instead of diving into volcanoes and exploring excavated cities—when we see him going to courts of justice, visiting prisons, descending into dungeons, and examining great numbers of the cases of unfortunate victims of illegality and injustice with a view afterwards to enlist public opinion in the endeavour to remedy those abuses—I think that is a course that does honour to the person who pursues it; and concurring in feeling with him that the influence of public opinion in Europe might have some useful effect in setting such matters right, I thought it my duty to send copies of his pamphlet to our Ministers at the various Courts of Europe, directing them to give to each Government copies of the pamphlet, in the hope that, by affording them an opportunity of reading it, they might be led to use their influence in promoting what is the object of my hon. and gallant friend—a remedy for the evils to which he has referred.' This announcement by the Foreign Secretary was warmly cheered by the House. A few days afterwards Lord Palmerston was requested by Prince Castelcicala to forward the reply of the Neapolitan Government to the different European Courts to which Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet had been sent. His lordship, with his wonted courage and independent spirit, replied that he 'must decline being accessory to the circulation of a pamphlet which, in my opinion, does no credit to its writer, or the Government which he defends, or to the political party of which he professes to be the champion.' He also informed the Prince that information received from other sources led him to the conclusion that Mr. Gladstone had by no means overstated the various evils which he had described; and he (Lord Palmerston) regretted that the Neapolitan Government had not set to work earnestly and effectually to correct the manifold and grave abuses which clearly existed.

The replies to Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet were both virulent and numerous. They appeared in London, Paris, Turin, and Naples. M. Jules Gondon, editor of the *Univers*, took up the cause of the Government which Mr. Gladstone had sucessfully assailed; but the value of his reply may be gauged from the concluding sentence of his work, in which he describes the Sovereign of Naples as follows:—'*Oui, je m'étais renfermé dans les limites de la vérité la plus rigoureuse, en appelant Ferdinand*

II. le plus digne et le meilleur des Rois!'* M. Gondon wrote from the standpoint of a bigoted son of the Roman Catholic Church, and his work evidently proves him to have been much more concerned that the virtues of that 'most religious monarch' King Ferdinand should have been called into question, than he was over the sufferings of thousands of men who had been unjustly convicted, and condemned to languish in the prisons of Naples. Another French critic, M. Alphonse Balleydier, also replied to Mr. Gladstone, but in a similar strain. In high-sounding periods (which did nothing to remove the impressions that Mr. Gladstone's revelations had created) he attacked both the writer of the pamphlet and Lord Palmerston with extraordinary bitterness and disingenuousness. He attributed much of what had been said against King Ferdinand to the spite of the democrats, who had never forgiven him for having dared to dispute his crown with them, and to vanquish them. He denied the right of Lord Palmerston to constitute himself a judge of the Neapolitan Government, and demanded, '*Mais qu'importe la vérité à Lord Palmerston, qu'importe l'exactitude des faits à celui dont la conduite politique se règle sur le mensonge?*'† These answers were, in truth, no answers at all, but pamphlets written from the controversial point of view, because something was necessary to be said by way of defence. And the professed corrections they made of Mr. Gladstone's statement did not touch the real basis of the question. The writer announced in his second letter that to such contradictions of his allegations as were not subject to be verified, cross-examined, or exposed, he should decline to attend. One answer was put forward, however, which demanded some attention, viz., the official reply of the Neapolitan Government.‡

To this, accordingly, Mr. Gladstone addressed himself, in a pamphlet published in the following year, 1852. He hastened to place the reply point by point in the scales along with his own accusations. The reply was in reality a tacit admission of the accuracy of nine-tenth parts of the statements in the letters to Lord Aberdeen. Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to enumerate the few retractations which he had to make, and which were five in number. He had been in error as to the prisoner Settembrini having been tortured, and also as to his having been condemned

* *La Terreur dans le Royaume de Naples. Lettre au Right Honorable W. E. Gladstone, membre du Parlement Britannique, en réponse à ses deux lettres à lord Aberdeen. Par Jules Gondon. Paris.*

† *La Vérité sur les Affaires de Naples: Réfutation des Lettres de M. Gladstone. Par Alphonse Balleydier. Paris.*

‡ *Rassegna degli Errori e delle Fallacie publicate dal Sig. Gladstone, in due sue Lettere indiritte al Conte Aberdeen. Napoli, Stamperia del Fibreno,* 1851.

to double irons for life; the statement that six judges had been dismissed at Reggio upon presuming to acquit a batch of political prisoners required modifying to three; seventeen invalids had not been massacred in the prison of Procida during a revolt, as stated; and certain prisoners alleged to have been still incarcerated after acquittal had been released after the lapse of two days. These were the only modifications he had to make in his previous statements. Not one amongst the whole list of his accusations rested on hearsay, and he now proceeded to demonstrate how small and insignificant a fraction of error had made its way into his letters. He fearlessly asserted that corporal agony was inflicted, and that without judicial authority, by the Neapolitan police in the prisons. Settembrini, a political prisoner, was confined in a small room with eight other prisoners. One of the latter boasted of having murdered, at different times, thirty-five persons. Several of these exploits he had committed upon his prison companions, and the murders in this Ergastolo had exceeded fifty in a single year. Although in the massacre at Procida invalids were not slain, yet prisoners who took refuge and hid under beds were dragged forth and shot in cold blood by the *gendarmi* after order had been restored. The work of slaughter was twice renewed, and two officers received promotion or honours for that abominable enormity.

Dealing with the points in which the Neapolitan Government had controverted the substance of his inculpatory statements, Mr. Gladstone found no cause to recede from, but rather to heighten those statements. After examining thoroughly various points of detail, he defended at length his statement as to the enormous number of the prisoners. One sample of the blunders made by his critics may be given. M. Gondon had published a romantic account of Poerio's career, his connection with Mazzini at Paris, his contributions to the *Giovine Italia*, &c., whereas Poerio never knew Mazzini, never was at Paris, never wrote a line in the *Giovine Italia*. All the replies had failed to prove him wrong in any of his substantial charges. 'The arrow has shot deep into the mark,' observed Mr. Gladstone, 'and cannot be dislodged. But I have sought, in once more entering the field, not only to sum up the state of the facts in the manner nearest to exactitude, but likewise to close the case as I began it, presenting it from first to last in the light of a matter which is not primarily, or mainly, political, which is better kept apart from Parliamentary discussion, which has no connection whatever with any peculiar idea or separate object or interest of England, but which appertains to the sphere of humanity at large, and well deserves the consideration of every man who feels a concern for the

well-being of his race, in its bearings on that well-being; on the elementary demands of individual domestic happiness; on the permanent maintenance of public order; on the stability of thrones; on the solution of that great problem which, day and night in its innumerable forms, must haunt the reflections of every statesman both here and elsewhere, how to harmonise the old with the new conditions of society, and to mitigate the increasing stress of time and change upon what remains of this ancient and venerable fabric of the traditional civilisation of Europe.' Although the question had been asked whether a Government 'could be induced to change its policy because some individual or other had by lying accusations held it up to the hatred of mankind,' yet he had the satisfaction of knowing that upon the challenge of a mere individual, the Government of Naples had been compelled to plead before the tribunal of general opinion, and to admit the jurisdiction of that tribunal. It was to public sentiment that the Neapolitan Government was paying deference when it resolved on the manly course of an official reply; and he hoped that further deference would be paid to that public sentiment in the complete reform of its departments and the whole future management of its affairs. After a consideration of the political position of the throne of the Two Sicilies in connection with its dominions on the mainland, Mr. Gladstone thus concluded his examination of the official reply of the Neapolitan Government:—'I express the hope that it may not become a hard necessity to keep this controversy alive until it reaches its one possible issue, which no power of man can permanently intercept; I express the hope that while there is time, while there is quiet, while dignity may yet be saved in showing mercy, and in the blessed work of restoring Justice to her seat, the Government of Naples may set its hand in earnest to the work of real and searching, however quiet and unostentatious, reform; that it may not become unavoidable to reiterate these appeals from the hand of power to the one common heart of mankind; to produce those painful documents, those harrowing descriptions, which might be supplied in rank abundance, of which I have scarcely given the faintest idea or sketch, and which, if they were laid from time to time before the world, would bear down like a deluge every effort at apology or palliation, and would cause all that has recently been made known to be forgotten and eclipsed in deeper horrors yet; lest this strength of offended and indignant humanity should rise up as a giant refreshed with wine, and, while sweeping away these abominations from the eye of Heaven, should sweep away

along with them things pure and honest, ancient, venerable, salutary to mankind, crowned with the glories of the past, and still capable of bearing future fruit.'

Mr. Gladstone was not left single-handed in the defence of his original letters to Lord Aberdeen. There was published anonymously *A Detailed Exposure of the Apology put forth by the Neapolitan Government*—a remarkably able and conclusive pamphlet.* Mr. Gladstone himself acknowledged the carefulness and knowledge with which this reply was written. The author examined the official answer point by point, showing its utter inadequacy to meet Mr. Gladstone's charges. He thanked the authors, prompters, and distributors of the Government defence, the more so because of their imprudent step in answering at all. There was 'no Machiavel in the Neapolitan Cabinet,' or he would have advised them with cutting irony, 'Let others write,' but do you answer nothing. Be content with having beaten down by armed violence the liberties you guaranteed by oaths. Be content with the fact of oppression upholding the fact of perjury. Be wise and be silent.'

Although Mr. Gladstone's pamphlets struck a powerful yet indirect blow at Neapolitan despotism, and thus contributed towards the great movement for a regenerated and a united Italy, his original objects were not immediately gained. If France and England had unitedly brought strong pressure to bear upon the Government of Naples, substantial redress might possibly have been obtained; but such joint action was not at once forthcoming. In a note appended to the fourteenth edition of his letters, Mr. Gladstone stated that by a royal decree of the 27th of December, 1858, ninety-one political prisoners therein named had their punishment commuted into perpetual exile from the kingdom of the Two Sicilies; but a Ministerial order of January the 9th, 1859, directed that they should be conveyed to America. Out of these ninety-one prisoners no fewer than fourteen had died long before in dungeons; such as Emilio Mazza, who died in 1851; Luigi Lanza and Father Girolamo da Cardinale, a Capucin, who died in 1854; Giuseppe Dardano, who died in 1855; and others. Sixty-six embarked on the 16th of January, and were taken to Cadiz, where they were shipped on board an American sailing vessel, which was to have conveyed them to New York, but eventually landed them at Cork. Eleven more were kept behind, either because it was afterwards thought advisable not to release them, as in the case of Longo and Delli Franci, two artillery officers, who were still in the

* Longmans, 1852.

dungeons of Gaeta; or because the prisoners were too ill to be moved, as was the case with Pironti, who was paralytic; or because they were in some provincial dungeons too far from Naples. Such was the fate of some of the patriots officially liberated by Ferdinand's successor, Francis II.

It may be mentioned here, while we are treating of Italian questions, that Mr. Gladstone executed and published in 1851 a translation of Farini's important and bulky work, *The Roman State, from* 1815 *to* 1850. In a letter from the author to his translator, the former said that he had dedicated the concluding volume of his work to Mr. Gladstone, who, by his love of Italian letters, and by his deeds of Italian charity, had established a relationship with Italy in the spirit of those great Italian writers who had been their masters in eloquence, in civil philosophy, and in national virtue, from Dante and Macchiavelli down to Alfieri and Gioberti. Signor Farini endorsed the charges made by Mr. Gladstone against the Neapolitan Government. 'The scandalous trials for high treason,' he observed, still continue at Naples; accusers, examiners, judges, false witnesses, all are bought; the prisons, those tombs of the living, are full; two thousand citizens, of all ranks and conditions, are already condemned to the dungeons; as many to confinement; double that number to exile; the majority guilty of no crime but that of having believed in the oaths made by Ferdinand II.' But, in truth, nothing more was needed to press home the indictment.

Italy, generally, was at the period of Mr. Gladstone's visit to Naples—and, indeed, had been for some time previously—in a disturbed condition. Italian nationality was already the cry of many ardent patriots, and the whole of northern Italy was chafing under the galling yoke of Austria. The Sicilians were eventually reduced to subjection, after a noble struggle on their part, and Brescia and Rome fell before the overwhelming Austrian power. In the south, however, Venice bravely prolonged the contest for independence, though unfortunately ineffectually. We have seen the infamous measures which the King of Naples adopted for the suppression of every aspiration after liberty in his dominions. This system of misgovernment went on for some years longer, and was the principal cause of the revolutionary movements which continually disturbed the Italian peninsula. Meanwhile, Count Cavour was working for the independence of Italy, and in April, 1856, he addressed to the British and French Governments a protest against the failure of the Paris Conference to settle the Italian question. Italy, he said, had been disturbed for the last seven years, during which a violent system of repression had prevailed. A settlement had been hoped for from

the Conference, but, as this had failed, he feared that the commotions would break out with greater excitement than ever. Remonstrances were afterwards made with the King of Naples and his Ministers, but these were of no avail, only drawing forth an assertion of the liberty of the Sovereign to deal with his subjects as he pleased. France and England accordingly withdrew their representatives from Naples.

The storm shortly afterwards broke. It is unnecessary to follow in detail the noble struggles for Italian independence, which are matter of recent and familiar history. In 1860 the brilliant successes of Garibaldi drove Francis II. into a condition of terror. Like all evil men, when faced with the consequences of their misdeeds, he made the most lavish protestations of amendment, and promised liberal reforms. But it was now too late. The victorious General pushed forward, and the work of liberation proceeded apace. A decree was ultimately issued by Garibaldi, stating that the Two Sicilies, which had been redeemed by Italian blood, and which had freely elected him their dictator, formed an integral part of one and indivisible Italy, under the constitutional king Victor Emmanuel and his descendants. One by one the great questions connected with Italian unity were solved. The dethronement and expulsion from his kingdom of Francis II. were the just and legitimate fruits of the hateful policy pursued by himself and his predecessor. Count Cavour was the brain, as Garibaldi was the hand, of that mighty movement which resulted in the unity of Italy; but, as Englishmen, we may take pride in the fact that not the least amongst the precipitating causes of this movement was the fearless exposure by Mr. Gladstone of the cruelties and tyrannies of the Neapolitan Government.

Lord Palmerston, indeed, reflected the national sentiment of England when he declared from his place in the House of Commons that Mr. Gladstone had done himself honour by the course he had thus pursued in relation to the Neapolitan prisons. He had lifted his voice with energy and effect on behalf of oppressed humanity, and in condemnation of one of the worst and most despotic Governments that have ever afflicted mankind. This episode remains, and ever will remain—in the estimation both of his fellow-countrymen and the friends of justice and freedom throughout the world—one of the brightest in his career.

CHAPTER VIII.

MR. GLADSTONE'S FIRST BUDGET.

Mr. Gladstone and the Conservative Party—The Session of 1851—Papal Aggression—The Government losing Popularity—Ecclesiastical Titles Bill—Speech of Mr. Gladstone—Dismissal of Lord Palmerston—Defeat of the Russell Government—Lord Derby forms a Ministry—Death of the Duke of Wellington—Meeting of the New Parliament—A Free Trade Debate—Mr. Sidney Herbert's Rebuke of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—A Dramatic Scene—Mr. Disraeli's Budget—Attacked by Mr. Gladstone—Defeat and Resignation of the Government—Lord Aberdeen takes office—Mr. Gladstone Chancellor of the Exchequer—Opposition to his Re-election for Oxford University—Returned by a Substantial Majority—Policy of the Aberdeen Ministry—Mr. Gladstone's Scheme for the Reduction of the National Debt—His First Budget—Eloquently Expounded—Its Effect upon the House—Details of the Financial Statement—Masterly Analysis of the Income-tax—Comprehensive Character of the Budget—Opposition on the Question of the Income-tax—The Budget passes—Its Reception by the Press and the Country—The Chancellor of the Exchequer a worthy Successor of Pitt and Peel.

BEFORE discussing the brilliant financial measures of 1853, which caused Mr. Gladstone's name to be associated with those of Pitt and of Peel, it is of importance to touch, however briefly, on the sessions of 1851 and 1852. It was during this period that Mr. Gladstone became finally alienated from the Conservative party, although he did not throw himself completely into the Liberal ranks until some years afterwards. The precise date at which he ceased to be nominally a Conservative cannot be assigned, for Mr. Gladstone has himself stated that so late as 1851 he had not formally left the Tory party. Nevertheless his advance towards Liberalism in the sessions above-named was very pronounced. There was certainly a marked declination from the old Conservative standard. His trusted leader was dead, and there were questions coming to the front which he felt demanded from him something more than the *non possumus* of his early political creed.

A few days after the opening of Parliament, in 1851, Lord John Russell moved for leave to bring in a bill to counteract the aggressive policy of the Church of Rome. The country was well-nigh in a condition of panic in consequence of Papal aggression, and Lord John Russell had given an impetus to the popular feeling by his famous Durham letter. For four days the House

of Commons debated the question, and at length the Premier's motion was carried by 395 votes against 63. This enormous majority attested the existing wide-spread fear of Romish machinations; but before the measure thus approved could be carried through the House, political events of an important nature transpired. The Ministerial party was to a great extent demoralised, while the Conservatives were strong and compact, and had received the temporary adhesion of the Peelites. The deep distress which prevailed in the agricultural districts induced Mr. Disraeli to renew his motion upon the burdens on land and the inequalities of taxation, and accordingly he brought forward a resolution to the effect that it was the duty of the Government to introduce measures for the alleviation of the distress without delay. The Government admitted that there was a prevalence of distress, but denied that it was increasing. They advanced statistics proving that pauperism had greatly declined in all parts of the kingdom—England, Scotland, and Ireland. The revenue had increased so as to reach the unexampled amount of £70,000,000, and commerce was in a most prosperous condition. Sir James Graham stigmatised the motion as an attempt to turn out the Administration, to dissolve Parliament, and to return to Protection. Ministers, however, only obtained the small majority of 14 in a House consisting of 548 members. An actual defeat of the Government occurred on the 20th of February, upon Mr. Locke King's motion to introduce a bill for assimilating the county franchise to that of the boroughs. Lord John Russell spoke against the resolution, but it was carried by 100 against 52. The Government also lost prestige by the Chancellor of the Exchequer's budget, introduced on the 17th of February. It demanded a renewed lease for three years of the unpopular income-tax, but promised a partial remission of the window duties, together with some relief to the agriculturists. Later in the session, the first financial statement having been stifled, a second budget was produced. A house-tax was imposed, and the bonus to the agriculturists withdrawn. The window-tax was also repealed, but the income-tax was re-demanded for three years. Although the main features of the budget were accepted by the House, the Government sustained several defeats on minor financial questions, which tended still further to diminish their popularity.

In February, Lord John Russell having determined to retire, Lord Stanley was sent for by the Queen, but was unable to form a Ministry; the Earl of Aberdeen was next summoned, but the penal measures against the Roman Catholics being unpalatable to the Peelites, he declined to take office. The crisis ended in

Lord John Russell's consenting to retain his position. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was now pushed forward. This measure 'encountered the strong opposition of almost all the men who had assisted in removing those restrictions on the religious liberty of Englishmen which Lord John Russell had done more perhaps than any living man to take away.' But, besides this, the measure was so emasculated as to be viewed with little satisfaction by the staunch Protestants, while to the Roman Catholics it appeared only in the light of an insult. The Peelites were most strongly opposed to the bill.

The debate on the second reading was one of the longest Parliamentary discussions which had occurred for many years. Sir James Graham delivered an effective speech against the bill, but perhaps the most powerful oration on the same side came from Mr. Gladstone. He said he chose to rest upon the fact that our Constitution was strong enough to resist any aggression by any power whatsoever. If they attempted to defend the Church of England by temporal legislation, they would utterly fail. If the Papal authorities had interfered with the temporal affairs of the country, in a manner not permitted to any other religious body, legislation was not only permissible and just, but demanded. But till that could be shown, we had no right to interfere. Referring to the vaunting and boastful character of the Papal documents, Mr. Gladstone condemned this spirit, but he asked whether it was just to make our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects suffer for language for which they were not responsible? The bill was most inadequate for its purpose, and he proceeded to analyse its provisions. Because the Roman Catholics recognised the Pope as their spiritual head, this did not justify us in interfering with their religious freedom. The friends of the bill must show that the bishops were not spiritual officers, but appointed for temporal purposes, before there was ground for interference: and if the appointment of bishops, *per se*, was a spiritual, not a temporal act, why exempt the Scottish bishops? There was nothing in the rescript to show that it possessed any temporal character, and therefore there was not a shadow of ground for the bill. Mr. Gladstone next pointed out the effect which such a measure would have upon the two parties existent in the Romish community. The Roman Catholic laity and secular clergy, who were the moderates, had for several centuries been struggling for the appointment of diocesan bishops, while the regulars and cardinals at the Vatican —the extreme party—had persistently struggled against it. By adopting the proposed legislation, the Roman Catholics would be driven back upon the Pope, and consequently become alienated

and estranged from ourselves. Mr. Gladstone, in concluding, said that the opponents of the bill, though in a minority, were strong in the consciousness of a strong cause. They had justice on their side, and believed that public opinion would soon follow.

The division list reflected the temper of the time. The Government obtained an overwhelming majority, the numbers being—For the second reading of the bill, 438; against, 95. But in this small minority were many of the most distinguished men in the House—men who had always been true to the principles of civil and religious liberty—Gladstone, Roundell Palmer, Bright, Cobden, Hume, Graham, Milner Gibson, and others. The bill, though opposed in its subsequent stages, eventually passed.

On the 24th of December, 1851, Lord Palmerston was dismissed from the office of Foreign Secretary, on the ground that he had on various occasions acted independently of his colleagues. While the Cabinet had passed a resolution to abstain from the expression of opinions in approval or disapproval of the recent *coup d'état* in France, it was complained that Lord Palmerston had, both in public despatches and private conversation, spoken favourably of the policy adopted by Louis Napoleon. In the following February the Militia Bill came on for discussion, and upon an amendment moved by Lord Palmerston the Government were defeated. Lord John Russell resigned, and Lord Derby succeeded. The latter made unsuccessful overtures to Mr. Gladstone to join his Ministry: in the irony of events, it was destined that the Derby Administration should not be supported, but virtually driven out of office, by Mr. Gladstone.

A Militia Bill, and some other measures—chiefly of a social and sanitary character—were passed, and then the Government dissolved, being in a minority in the House. During the recess, England was called upon to lament the death of the great Duke of Wellington, who passed away on the afternoon of the 14th of September. A public funeral was awarded to the victor of Waterloo, and on the assembling of Parliament many eloquent tributes were paid to his memory. Less ornate than some other speeches, Mr. Gladstone's eulogy of the Duke was valuable as drawing out the special lessons to be deduced from a career like his—a life which had been extended by Providence to a green old age, and which had ended full of honours. Here is a passage from the address:—

'While many of the actions of his life, while many of the qualities he possessed, are unattainable by others, there are lessons which we may all derive from the life and actions of that illustrious man. It may never be given to another subject of the British Crown to perform services so brilliant as he performed; it may never be given to another man to hold the sword which was to gain the independence of

Europe, to rally the nations around it, and while England saved herself by her constancy, to save Europe by her example; it may never be given to another man, after having attained such eminence, after such an unexampled series of victories, to show equal moderation in peace as he has shown greatness in war, and to devote the remainder of his life to the cause of internal and external peace for that country which he has so served; it may never be given to another man to have equal authority both with the Sovereign he served, and with the Senate of which he was to the end a venerated member; it may never be given to another man after such a career to preserve even to the last the full possession of those great faculties with which he was endowed, and to carry on the services of one of the most important departments of the State with unexampled regularity and success, even to the latest day of his life. These are circumstances, these are qualities, which may never occur again in the history of this country. But there are qualities which the Duke of Wellington displayed, of which we may all act in humble imitation: that sincere and unceasing devotion to our country; that honest and upright determination to act for the benefit of the country on every occasion; that devoted loyalty, which, while it made him ever anxious to serve the Crown, never induced him to conceal from the Sovereign that which he believed to be the truth; that devotedness in the constant performance of duty; that temperance of his life, which enabled him at all times to give his mind and his faculties to the services which he was called on to perform; that regular, consistent, and unceasing piety by which he was distinguished at all times in his life; these are qualities that are attainable by others, and these are qualities which should not be lost as an example.'

The new Parliament, which had not strengthened the hands of the Government, assembled in November. A debate which opened on the 23rd demands some mention for its extraordinary incidents. Mr. Villiers proposed a resolution affirming that the improved condition of the people had been mainly owing to commercial legislation, and especially to the Act of 1846 for the free importation of foreign corn, and that the principle of Free Trade ought to be consistently extended and carried out. Mr. Disraeli regarded this motion as a vote of want of confidence, and in the course of the long discussion which ensued, accepted an amendment suggested by Lord Palmerston. Lord John Russell held that the real question at issue was Free Trade or Protection, and the Peelites warmly vindicated the policy of their deceased leader. Mr. Villiers's motion was negatived by 336 to 256; and Lord Palmerston's amendment—which affirmed that the principle of unrestricted competition, together with the abolition of protecting taxes, had diminished the cost and increased the supply of the chief articles of food, and so brought about the improved state of the country—was adopted by 468 to 53. During the debate, Mr. Disraeli—whose power of forgetfulness of the past is one of the most fortunate ever conferred upon a statesman—declared that the main reason why his party had opposed Free Trade was not that it would injure the landlord, nor the farmer, but that 'it would prove injurious to the cause of labour.' He also added, amidst exclamations of astonishment and cries of 'Oh, oh!' that 'not a single attempt had been made in the House of Commons to abrogate the measure of 1846.' Mr. Bright and others having spoken, Mr.

Sidney Herbert—whose chivalrous spirit had been wounded to the quick by the assaults on Sir Robert Peel—rose to defend the great Conservative statesman. His speech contained one passage of scathing invective addressed to Mr. Disraeli. After expressing his admiration for Sir Robert Peel as a politician and a political leader, and his love for the man, Mr. Herbert continued, 'I don't confound hon. gentlemen opposite with those who calumniated Sir Robert Peel. I recollect, even at the moment when party strife was embittered to the uttermost, when men's passions rose high, when great disappointment was felt at the course Sir Robert Peel had taken—even at that moment there were hon. gentlemen opposite who continued a general support to his Government, and who never, when they opposed this very bill, either threw a doubt upon his motives or assailed his integrity. I say, then, that the memory of Sir Robert Peel requires no vindication—his memory is embalmed in the grateful recollection of the people of this country; and I say, if ever retribution is wanted—for it is not words that humiliate, but deeds—if a man wants to see humiliation, which God knows is always a painful sight, he need but look there!'—and upon this Mr. Herbert pointed with his finger to Mr. Disraeli, sitting on the Treasury Bench. The sting of invective is truth, and Mr. Herbert certainly spoke daggers if he 'used none;' yet the Chancellor of the Exchequer sat impassive as a Sphinx. There were those even upon the Government benches who admitted the truth of the charges which called forth Mr. Herbert's dramatic condemnation.*

Early in December, Mr. Disraeli, in an exhaustive speech extending over five hours and a quarter, brought forward his budget. Its leading features may be shortly indicated. It proposed to remit a portion of the taxes upon malt, tea, and sugar; and, in order to counterbalance these losses to the revenue, the Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to extend the income-tax to funded property and salaries in Ireland, and to fix the point of exemption on industrial incomes at £100 a-year and on incomes from property at £50, the rate in Schedules A and C being as before 7d. in the pound, and in B, D, and E 5¼d. It was, moreover, proposed to extend the house-tax to houses rated at £10 a-year and upwards, instead of £20, as well as to increase the rate of the assessment. Private houses then paid 9d. and

* In 1846, 1849, and 1850, on four or five distinct occasions, Mr. Disraeli declared the Free Trade policy of Sir Robert Peel a failure, and in one of his speeches he described that statesman's career as 'one great appropriation clause.' Mr. Bernal Osborne expressed his astonishment that Mr. Disraeli, 'in a November session in 1852, and with a face which he never saw equalled in the theatre, dared to tell the House that he had never attempted to reverse the policy of Free Trade!'

shops 6d. in the pound; and Mr. Disraeli proposed that the former should pay 1s. 6d. and the latter 1s. The tax would then amount in the whole to about £150,000 a-year less than the window duty. To meet the extra expenditure of £2,100,000, the Chancellor would have half a year's income-tax, £2,500,000. He calculated that in 1854-55 there would be a loss arising from the various remissions, together with an increase of £600,000 in the estimates, of £3,587,000, while the Ways and Means would amount to £3,510,000.

Both the exemptions and remissions in this budget excited great opposition, and Mr. Gladstone, in a speech which extracted admiration for its energy and luminosity—but which was also regarded by some as almost too bitter and pungent—fiercely assailed the scheme. The debate was prolonged over several sittings, and towards its conclusion Mr. Disraeli, in reply, attacked several members of the House, but especially Sir James Graham, with unusual acerbity. In rebuking him, Mr. Gladstone began by telling the right hon. gentleman that he was not entitled to charge with insolence men of as high position and of as high character in the House as himself. Having been prevented by the cheers of the House from completing this sentence, Mr. Gladstone thus concluded:—'I must tell the right hon. gentleman that he is not entitled to say to my right hon. friend, the member for Carlisle, that he regards but does not respect him. And I must tell him that whatever else he has learnt—and he has learnt much—he has not learnt to keep within those limits of discretion, of moderation, and of forbearance that ought to restrain the conduct and language of every member in this House, the disregard of which, while it is an offence in the meanest amongst us, is an offence of tenfold weight when committed by the leader of the House of Commons.' The whole debate was conducted with an exceptional amount of personal feeling on both sides of the House. Mr. Gladstone insisted that the income-tax was the first question to be discussed, inasmuch as the Government proposed its reconstruction as well as its extension; but he condemned the whole financial scheme as unsound and delusive, and if the House gave it its sanction, he predicted that the day would come when the vote would be looked back upon with bitter but ineffectual repentance.

That day, however, was destined never to appear, a result chiefly due to Mr. Gladstone's opposition to the Government proposals. His crushing *exposé* of the blunders of the budget was almost ludicrous in its completeness, and it was universally felt that the scheme could not survive his brilliant onslaught.

The resolution respecting the house duty was put to the vote on the 15th of December, when the numbers were—For the Government, 286; against, 305—majority against the Ministry, 19. From this debate may be said to date that actual and formal political antagonism between Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone whose record now extends over a generation. It may have been foreshadowed in previous debates, but it was the session of 1852 which first witnessed these distinguished statesmen pitted against each other as political leaders and rivals..

Lord Derby resigned in consequence of the defeat on the budget, and the Earl of Aberdeen was called upon to form a Ministry. There was but one possible Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone, and he accordingly acceded to the office. Re-elections were necessary in the case of those members of the new Ministry who had seats in the House of Commons, and Mr. Gladstone again appealed to his University to return him, and endorse his acceptance of office under the Earl of Aberdeen. But the right hon. gentleman speedily discovered that he had made many enemies by his obvious tendencies towards Liberal-Conservatism. He had given decisive indications that he held less firmly the old traditions of that unbending Toryism of which he was once the most promising representative. Mr. Gladstone's seat at Oxford was accordingly warmly contested.

In the outset, some difficulty was experienced in procuring a candidate of strong Conservative principles. The Marquis of Chandos was first applied to, but he declined to oppose Mr. Gladstone, and at length an opponent was found in Mr. Dudley Perceval, of Christ Church, son of the Right Hon. Spencer Perceval. The nomination took place on the 4th of January. Mr. Gladstone was proposed by Dr. Hawkins, Provost of Oriel, and Mr. Perceval by Archdeacon Denison. In accordance with custom at University elections, neither candidate was present. The opposition to the Chancellor of the Exchequer was based chiefly on his votes on ecclesiastical questions, and on his acceptance of office in a hybrid Ministry. The *Times*, writing sarcastically of Mr. Perceval, described him as 'a very near relative of our old friend Mrs. Harris. To remove any doubt on this point, let him be exhibited at Exeter Hall with documentary evidence of his name, existence, and history; his First-class, his defeat at Finsbury, his "talents," his principles. If we must go to Oxford to record our votes, it would at least be something to know that we were voting against a real man, and not a mere name.' The *Morning Chronicle* affirmed that a section of the Carlton Club were 'making a tool of the Oxford Convocation

for the purpose of the meanest and smallest political rancour against Mr. Gladstone.'

Two days after the nomination, the Chancellor of the Exchequer wrote the following letter to the Chairman of his Election Committee:—'Unless I had a full and clear conviction that the interests of the Church, whether as relates to the legislative functions of Parliament, or the impartial and wise recommendation of fit persons to her Majesty for high ecclesiastical offices, were at least as safe in the hands of Lord Aberdeen as in those of Lord Derby (though I would on no account disparage Lord Derby's personal sentiments towards the Church), I should not have accepted office under Lord Aberdeen. As regards the second, if it be thought that during twenty years of public life, or that during the latter part of them, I have failed to give guarantees of attachment to the interests of the Church — to such as so think I can offer neither apology nor pledge. To those who think otherwise, I tender the assurance that I have not by my recent assumption of office made any change whatever in that particular, or in any principles relating to it.' The poll lasted for fifteen days, and at its close Mr. Gladstone was found to have been returned by a substantial majority. The numbers were—Gladstone, 1,022; Perceval, 898—majority of 124. Mr. Gladstone had large majorities in Christ Church, Balliol, and Exeter; Mr. Perceval had small majorities in Queen's New, St. John's, Wadham, and Magdalen Hall. Of Professors, 74 voted for Gladstone, and only 15 for Mr. Perceval, while 12 were neutral.

On the assembling of Parliament, the Earl of Aberdeen announced in the House of Lords that the measures of the Government would be both Conservative and Liberal, for both were necessary. At home, their mission would be to maintain and extend Free Trade principles, and to pursue the commercial and financial system of the late Sir Robert Peel. With regard to foreign affairs, it was their earnest desire to secure the general peace of Europe, without any relaxation of the defensive measures which had lately been undertaken.

Before introducing his budget, on the 8th of April, Mr. Gladstone unfolded his scheme for the reduction of the National Debt. This took the form of fifteen resolutions, divided into three parts. The funded debt stood in 1852 at £765,126,582, and the unfunded debt at £17,742,800. By the Chancellor's first operation he proposed to liquidate a number of minor stocks, including the bank annuities of 1726, the three per cent. annuities of 1751, and the South Sea stock and annuities. These stocks furnished a total amount of £9,500,000, and being different in denomination, needlessly complicated the debt. He

offered to convert the stocks into new securities, or to pay them off, at the option of the holders, and he calculated that on the former process, by the reduction of a quarter per cent. in the interest, a permanent saving would be effected of £25,000 per annum, while if the stocks were paid off altogether, the saving would be far greater. By the second series of resolutions Mr. Gladstone proposed to deal with the Exchequer bonds in such a manner as to secure a saving of one per cent. Thirdly, he desired 'to effect the voluntary commutation of the three per cent. consols and the three per cent. reduced, amounting altogether to £500,000,000, into one or other of two new stocks which he proposed to create, and which would be as like each other as possible in their conditions, so that the fund-holders would probably be induced to take portions of both.'

These resolutions were not only supported by the general adherents of the Government, but also by the most prominent Radical members in the House, and in the end were adopted. That the new Finance Minister had not miscalculated the advantages of his scheme is shown by the fact that after it came into operation, and before the outbreak of the Crimean war, the debt had been reduced by no less a sum than £,11533,581. At the commencement of 1854 the funded debt of the country stood at £755,311,701 ; and the unfunded debt at £16,024,100.

On the 18th of April the House of Commons listened spell-bound to the details of a budget which, for statesmanlike breadth of conception, had, perhaps, never been surpassed, and has not since been equalled. Mr. Gladstone spoke for five hours with the greatest ease and perspicuity, and without begetting in the minds of his audience the slightest feeling of *ennui*. Even while dealing with the most abstruse financial details, the orator's command of language never failed him. A contemporary writer states that he never once paused for a word during the whole of the five hours, and awards to him the palm of an unsurpassed fluency and a choice diction. 'The impression produced upon the minds of the crowded and brilliant assembly by Mr. Gladstone's evident mastery and grasp of the subject was, that England had at length found a skilful financier, upon whom the mantle of Peel had descended. The cheering when the right hon. gentleman sat down was of the most enthusiastic and prolonged character, and his friends and colleagues hastened to tender him their warm congratulations upon the distinguished success he had achieved in his first budget.' When the louder plaudits had subsided, a hum of approbation still went round the House, and extended even to the fair occupants of the ladies' gallery.

Mr. Gladstone began his statement by submitting to the committee the account of the country. The revenue, he observed, had been estimated by Mr. Disraeli at £51,625,000, but at the termination of the financial year it was actually no less than £53,089,000, showing an increase of £1,464,000. The expenditure, which had been estimated at £51,163,000, had only reached £50,782,000; so that altogether there was a surplus of income over expenditure to the amount of £2,460,000. But it would be a precipitate inference to conclude that the whole of this amount was available for the remission of taxation. No less than £1,400,000, or nearly three-fifths of the surplus, had already been disposed of by votes of the House for the defence of the country, and by the charges on account of miscellaneous services. After all necessary deductions, and making allowance for fluctuations in the revenue, there would only be a balance of £700,000. The total estimated expenditure for 1853-54 was £52,183,000; and the total estimated income for the year £52,990,000. Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to state that the relief desired by the West Indian interests could not be granted, nor could any change in the law be proposed in the nature of an equalisation of spirit duties as between colonial and domestic produce.

Anticipating the most striking passages of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's exposition, it will be convenient here to summarise the leading features of the Budget. The surplus in round numbers—without making allowance for uncertainties in revenue—amounted to £805,000. This it was proposed to increase to £2,149,000, by the imposition of new taxes estimated to yield £1,344,000 during the current year, but whose ultimate production was anticipated to be as follows:—Extension of income-tax to all incomes between £100 and £150 per annum, at the rate of 5d. per pound, £250,000; extension of income-tax to Ireland, £460,000—giving (after deducting the loss by exemption on account of life assurance) a net increase in the income-tax of £590,000; extension of legacy duty to real property, £2,000,000; increase in spirit duties, £436,000; and increase in alteration from scale of licences to brewers and dealers in tea, coffee, tobacco, and soap, £113,000. But from the total gain of £3,139,000 was to be deducted the interest upon £4,000,000, the amount of the debt due from Ireland in connection with the establishment of the Poor Law system and the visitation of the famine, which it was proposed entirely to forego, and for which she had hitherto been liable to an annual charge of £245,000. Taking the other side of the account, the intended reduction of taxation was as follows:—Abolition of the soap tax, £1,126,000; reduction of the duty on life assurance,

£29,000; reduction in the scale of receipt stamps, £155,000, reduction of duty on indentures of apprenticeship, attorneys' certificates, and articles of apprenticeship, £50,000; reduction of advertisement duty and abolition of stamp duties upon newspaper advertisement supplements, £160,000; reduction of duty on hackney carriages, £26,000; reduction of tax on men-servants, £87,000; reduction of tax on private carriages, £95,000; reduction of tax on horses and ponies (less alteration of duty on dogs), £108,000; alteration in the post-horse duties, £54,000; reduction of colonial postage to a uniform rate of sixpence, £40,000; reduction of the tea duty (which was ultimately to descend to one shilling), £3,000,000; reduction of duties on apples, cheese, &c., £262,000; reduction of duties on one hundred and thirty-three minor articles of food, £70,000; and abolition of duties on one hundred and twenty-three other minor articles of food, £53,000. Speaking in round numbers, the total amount of relief by these reductions was £5,300,000, though for the actual financial year it was limited to £2,568,000. The loss to the revenue, after allowing for increased consumption, was thus £1,656,000. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in order to meet this loss, proposed new taxes for the same period which would yield £1,344,000, making, with the surplus already calculated of £805,000, an available aggregate of £2,149,000. Consequently, on the 5th of April, 1854, a favourable balance of £493,000 was still to be anticipated. Nor were these various estimates at all sanguine, judging from the actual financial condition of the country. But he dipped too deeply into the future. In 1854 the balance between the taxes imposed and those taken off would give an additional £220,000 in favour of the country; while between that period and 1860, when the £6,140,000 of income-tax was to be surrendered, the saving from the reduction of the three and a quarter per cents. and the lapse of the long annuities, and of a large amount of terminable annuities, would have been sufficient to render its re-imposition unnecessary. But more than this; arguing from past experince, the revenue would have entirely recovered itself, so that the savings, as they accrued, would be applicable to new reductions. These bright financial prospects were, unfortunately, doomed to be clouded by events which even the most sagacious could scarcely at this time be expected to foresee.

The most masterly and effective portion of Mr. Gladstone's speech was that in which he dealt with the income-tax. He reminded the House of what this tax had done for the country in times of national emergency and peril, and asked them to consider what it might do again, if it pleased God that those

times of peril should return. 'It was in the crisis of the revolutionary war that, when Mr. Pitt found the resources of taxation were failing under him, his mind fell back upon the conception of the income-tax; and when he proposed it to Parliament, that great man, possessed with his great idea, raised his eloquence to an unusual height and power.' The speaker then briefly sketched the results which had been achieved by this colossal engine of finance, which was in full force from 1806 to 1815. The average annual expenses of war and government during these years, together with the charge upon the debt contracted before 1793, was £65,794,000; while, in consequence of the income-tax, the revenue of the country (which before 1798 amounted only to £20,626,000) amounted to £63,790,000. The deficiency was thus reduced from fifteen millions, or thereabouts, to two millions. After citing some other figures, showing the potency of the income-tax as a means of raising money, Mr. Gladstone dwelt upon the great ends it had answered in times of war, and then examined the composition of the tax, as well as the charge that gross inequality was its leading characteristic. As to the questions raised by the two classes of payers, the owners of land and houses and those engaged in trade, he would pass by the inquiry whether there ought to be any difference whatever between the two classes; but he conclusively showed that, according to a rational estimate, land paid at that moment ninepence and trade sevenpence in the pound; and he asked any moderate man whether, if he were now about to establish a different rate of payment between the two classes, he would think of making the difference greater than it existed at that moment? The speaker entered his protest against the averaging of classes, stating that some trades were worth twenty-five years' purchase, while others were not worth more than five, four, or three years' purchase. How were they to average the interest of a trade worth three and another worth twenty-five years' purchase? As regarded the state of the case between land and trade, there was no sufficient ground to attempt the reconstruction of the income-tax. Her Majesty's Government were opposed to the breaking-up of the tax; such a policy would inevitably lead them into a quagmire. To relinquish it was altogether safe, because it was altogether honourable; but to break it up was to encourage the House of Commons to venture upon schemes which might look well on paper, and were calculated to serve the purpose of the moment, but which would end in the destruction of the tax by the absurdities and iniquities which they involved. The Government, while recognising the fact that the income-tax was an engine of gigantic power for great national purposes, were

of opinion, from the circumstances attending its operation, that it was, perhaps, impossible, and certainly not desirable, to maintain it as a portion of the permanent and ordinary finances of the country. Its inequality was a fact important in itself; the inquisition it entailed was a most serious disadvantage; and the frauds to which it led were evils which it was not possible to characterise in terms too strong. 'Depend upon it, when you come to close quarters with this subject, when you come to measure and see the respective relations of intelligence and labour and property, and when you come to represent these relations in arithmetical results, you are undertaking an operation which I should say it was beyond the power of man to conduct with satisfaction, but which, at any rate, is an operation to which you ought not constantly to recur; for if, as my hon. friend once said very properly, this country could not bear a revolution once a year, I will venture to say that it could not bear a reconstruction of the income-tax once a year. Whatever you do in regard to the income-tax you must be bold, you must be intelligible, you must be decisive. You must not palter with it. If you do, I have striven at least to point out as well as my feeble powers will permit the almost desecration I would say, certainly the gross breach of duty to your country, of which you will be found guilty, in thus jeopardising one of the most valuable among all its material resources. I believe it to be of vital importance, whether you keep this tax or whether you part with it, that you should either keep it or leave it in a state in which it would be fit for service in an emergency, and that it will be impossible to do if you break up the basis of your income-tax.'

Mr. Gladstone next observed that what the Government wished to do was to put an end to the uncertainty that prevailed respecting the income-tax, and to take effectual measures to mark the tax as a temporary one. In detailing the proposed modes of its future operation, he was met with signs of dissatisfaction from the Opposition benches, for which, however, he declared himself prepared. The Government proposition was to renew the income-tax for two years, from April, 1853, to April, 1855, at the rate of 7d. in the pound. From April, 1855, it would be enacted for two more years at 6d. in the pound, and then for three more years from April, 1857, at 5d. Under this proposal the income-tax would expire on the 5th of April, 1860. The means were then detailed for creating a fund by which, in conjunction with the existing surplus, an extensive and beneficial remission of taxes might be accomplished. The various items of increase and reduction in taxation have already been given,

and we will therefore only add the conclusion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's memorable speech:—

'If the Committee have followed me, they will understand that we stand on the principle that the income-tax ought to be marked as a temporary measure; that the public feeling that relief should be given to intelligence and skill as compared with property ought to be met, and may be met; that the income-tax in its operation ought to be mitigated by every rational means, compatible with its integrity, and, above all, that it should be associated in the last term of its existence, as it was in the first, with those remissions of indirect taxation which have so greatly redounded to the profit of this country, and have set so admirable an example—an example that has already in some quarters proved contagious to other nations of the earth. These are the principles on which we stand, and the figures. I have shown you that if you grant us the taxes which we ask, the moderate amount of £2,500,000 in the whole, and much less than that sum for the present year, you, or the Parliament which may be in existence in 1860, will be in the condition, if you so think fit, to part with the income-tax. I am almost afraid to look at the clock, shamefully reminding me, as it must, how long I have trespassed on the time of the House. All I can say in apology is, that I have endeavoured to keep closely to the topics which I had before me—

"—Immensum spatiis confecimus æquor,
Et jam tempus equum fumantia solvere colla."

These are the proposals of the Government. They may be approved or they may be condemned, but I have this full confidence, that it will be admitted that we have not sought to evade the difficulties of the position; that we have not concealed those difficulties either from ourselves or from others; that we have not attempted to counteract them by narrow or flimsy expedients; that we have prepared plans which, if you will adopt them, will go some way to close up many vexed financial questions, which, if not now settled, may be attended with public inconvenience, and even with public danger, in future years and under less favourable circumstances; that we have endeavoured, in the plans we have now submitted to you, to make the path of our successors in future years not more arduous but more easy; and I may be permitted to add that, while we have sought to do justice to the great labour community of England by furthering their relief from indirect taxation, we have not been guided by any desire to put one class against another. We have felt we should best maintain our own honour, that we should best meet the views of Parliament, and best promote the interests of the country, by declining to draw any invidious distinction between class and class, by adopting it to ourselves as a sacred aim to diffuse and distribute the burdens with equal and impartial hand; and we have the consolation of believing that by proposals such as these we contribute, as far as in us lies, not only to develope the material resources of the country, but to knit the various parts of this great nation yet more closely than ever to that Throne and to those institutions under which it is our happiness to live.'

When the long-continued cheering which followed this speech had subsided, the feeling of admiration for the brilliant manner in which the budget had been propounded was succeeded by one of speculation upon its advantages and disadvantages. Members required time to grasp the details of so comprehensive a scheme. Mr. Hume alluded to the extensive changes proposed, and although he rejoiced over one great resolve mainfested in the statement—the determination to carry out the principles of Free Trade—he regretted the manner in which the question of the income-tax had been taken up. The Government allowed some days for the House to digest the propositions of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and on the 25th of April they came on for discussion.

The first question raised was that of the income-tax. Sir E. Bulwer Lytton proposed an amendment to the effect that the continuance of the income-tax, with its extension to classes which had hitherto been exempt from its operation, was alike unjust and impolitic. The debate that ensued was very animated. Mr. Cobden, and Mr. Hume also, wished for such a reduction in the expenditure of the country as would render the objectionable impost unnecessary. Mr. Cardwell maintained that the scheme was replete with comfort and happiness to the people, and Mr. Lowe said that it was conceived in no servile spirit. Mr. Disraeli supported the amendment on the ground that the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer added to the burdens on land, while they lightened those which pressed on particular classes. He held that such privileged classes were always a source of the greatest danger to a nation, and for himself he could see no difference between a privileged noble and a privileged tobacconist. The right hon. gentleman took the opportunity of attacking Lord John Russell, whom he charged with having thrown over the Whig party, and with having accepted a subordinate office under former subordinate officers of Sir Robert Peel. Lord John Russell, in his reply, showed the inconsistency of Mr. Disraeli in supporting an amendment which left the burdens on land just where they were, and lowered the rate of tax in favour of trades and professions. He concluded with a panegyric upon Mr. Gladstone, who, he said, was to be envied amongst English Finance Ministers. If, in order to achieve his ends, it had been his fortune to live before his age, his lordship trusted he would find his reward in the approbation and support of the House, and in the gratitude of an admiring people. On a division being taken, the numbers were—For the Government plan, 323; against, 252—majority for Ministers, 71. The defeat of Sir E. Bulwer Lytton's amendment was a virtual endorsement of the budget. It was now safe in its main features, and it finally passed the House of Commons on the 27th of June.

It is seldom that a venture of such magnitude as Mr. Gladstone's first budget meets with unequivocal success. But from the outset the plan was received with unusual favour; and, being 'supported by a strong majority in-doors, and wafted forwards by a favourable breeze of popular confidence from without, it was carried over all opposition, with such modifications only as its author saw reason to admit. It was felt by all classes of persons throughout the country that its financial operations were now directed by a master-hand; that the work which Peel had so ably commenced was being carried out by Gladstone,

not in a spirit of servile imitation, but with a bold originality of conception, and a happy force and eloquence of expression, which placed him fully on a level with the lamented statesman whose work he was successfully endeavouring to complete. The people therefore submitted cheerfully to the burden of a heavy and oppressive tax, in the full conviction that the continuance of it was necessary in order to enable the Chancellor of the Exchequer to place the national finances on a footing which would increase the wealth and well-being of all classes of the people.'*

The satisfaction with which the budget was received by the House was echoed by the press and the country generally. Mr. Gladstone had not only conceived a scheme for the reduction of the National Debt, whereby the heavy burdens which accrued during Mr. Pitt's time should be successfully attacked; but it was shown with regard to his budget proposal, that, notwithstanding the increased taxation, a man with, say, £120 per annum, was really better off through these changes, in consequence of the remissions upon a vast number of articles of daily consumption, and the total abolition of the duty upon others. The whole scheme was regarded as the most able, far-sighted, and practicable of financial measures since Robert Peel's famous budget of 1844. Mr. Gladstone, in his plan, laid aside all questions of party, and those alluring baits by which he might have acquired an unbounded popularity, and legislated for the whole country—for England in the future as well as in the present. The scheme first astonished, and then pleased and satisfied the people; and the unfortunate events which shortly afterwards transpired—preventing the fruition of Mr. Gladstone's fiscal policy at this period—cannot deprive it of its high statesmanlike qualities. It demonstrated what marvellous results a capable financier could achieve under the *régime* of Free Trade.

* *The History of England from the Year* 1830. By the Rev. W. N. Molesworth, M.A.

CHAPTER IX.

THE CRIMEAN WAR.

Gathering of the Storm—Policy of the British Government—Lord John Russell's Despatch on the Holy Places—Russo-Turkish Negotiations—Mr. Gladstone on the Situation—The Czar's Manifesto—Fruitless Intervention of the Emperor Napoleon—War Inevitable—Action of the Aberdeen Cabinet—Its Desire for Peace—National Sentiment for War—The Chancellor of the Exchequer's War Budget—Approved by the House—Great Britain and France declare war against Russia—Further Financial Proposals—Mr. Gladstone's Defence of his Scheme—It is assailed unsuccessfully by the Opposition—Prorogation of Parliament.

THE year 1853 opened with the gathering of ominous clouds in the East. Englishmen look back to the stormy period which ensued with mixed feelings—admiration for the bravery displayed by our gallant troops in the Crimea, and humiliation over the mistakes and disasters which attended the course of English policy. The Czar Nicholas was in the outset responsible for the bloodshed which followed, for the diplomatic acts of Russia left no doubt as to her ulterior designs upon Turkey. It is necessary to recapitulate briefly the events of this period in order to appreciate clearly Mr. Gladstone's attitude upon foreign affairs, and to ascertain the position assumed by the Government of which he was a member. The doctrine of British interests in the East is one of which we have heard a good deal in recent years, but to trace its origin is a matter of superlative difficulty. Mr. Gladstone, however, must be held to be right in his contention that this doctrine of British interests, as involving the sole necessity of upholding the Ottoman Empire, in its perfect and complete integrity, was not the avowed doctrine of the British Government in the proceedings immediately anterior to the Crimean war. The support and countenance which Great Britain gave to Turkey would have been extended towards any other Power which had been unjustly menaced by a powerful neighbour. A wide difference of opinion has always existed, and always will exist, as to the precise grounds upon which England undertook the Crimean war. Some assert it to have been 'a war for British interests founded upon the traditional policy of maintaining the Porte, with all its crimes, in its "integrity and

independence," as the proper bulwark of our own sway in India. Others have thought that we undertook the war upon a ground certainly more chivalrous; that, seeing a weaker country oppressed by a stronger one, we generously interfered on behalf of the weaker.' The truth may fairly be affirmed to lie in the blending of the two motives; for, as Mr. Gladstone has observed, 'unless the Sovereign and her Consort, with their matchless opportunities of knowledge, were absolutely blindfolded, the policy which led us into that war was that of repressing an offence against the public law of Europe, but only by the united authority of the Powers of Europe.' France, and subsequently Sardinia, joined with us in resisting a policy fraught with danger to the future peace of the Continent. The Prince Consort justly described the aim of the war to be that of putting a termination to a policy which not only threatened the existence of the Ottoman Empire, but, by making all the countries bordering on the Black Sea dependencies of Russia, seriously endangered the balance of power.

In January, 1853, Lord John Russell wrote his despatch on the subject of the Holy Places. The difficulties which had arisen with respect to these places already threatened disturbance to the peace of Europe, and they were the primal origin of the ensuing war. France and Russia were at this period at daggers drawn with regard to the question of *ecclesiastical privileges* at Jerusalem. Upon this particular difference, England was bound to admit that Russia had right on her side; but by-and-by the rift widened. At the beginning of June fruitless negotiations took place between Prince Menschikoff and the Porte as to the guarantees required by Russia in favour of the Greek Church. At their conclusion, the Prince insisted upon the concession to Russia of the protectorate and civil jurisdiction over the Greek subjects of the Porte. The Sultan returned a decided negative to this demand, and Prince Menschikoff departed for St. Petersburg. The Czar approved of all the acts of his representative, and sent an ultimatum to the Porte. Turkey still proved recalcitrant, and the Russian forces at once prepared to occupy the Danubian Principalities.

On the 2nd of July, negotiations having completely failed, the Russian troops effected a double passage across the Pruth, taking simultaneous possession of the provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia. The Emperor Nicholas had prefaced this step by a manifesto stating that the occupation of these Principalities was indispensable to guarantee Russia the re-establishment of her rights, but that it was not to be considered as a declaration of war. It was still hoped that hostilities would be averted, but on

the 4th of October London was startled by a telegraphic despatch announcing that the Sultan had formally declared war against Russia. On the 12th of the same month Mr. Gladstone attended the inauguration of a statue to Sir Robert Peel at Manchester. At this period of excitement, when meetings and conferences for and against war were already being held, it was natural, and indeed almost imperative, that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should make some reference to the great question then agitating the public mind. He alluded to the designs of Russia, describing her as a Power which threatened to override all the rest, and to prove a source of danger to the peace of the world. This disastrous state of affairs would be precipitated by the overthrow of the Ottoman Empire, and against this result England had determined to set herself at whatever cost. The Government did not desire war—a calamity which stained the face of nature with human gore, gave loose rein to crime, and took bread from the people. 'No doubt,' the speaker continued, 'negotiation is repugnant to the national impatience at the sight of injustice and oppression; it is beset with delay, intrigue, and chicane; but these are not so horrible as war, if negotiation can be made to result in saving this country from a calamity which deprives the nation of subsistence, and arrests the operations of industry. To attain that result, if possible—still to attain it, if still possible, which is even yet their hope—her Majesty's Ministers have persevered in exercising that self-command and that self-restraint, which impatience may mistake for indifference, feebleness, or cowardice, but which are truly the crowning greatness of a great people, and which do not evince the want of readiness to vindicate, when the time comes, the honour of this country.' These weighty words emphatically prove Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues did not contemplate entering upon the impending war with 'a light heart.' They felt profoundly the responsibility which threatened to devolve upon them. Already the popular voice was beginning to make itself heard, charged with indignation against Russia, and clamouring for active measures in support of Turkey.

One passage in this Manchester speech completely disproves the assertion, frequently made since 1876, that at the time of the Crimean War, Mr. Gladstone was a blind supporter either of Ottoman rule or of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire as such. He expressly stated that the Government were not engaged in maintaining the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire, as those words might be used with reference to the integrity and independence of England or of France. He further referred to the anomalies of the Eastern

Empire, the political solecism of a Mussulman faith exercising a dominion over twelve millions of our fellow-creatures, the weakness inherent in the nature of the Turkish Government, and the eventualities that surrounded the future of that dubious empire, though he added that these were not the things with which any British Government had then to deal. This much will, therefore, be allowed, that nearly a generation before the period of the 'Bulgarian atrocities,' Mr. Gladstone admitted and deplored the corruptions of the Turkish Government, and the anomalous relations existing between the Porte and its Christian subjects.

The Emperor of Russia issued a manifesto to his people on the 1st of November, 1853, declaring that he had earnestly sought for peace, but that, owing to the 'blind obstinacy' of the Ottoman Porte, war was forced upon him. Hostilities were shortly afterwards rapidly precipitated. A Note, proposed collectively by the European Powers to Russia, and known as the Vienna Note, was accepted by Russia; but being subsequently objected to by Turkey, the signatory Powers threw it over. Negotiations were then resumed, and towards the close of the year a new document, drawn up at Constantinople and approved by England and the other Powers, was presented to Russia. The Emperor Nicholas rejected this second Note in January, 1854, and in two months from that time war was an actuality. In England, the press and the people, with few exceptions, were unanimous in their feeling of hostility to Russia. The Government was supported in its warlike resolution by a rush of national feeling and enthusiasm rarely exhibited. The allied fleets had already entered the Black Sea in the month of January, which also witnessed that execrable act on the part of the Russians known as the massacre of Sinope. The Czar cut the Gordian knot of a complicated series of negotiations by assuming a firm and resolute attitude, and on the 28th of March, England formally declared war against Russia.

A final effort to preserve peace had been made by the Emperor Napoleon, in a letter addressed to the Czar, and dated January 29th. This letter fully explained the position of France in the great European imbroglio which had arisen, and set forth the reasons why she would be compelled to act as the ally of England in the event of hostilities. The two Powers had assumed a protective but passive attitude towards Turkey, but the affair of Sinope forced them to take a more defined position. 'It was no longer our policy that received a check in that affair; it was our military honour. The cannon-shots of Sinope have echoed mournfully in the hearts of all those who, in England

and in France, have a strong sense of the national dignity.' Hence the order given to the allied squadrons to enter the Black Sea, to prevent—by force, if necessary—the recurrence of a similar event. The Emperor Napoleon went on to say that if the Czar desired a pacific solution to the existing difficulties, an armistice might at once be signed, things could resume their diplomatic course, and all the belligerent forces could retire from the places whither motives of war had called them. But matters had gone too far for reasonable appeals of this kind. The Czar was obstinate, and a telegraphic despatch was received in Paris from the French representative at St. Petersburg, consisting of these few but ominous words, 'I return with refusal.' War was now inevitable, and the French became the warm and enthusiastic allies of England.

Some critics of the Aberdeen Ministry have severely condemned that Government for the course upon which it now entered. The members of the Peace Society were naturally foremost in their efforts to secure peace; and a deputation even went to St. Petersburg with a view of securing this object. It should be borne in mind, in estimating the responsibilities of Ministers at this period, that the tone of the public mind of England was hurrying them forward with surprising rapidity. Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gladstone were both averse to war. The former had, indeed, a holy horror of war in the abstract, and—as Mr. Kinglake has pointed out—he was especially averse to a war with Russia, not only by reason of the impressions of his early life, but because of the relations of mutual esteem which had long existed between the Emperor Nicholas and himself; he also anticipated evil to Europe by a forcible breaking up of the ties established by the Congress of Vienna and riveted by the Peace of Paris. The Premier had, in fact, gone so far in the early stage of the Eastern difficulty as to resolve not to remain at the head of the Government unless he could maintain peace. The only phrase which can now be used to describe his policy at this period is that he 'drifted' into war. He did not wish it; he deplored it; and yet he was gradually borne on towards it, without being able to take the retrograde steps he desired. But there was also Mr. Gladstone, perhaps the next conspicuous member of his Cabinet, equally averse to war. On humanitarian as well as on national grounds, the Chancellor of the Exchequer was opposed to the arbitrament of arms. That war, moreover, was costly, and added greatly to the burdens of the people, was an argument to which he gave due weight, but he was still more deeply swayed by those loftier principles which made him ardently cling to the chances of peace. The brilliant historian

of the Crimean war thus describes him at this period, and depicts the feelings with which the course of his immediate career was regarded by the country:—

'If he was famous for the splendour of his eloquence, for his unaffected piety, and for his blameless life, he was celebrated far and wide for a more than common liveliness of conscience. He had once imagined it to be his duty to quit a Government, and to burst through strong ties of friendship and gratitude, by reason of a thin shade of difference on the subject of white or brown sugar. It was believed that, if he were to commit even a little sin, or to imagine an evil thought, he would instantly arraign himself before the dread tribunal which awaited him within his own bosom; and that, his intellect being subtle and microscopic, and delighting in casuistry and exaggeration, he would be likely to give his soul a very harsh trial, and treat himself as a great criminal for faults too minute to be visible to the naked eyes of laymen. His friends lived in dread of his virtues as tending to make him whimsical and unstable, and the practical politicians, perceiving that he was not to be depended upon for party purposes, and was bent upon none but lofty objects, used to look upon him as dangerous—used to call him behind his back a good man—a good man in the worst sense of the term.' *

Here we have stated that view of Mr. Gladstone which has always been held by those politicians who are the disciples of the doctrine of expediency. Mr. Gladstone, from his earliest appearance in political life, has always thrown over the conventional doctrines of politics, when they threatened to interfere with his unswerving conscientiousness, and taken his stand upon what he believed to be the strict principles of right and justice. He has, of course, with other statesmen, made mistakes: *cela va sans dire.* In 1853 he reconciled these principles of right and justice with the dread necessity which had arisen in Europe. War, he came to see, was inevitable, and even peace-loving men must bow to a fate that is inexorable. There can be no doubt that the presence of Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gladstone in the Cabinet was a guarantee that peace would be prolonged to the very utmost limit of time, and that only the gravest necessity would reconcile them to retaining office at this momentous period.

But in truth the question of peace or war had passed out of the hands of these statesmen, and of any individuals, however great their power. There was already felt the flow of a wave of public opinion which swept the Ministry onward. It was no longer a question whether war could be avoided—the people of England demanded it with a fervour and an unanimity rarely witnessed in the annals of the country. On the one great and broad principle of resistance to the threatened overwhelming power of Russia is that war now to be defended. It was a defensive war, undertaken in the interests of Europe, against the aggressive and domineering policy of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg. English statesmen

* *The Invasion of the Crimea.* By Alex. William Kinglake.

regretted the necessity which drove England to assume the part of policeman in Europe, but the actual circumstances of the time, combined with the future prospects of the various European States—and especially those immediately concerned in the Eastern Question—demanded that she should not shirk her responsibilities. It is not upon England that the blame can fall for that terrible visitation of the Angel of Death (to borrow an image of Mr. Bright's), whose wings were shortly heard rustling upon the darkened horizon of Eastern Europe. History has even now written with unerring finger the name of him who lit the flame of carnage in Europe. And Providence ordained in this, as in other striking examples of unjust war levied in the course of the history of the human race, that—if not, literally, still in effect—he who took the sword should perish by the sword. The Emperor Nicholas, though he fell not upon the battle-field, is understood to have died of chagrin, and his end was undoubtedly hastened by the disasters which befell his armies in the Crimea.

Mr. Gladstone has been so long known as a Minister who has uniformly desired the prosperity of his country, that we can well understand the poignant regrets he must have felt over the paralysation of British industry, and an arrested commercial progress, which were the natural result of a declaration of war. A war in which Russia and Turkey in the East, and England and France in the West, are concerned, must of necessity be fraught with serious consequences to the whole of Europe. No longer were smiling harvests to gladden the face of nature in those districts which formed the seat of war; the peasant from the fruitful fields of France was to leave his occupation, and exchange the cultivation of the arts of peace for those of war; the English toiler in docks, workshops, and factories was doomed to see the course of his labour arrested, and to hear his children cry for the bread which was ruthlessly destroyed by the devastating influence of war. Yet, though England foresaw the evils which must necessarily follow from the expected war, with one voice—scarcely broken by the cries of a small minority in favour of abstention—she called aloud for the chastisement of the disturber of the peace of Europe. Ministers could scarcely commit error in following the lead of a national sentiment so emphatically expressed; if they did, it is an error which history has already condoned, and as regards the individual members of Lord Aberdeen's Cabinet, none can be found to challenge the disinterestedness and purity of their motive. To Mr. Gladstone himself the dire necessity must have seemed painfully hard. Instead of that relief of taxation to which he had looked forward, he was called upon to

prepare a war budget. The increase of revenue which had unexpectedly fallen in, and which amounted to upwards of a million sterling, was alienated from its peaceful purposes, and, in addition, the Chancellor of the Exchequer found himself compelled to increase the income-tax, the spirit duties, and the malt-tax. He had hoped to meet the popular wishes, moreover, by a remission of the sugar duty, but this financial boon must now be postponed. Faced by no ordinary difficulties, Mr. Gladstone's fertility in resource was again apparent at this juncture. He conceived a scheme by which the country should not be permanently burdened with the expenses of the impending war. Prince Albert, in a letter to Baron Stockmar, referred to this plan. Mr. Gladstone desired to pay for the war out of current revenue, provided it did not require more than ten millions sterling beyond the ordinary expenditure. In order to meet this extra charge, however, he had no option but to increase the taxes. Mr. Disraeli—in duty bound, perhaps, as the mouthpiece of a strong Opposition—propounded a different scheme. He desired to borrow, thus increasing the Debt; he was opposed to the imposition of any fresh taxes. 'The former course,' said the Prince Consort to his friend, 'is manly, statesmanlike, and honest; the latter is convenient, cowardly, and perhaps popular.' But in a remarkable manner the people of England rose to the exigencies of the situation. They approved the plans of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, though fraught with temporary inconvenience. Mr. Gladstone had not misinterpreted the feeling of the country. It was ready to bear the burden which it in reality called down upon itself, and to meet, as they occurred, the expenses of the war. Never was patriotism more strongly displayed than at this period. A Minister may frequently acquire popularity by leaving to succeeding generations the discharge of those pecuniary liabilities which arise in connection with exceptional events. But Mr. Gladstone fought against this policy. Though, as he said, 'every good motive and every bad motive, combated only by the desire of the approval of honourable men and by conscientious rectitude—every motive of ease, of comfort, and of certainty spring forward in his mind to induce a Chancellor of the Exchequer to become the first man to recommend a loan'—he resisted the temptation, and was rewarded by the support of Parliament and the country.

Under circumstances widely different, therefore, from those attending his first financial statement, Mr. Gladstone produced his budget of 1854. His prognostications of the previous year had been exceeded by the results of the revenue. He

estimated the income for the year 1853-54—after all reductions should have been effected—at £52,990,000. The actual receipts were £54,025,000, showing an excess of £1,035,000. Moreover, not only did the revenue thus largely exceed the estimate, but the expenditure fell short of it by no less than £1,012,000, the two items together furnishing a surplus of £2,047,000. On the 6th of March the budget was introduced. The Chancellor of the Exchequer announced with regard to the estimate for the war in the East, that it was impossible to say it would suffice for the wants of the whole year. The measure which he then proposed was to vote for extraordinary military expenditure a sum of £1,250,000. There was a deficiency of nearly three millions to provide for, and even this did not exhaust the whole cost of the war. 'But while he hoped that this sum might be raised without returning to the higher duties on various articles which had recently been diminished, he urged strongly that it should not be raised by resorting to a loan, and so throwing the burden on posterity. Such a course was not required by the necessities of the country, and was therefore not worthy of its adoption. No country had played so much as England at this dangerous game of mortgaging the industry of future generations. It was right that those who make war should be prepared to make the sacrifices needed to carry it on; the necessity for so doing was a most useful check on mere lust of conquest, and would lead men to make war with the wish of realising the earliest prospects of an honourable peace.' Mr. Gladstone then went on to speak generally of the war, and the following passage of his speech was warmly applauded:—

'We have entered upon a great struggle, but we have entered upon it under favourable circumstances. We have proposed to you to make great efforts, and you have nobly and cheerfully backed our proposals. You have already by your votes added nearly 40,000 men to the establishments of the country; and taking into account changes that have actually been carried into effect with regard to the return of soldiers from the Colonies, and the arrangements which, in the present state of Ireland, might be made—but which are not made—with respect to the constabulary force, in order to render the military force disposable to the utmost possible extent, it is not too much to say that we have virtually an addition to the disposable forces of the country, by land and by sea, at the present moment, as compared with our position twelve months ago, to the extent of nearly 50,000 men. This looks like an intention to carry on your war with vigour, and the wish and hope of her Majesty's Government is, that that may be truly said of the people of England, with regard to this war, which was, I am afraid, not so truly said of Charles II. by a courtly but great poet, Dryden—

"He without fear a dangerous war pursues,
Which without rashness he began before."

That, we trust, will be the motto of the people of England; and you have this advantage, that the sentiment of Europe, and we trust the might of Europe, is with you. These circumstances—though we must not be sanguine, though it would be the wildest presumption for any man to say, when the ravages of European war had once begun, where and at what point it would be stayed—these circumstances justify us in cherishing the hope that possibly this may not be a long war.'

The speaker held that there were economical reasons and also moral reasons why the House should adhere to the sound policy of raising the supplies within the year. Coming to the gist of his plan, the Government proposed, he said, to repair the deficiency of £2,840,000, and to provide a moderate margin besides, by increasing the income-tax by one-half, levying the whole addition for and in respect of the first moiety of the year—in other words, to double the tax for the half-year. He took the amount of the income-tax for 1854-55 at £6,275,000; a moiety of that sum was £3,137,500; but, in the case of the income-tax, the cost of collection diminished in proportion as the amount increased, and he took the real moiety consequently at £3,307,000, which would make the whole produce of the income-tax £9,582,000. The aggregate income for 1854-55 would then amount to £56,656,000, and the expenditure being estimated at £56,186,000, a small surplus would be left of £470,000. Mr. Gladstone next announced a proposed financial reform of some importance to the commercial community. It was designed to abolish the distinction then existing between home and foreign drawn bills, making them pay the same rate of tax. As the additions to the revenue could not be realised before Christmas, whereas a large portion of war expenditure must be provided for in the next quarter, he laid on the table of the House a resolution for a vote of £1,750,000 for an issue of Exchequer bills. This would enable the Government to provide for the interval. He did not anticipate that it would be necessary to exercise this permission to its full extent; but if it should be, the unfunded debt would only stand as it stood twelve months before, when its amount was £17,750,000, as compared with £16,000,000 for the current period.

In the course of the discussion which ensued, Mr. Hume approved the principle that the revenue should be raised within the year, on the ground that those who had urged the Government to a war whose propriety could not be judged should bear their share of its burdens. Mr. Disraeli announced that he should not oppose the vote, as the House was bound to support her Majesty in all just and necessary wars; but he protested against the doctrine that in a prolonged contest we should rely upon taxation alone to raise the requisite supplies, or that even in resorting to taxation it might not be necessary to rely upon indirect as well as upon direct taxation.

The resolution for doubling the income-tax was passed in the House of Commons, without discussion or division, on the 20th of March; but on the report being brought up the following day, an animated debate unexpectedly occurred. Sir H. Willoughby

moved an amendment to the effect that the collection of the additional moiety extend over the whole year, and not be levied during the first half of the year. Sir F. Baring regarded the proposition involved in the budget as the best arrangement which could have been made; but Mr. Disraeli contended that the Government were justified in demanding increased taxes to provide for a war only upon the condition of proving that the war was unavoidable. This they had not done. He replied to the objection that no criticism should be pronounced on the Ministerial policy unless the critic were prepared to propose a vote of no confidence; and he urged that it was apparent the Government had no confidence in the House, or even in themselves. He also contrasted the expressions of different Ministers at different times to show how loose and conflicting had been their opinions on the great question of peace or war. The Opposition leader declared that the war had been brought about by this divergence of opinion. A united Cabinet would have averted it altogether; it was a coalition war.

Mr. Gladstone's reply to this speech was an obvious one. He observed that the omission, on the part of his rival, to propose a vote of want of confidence was defended upon the very grounds that should have prompted it; and he characterised the conclusion to which Mr. Disraeli had landed his argument as 'illogical and recreant.' He then vindicated at length his financial policy as regarded the reduction of interest on Exchequer bills, the conversion of stock, and the partial employment of the Treasury balances in buying up the public debt; concluding by explaining his motives in asking that the whole increase in the income-tax should be paid within the first six months. The amendment was negatived; the report of the resolution was agreed to, and a bill was ordered to be brought in. On the 30th of March the bill was read a third time, and passed by the House of Commons.

The Emperor of Russia having refused to return an answer to the demand made upon him by Great Britain and France to evacuate the Danubian Principalities, the Allies (as we have seen) made a formal declaration of war on the 28th of March. The British people entered upon the contest with hope and courage. Everything seemed to presage a speedy termination to the war; but it was discovered that the Emperor Nicholas was not so deficient in resources as had been represented. The conflict which had begun must necessarily be a protracted and an expensive one. There probably never was a continental monarch—not even the first Napoleon—so execrated in England as the Czar, to crush whom English income-tax payers now cheerfully contri-

buted, at the rate of fourteenpence in the pound, to the National Exchequer. The two Houses of Parliament discussed her Majesty's Message on the 31st of March. Mr. Bright failed to impress the members of the Lower House with his arguments against the war, while Lord Palmerston roused the same audience to a high pitch of enthusiasm by his vindication of the policy which had been pursued by the Government, and by his review of the tremendous interests, national and European, which were at stake. Between the 8th of February and the 1st of May, some 25,000 English troops had been conveyed to their destination in the Crimea. Hostilities had commenced, and with a bitterness of feeling rarely paralleled in the annals of war.

The war thus initiated entailed on England an exceedingly heavy expenditure, and on the 8th of May accordingly the Chancellor of the Exchequer brought forward additional proposals in connection with his war budget. Adverting to the necessity which had existed for demanding a doubled income-tax at a time when war was not declared, he said it was then impossible for the Government to form a trustworthy estimate of the expenses of the war. In moving his resolution for an increased income-tax, he had asked what was at the time known to be requisite, but had also guarded himself by stating that his demand was not adequate to the purposes of war. He now asked for the means of satisfactorily carrying on the struggle. Before unfolding his plans, Mr. Gladstone defended himself against the accusations of having mismanaged the unfunded debt, and of having made a bad bargain in paying off the holders of South Sea Stock. The new Navy, Army, and Ordnance Estimates, with an additional £500,000 for the militia, would, he said, absorb £6,000,000; but he had also to provide for charges as yet unknown, and should be compelled to ask for £6,850,000 in addition to what had been already granted. This would have to be raised by taxation, and it was proposed to repeat the operation which had already been performed upon the income-tax. The former operations had yielded from this source £9,582,000, and the addition would give £3,250,000—in all, from this source, £12,832,000. This augmentation would be asked for the period of the war, and should it terminate—which he prayed God might grant—during the existence of the tax under the Act of 1853, the augmentation would cease. In this way he calculated that two-thirds of the expenses would be provided for. Touching the remainder, there was some difficulty. Government could not propose any other direct tax, neither could they resort to the assessed taxes. As regarded indirect taxes, they had resolved not to alter the system of

postage, which had been so prosperous and beneficial. Nor did Government intend to reimpose taxes which had been taken off. They must go to the consumer in the least oppressive and injurious way. It was proposed to repeat the operation of last year on Scotch and Irish spirits, and to augment the duty in Scotland by 1s. per gallon, and in Ireland by 8d. This would be a gain to the Exchequer of £450,000. By a new classification of the sugar duties, £700,000 would be raised. When Mr. Gladstone proceeded to announce that it was proposed to augment the duty on malt, considerable sensation was apparent amongst the Opposition, who gave expression to their disapprobation. The speaker, however, went on to say that he considered we might fairly come upon the wealthy for the first charges of the war, but that a national war ought to be borne by all classes. The malt-tax pressed on all, and as it was easily collected, and required no increased staff for the purpose, it seemed to fulfil the conditions which should be sought for. The malt-tax stood, in round figures, at 2s. 9d. per bushel, and he proposed to raise it to 4s., which would still leave it lower than it was in 1810, and less than half what it was from 1804 to 1816, during the great war struggle. Taking the consumption at forty million bushels, this would give £2,450,000. The united amounts thus to be obtained by increased income-tax, spirit duty, sugar duty, and malt duty would be £6,850,000, which was the required sum. Mr. Gladstone next stated that it was necessary to have a resource for extraordinary contingencies, and for a possible rapid increase in the rate of war expenditure. He explained and vindicated his policy with regard to the issue of Exchequer bonds, and unfolded his plan for providing the further *interim* funds which would be required. He would take authority to confirm the contracts for the Exchequer bonds of the Class A, and power to issue a second series. He would also take power to issue two millions of Exchequer bills, and so many more as should not be taken on the four millions of Exchequer bonds. This would give a command of £5,500,000, and the total sum of £66,746,000 of revenue, set against £63,039,000 of expenditure, would show for the year a margin which he would for safety put at three millions and a half.

Such is a digest of Mr. Gladstone's proposals in this urgent financial crisis, and after stating the mode of proceeding with his plan, the Chancellor of the Exchequer turned to answer the charges made by the opponents of the Government. 'It was hardly necessary,' he observed, 'to meet the absurd accusation of want of foresight as to the inevitability of war, or to defend themselves for having believed that a

Sovereign of Europe was a man of honour; but he met the equally ridiculous charge of having abandoned public revenue, by asking in what state Government had found the revenue when the income-tax itself was in peril, because Mr. Disraeli had thought it consistent with his duty to his Sovereign and his country to promise a remodelling of that tax without having formed any plan for the purpose. The man who did that was the one who surrendered public revenue.' Mr. Gladstone claimed that the Government had re-established that tax; and he thanked the House for the aid of its generous confidence, whereby various financial reforms had been secured. He concluded by justifying himself at length for rejecting the counsel which had recommended a loan for the expenses of the war. Recapitulating the history of Mr. Pitt's enormous and costly loans, he warned the House against the system, advising Parliament to struggle against it as long as possible. Mr. Pitt himself, he added, discovered his error, and afterwards made gallant efforts to redeem it. While the Duke of Wellington in the great wars at the commencement of the century was covering the name of England with fresh glories, our fathers were making noble struggles to bear the current expenses of the war; and he wished his hearers to show themselves worthy of such sires. The country was at that moment prosperous, and could afford some sacrifice. The Minister observed finally that such was the vigour, and such the elasticity of our trade, that even under the disadvantages of a bad harvest, and under the pressure of war, the imports from day to day, and almost from hour to hour, were increasing, and the very last papers laid on the table showed that within the closing three months of the year there were £250,000 increase in the exports. In view of these circumstances, and while the effects of the war had not as yet seriously touched the people, Mr. Gladstone was fully justified—in the opinion of most critics of his financial policy—in proposing that the expenses of the war should be met as they were incurred.

The speech in which these proposals were made occupied three hours and a half; at its conclusion the Opposition chiefs were evidently taken by surprise. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had not only regaled the House with his accustomed eloquence, but had sketched a bold and masterly financial policy. Mr. Disraeli agreed to the resolutions only on the understanding that a full opportunity should be afforded for the discussion of the principle embodied in them. On the following Monday, May 15th, on the order for the second reading of the Excise Duties (Malt and Spirits) Bill, Mr. Cayley moved to defer

the second reading for six months. A discussion ensued, in which the Government policy was severely criticised by Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, Sir John Pakington, and others. Lord John Russell replied in very pointed and effective style. The question before the House was, whether, when a formidable military power threatened to swallow up one of our allies, one shilling and threepence a bushel upon malt was too great a sacrifice. 'Don't tell me,' said his lordship, 'that the tax is so objectionable that you are ready to vote any other, and that the landed interest will resist this small addition to the malt duty; tell me not that this is really the obstacle which prevents you from supporting the Government, but that, although you are in favour of the war, you are not ready to vote the necessary supplies.' Mr. Disraeli replied, saying that he still supported the policy of the war, but that he objected to this tax, not merely because it was unjust and unnecessary, but because it hampered the industry, crippled the progress, and in every way injured the agricultural interest of this country. The division list showed the temper of the House, and its determination to uphold the Government, Mr. Cayley's amendment being negatived by 303 votes against 195.

A sharp passage of arms occurred between Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli a few days afterwards. On the motion for going into Committee of Ways and Means (Exchequer Bonds), the Chancellor of the Exchequer explained the situation in which previous votes of the House had left the financial policy of the Government. The expenditure had been authorised by decisive votes, and the House had also formally agreed to the ways and means by which it was to be raised. He now took the opinion of the House on the single question, how the ready money that was wanted should be obtained. The question turned simply upon the alternative whether it was most expedient to resort to an issue of Exchequer bills, or authenticate the Ministerial project of Exchequer bonds. Hereupon Mr. Disraeli rose to his feet, and, amid the cheers of his supporters, charged the Ministry with sharp practice. They had taken votes on the plea of administrative convenience, and these votes they now accounted decisive, thus taking from the House the opportunity of deciding upon the principle involved. Mr. Gladstone replied that ample opportunity would be afforded for discussing the principles embodied in the resolutions. On the resolution empowering the Government to issue £2,000,000 of Exchequer bonds being put from the chair, Mr. T. Baring moved an amendment declaring that 'it was not expedient at present to authorise any further issue of Exchequer bonds with the

engagement of repayment within the next six years.' At the conclusion of the debate which ensued, Mr. Disraeli again assailed the financial policy of the Government. They had committed blunders, he held, out of which the present difficulties had grown. Inaccurate and deceptive statements had been made in successive budgets, fallacious estimates were given of the costs of the war, and delusive announcements hazarded regarding the aids that would be required to meet the growing charges upon the revenue. 'At last a continuance of mismanagement had culminated in the necessity for a loan of six millions; and this loan, in its turn, was so mismanaged that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had offered four per cent. for the money, and yet could not get it. He had shown himself incompetent to deal with the *bulls* and *bears*, and had been forced to appeal to the *stags* of the Stock Exchange. And now came a last shift for raising a loan in masquerade.' Mr. Gladstone replied to these charges *seriatim*, carrying the sympathies of his followers warmly with him. Having dealt with the allegations of the Opposition leader, he declared that he stood by the budget, acknowledged the loyal spirit in which the country responded to the calls being made upon it for increased resources, and attributed the ability to answer those calls in great measure to the ease and prosperity derived from judicious legislation in former years. It was the Opposition who had really been advocates of the borrowing system, and 'loans in masquerade;' and as the name of Pitt had been quoted against the Government, he reminded the House that this had only reference to errors which the great Minister had himself confessed and retrieved a few years later, while the Government had followed in his footsteps in the better-advised course which he subsequently adopted.

The division list gave—For the resolution, 290; for the amendment, 186—majority for the Government, 104. With this division the opposition to Mr. Gladstone's financial proposals collapsed. On the 24th of July, however, when a vote of credit of £3,000,000 was moved by Lord John Russell for the expenses of the war, Mr. Disraeli again severely attacked the Government on the general question of their policy, and asserted that there would have been no war if Lord Derby and himself had not been compelled to resign the conduct of affairs. He once more complained that the war was largely due to the evil of a coalition Government.

The vote of credit really became one of a vote of confidence in the Ministry, as the Prince Consort expressed it in a letter to Baron Stockmar. When the report on the vote of credit was

brought up, Lord D. Stuart moved an amendment to the effect that her Majesty should be requested not to prorogue Parliament until it should have further information upon the subject. A great debate was expected, but all parties shrank from imperilling the existence of the Ministry; and in the event the report was received, the amendment being negatived without a division.

Parliament was prorogued on the 12th of August, her Majesty stating in the Speech from the Throne that, in cordial co-operation with the Emperor of the French, her efforts would be directed during the 'recess to the effectual repression of that ambitious and aggressive spirit on the part of Russia which has compelled us to take up arms in defence of an ally, and to secure the future tranquillity of Europe.'

CHAPTER X.

THE CRIMEAN WAR (*continued*).

The Emperor Nicholas and the Peace Party—Dissolution of the European Concert—Position of the European Powers on the Eastern Question—The Policy of Prussia condemned—The Queen and the War—Dissensions in the Cabinet—Management of the War—Debates in both Houses—The Disasters in the Crimea—Attacks upon the Ministry—Mr. Roebuck's Motion for a Committee to inquire into the Condition of the English Army before Sebastopol—Lord John Russell resigns—Condition of things in the Crimea—Mr. Gladstone's Defence of the Government—Necessity for a Committee—Great Majority against Ministers—Collapse of the Coalition Cabinet of Lord Aberdeen—Position of the Peelite Section—Ministerial Negotiations—Formation of a Government under Lord Palmerston—Its Difficulties—Mr. Roebuck's Motion—Resignation of Mr. Gladstone, Sir J. Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert—Their Defence—The Cabinet Reconstructed—Death of the Czar.

AT one point in the history of the negotiations which preceded the great events of the Crimean War, there was some hope that the concert between the four Great Powers—England, France, Austria, and Prussia—would have succeeded in preserving peace. It is true that the Emperor Nicholas encouraged himself in his stubborn course by the utterances of Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and other distinguished friends of peace in this country, to whose speeches he attached a high degree of importance. Mr. Cobden described Turkey as a decaying country, and said that the Turks could not be permanently maintained as a ruling Power in Europe; Mr. Bright took up the strain, affirming that Russia was an advancing nation, and that if England had not interfered the differences between Russia and Turkey would have been settled long ago, settled by the concessions of Turkey. Such were the expressed opinions of these popular leaders, and, believing them to be endorsed by a large body of their countrymen, the Czar rigorously pursued his warlike policy, and began to doubt whether after all England was serious in her resolve to go to war, and to prosecute the threatened struggle to the end.*

But though these things had their weight, the dissolution of

* It will be understood that the author is not at this moment either impugning or endorsing the views of Mr. Bright and his friends upon the Crimean war; he is simply stating their effect. The supporters of a peace policy mistook the spirit and temper of the country in this great question, but it is only bare justice to admit that they were consistent throughout

the European concert was another powerful influence in destroying the prospect of peace. Prussia and Austria, having acknowledged upon paper the justness of the views of England and France, practically refused to support them when the time for doing so arrived. It is important briefly to state the position of the various European Powers upon the Eastern Question, when the crisis came in March, 1854. This we can best do in the words of Mr. Gladstone himself:*—

'Austria urged the two leading states, England and France, to send in their *ultimatum* to Russia, and promised it her decided support. She redeemed the pledge, but only to the extent of a strong verbal advocacy. Without following out the subsequent detail of her proceedings, she rendered thereafter to the Allies but equivocal and uncertain service; without, however, disavowing their policy either in act or word. It was Prussia which, at the critical moment, to speak in homely language, bolted; the very policy which she had recommended, she declined unconditionally to sustain, from the first moment when it began to assume the character of a solid and stern reality. In fact, she broke up the European concert, by which it was that France and England had hoped, and had had a right to hope, to put down the stubbornness of the Czar and to repel his attack upon the public law of Europe. The question that these Allies had now to determine was whether, armed as they had been all along with the panoply of moral authority, they would, upon this unfortunate and discreditable desertion, allow all their demands, their reasonings, their professions to melt into thin air.'

The early policy of England on the Oriental Question has never been better stated and vindicated than it is here in few words. We had no selfish ends to answer by the war, and, on the defection of Austria and Prussia, might have shrunk from encountering Russia, except with the aid of those who had promised us their support. But what would have become of the traditional glory of England in that case? She has ever been the friend of the oppressed, and there is something nobler in fulfilling one's moral obligations than in fighting for mere personal and selfish rights. We had put our hand to the work, and could not go backward. To have retreated at the supreme moment might have endangered the permanent peace and welfare of Europe; and such a step would certainly have been consenting tacitly to the establishment of a precedent valuable to aggressive and ambitious Sovereigns in the future.

The Prince Consort, in a letter to King Leopold, dated the 6th of November, 1854, thus exposed the dangers attending the vacillating policy of Prussia:—

'The longer Russia's resistance lasts, and the longer the struggle is devolved on France and England alone, the more compact must their alliance become. As, then, France and Napoleon are under all circumstances sure to cherish their traditional *arrière-pensées* of territorial aggrandisement at their neighbours' expense, the risk, as far as these neighbours are concerned, certainly is that England may some day have to stand by and see things done which she herself cannot desire, but must uphold in the interest of her ally. This danger, I repeat, Austria, Prussia,

* See Article on the '*Life of the Prince Consort*,' in the *Church of England Quarterly Review* for January, 1878.

and Germany may avert by acting with us, not in the manipulation of Protocols, which leave everything to the exertions of the Western Powers, and have no other object but to make sure that no harm is done to the enemy. Such a course is dishonourable, immoral, leads to distrust, and ultimately to direct hostility. Already the soreness of feeling here against Prussia is intense, nor can it be less in France. I have made the Prince of Prussia aware of my anxiety on this head.' *

The course pursued by the German Powers was utterly indefensible, and on them must be placed the responsibility of having failed to use decisive pressure upon Russia in favour of peace. In all human probability, the Czar would have hesitated in his career had he been warned to desist from his aggressions by the united voice of all the leading Powers of Europe.

The war began in earnest, and on the 21st of September, 1854, the Duke of Newcastle received a telegram announcing that 25,000 English troops, 25,000 French, and 8,000 Turks had landed safely at Eupatoria, 'without meeting with any resistance, and had already begun to march upon Sebastopol.'

Yet, popular as the war was in England, there were symptoms during the autumn that Lord Aberdeen's Ministry—the Government which declared it—was becoming just the reverse. If there were not absolute dissensions in the Cabinet, there was a great lack of unanimity of feeling as to the conduct of the war. Ministerial changes had taken place during the preceding session; Lord John Russell had accepted the office of President of the Council; and the duties of War Minister having become too onerous to be any longer associated with those of the Secretary for the Colonies, the Duke of Newcastle was created Secretary at War. The Queen was well aware of the repugnance with which Lord Aberdeen had always viewed the war; but he was a statesman with whom she had ever been upon the most cordial relations, and for whom she entertained feelings of the highest personal esteem. Her communications and expressed wishes alike prove that she was most desirous the war should be prosecuted with vigour, now that it had been entered upon, and she looked to the Premier to second her own hopes and those of the nation. But it soon became apparent that the Cabinet was not entirely at one—a most unfortunate circumstance at this critical juncture. Mr. Martin observes upon this point:—

'If ever a Ministry strong in its own counsels and mutual trust, and strong also in Parliament, was necessary, it was so at the present time. But notoriously discontents reigned within the Cabinet itself. Two at least of its members, Lord Russell and Lord Palmerston, would have preferred to lead rather than to be led. Each had his partisans within and without the Cabinet, and it was apparent to all the world that no cordial unanimity existed between the Peelite section of the Ministry and their colleagues. In the House of Commons the followers of the Government showed no symptoms of coherence. The head of the Ministry was a favourite object of attack with them, no less than with the Opposition. Nor was

* *Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort.* By Theodore Martin. Vol. III

this met by that display of loyalty on the part of his supporters which the head of a Government has a right to expect. It was impossible for a Ministry thus obviously not at one with itself to command either the respect or the obedience of the House; having themselves encouraged insubordination against their chief, some of the members were not entitled to complain if they found themselves thwarted in their measures through a similar disregard of party tie by the body of the Liberal party.' *

The Queen was most anxious for the country to witness a united Government, and the time must have been a peculiarly trying one for Lord Aberdeen. Mr. Gladstone affirms that the statement of Mr. Martin to the effect that there was no cordial unanimity between the Peelite section of the Ministry and their colleagues is an entire mistake. We are thus met by the dilemma of Mr. Gladstone's statement on the one hand, and Mr. Martin's equally emphatic statement on the other—the latter being founded on documents furnished to the writer, and views expressed to him, as well as being confessedly sanctioned by the highest personage in the realm. It is possible to harmonise the two by reading Mr. Martin's statement in the light of a confession which Mr. Gladstone himself makes, to the effect that 'rifts there were without doubt in the imposing structure (of the Cabinet), but they were due entirely to individual views or pretensions, and in no way to sectional antagonism.' This is quite sufficient to account for the rumours which arose—rumours that discredited the Ministry with a portion of the House and with the country. Whether the differences were merely 'rifts' or sectional disagreements matters little. Mr. Martin may have expressed himself too strongly, but that there were differences between individual members of the Cabinet, which the Court lamented equally with the nation at large, admits of no doubt. We may cheerfully admit Mr. Gladstone's contention that there was no sectional demarcation, nor any approach to it, within the Cabinet; also that 'not even when the Eastern Question became the engrossing subject of the day was a sectional division to be traced. It may be true, if *nuances* are to be minutely investigated, that the Peelite colour was on the whole a shade or two more pacific than the Whig; but even this is true of the leading individuals rather than of the sections, and it may be safely affirmed that, of all the steps taken by that Government during the long and complicated negotiations before the Crimean War, there was not one which was forced, as will sometimes happen, by a majority of the Cabinet upon the minority.' Yet, accepting all this, there could not have existed amongst the members of the Aberdeen Ministry that spirit of full and frank cordiality which should

* Mr. Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*, Vol. III., p. 90.

distinguish a government in the time of a grave crisis. Or, if there were this feeling, how came it that the knowledge of a variation of sentiment not only permeated the ranks of both political parties in the Houses of Parliament, and was widely disseminated through the country, but caused uneasiness likewise in Royal circles?

But such differences as did exist in the Ministry became a wholly secondary matter when the management of the war came to be discussed. Parliament reassembled on the 12th of December under circumstances more stirring and momentous than any which had occurred since the year of Waterloo. Debates immediately took place in both Houses on the conduct of the Ministry. The battles of the Alma, Balaclava, and Inkermann had been fought, and the British troops, as in times past, had covered themselves with glory. But this had been achieved by immense sacrifices, and the reports which reached England from the Crimea affecting the conduct of the war were such as to cause a painful feeling throughout the country, from the Queen down to her meanest subject. The British army was suffering greatly, and to meet the exigencies of the sick and wounded the fund known as the Patriotic Fund was set on foot. The country subscribed with a noble liberality, and in fourteen days the sum of £15,000 was received at the *Times*' office alone. In less than three months the whole fund exceeded half a million, and by the time of its closing it had reached upwards of a million and a quarter. Nor was this all: Miss Florence Nightingale, and thirty-seven lady nurses, proceeded to the Crimea to nurse the brave men who had been wounded. 'They reached Scutari on the 5th of November, in time to receive the soldiers who had been wounded at the battle of Balaclava. On the arrival of Miss Nightingale, the great hospital at Scutari—in which up to this time all had been chaos and discomfort—was reduced to order; and those tender lenitives, which only woman's thought and woman's sympathy can bring to the sick man's couch, were applied to solace and alleviate the agonies of pain, or the torture of fever and prostration.' A supplementary staff of fifty trained nurses afterwards followed Miss Nightingale and her assistants to the seat of war. The ministrations of these noble women form the brightest episode in this long and terrible war; and many pathetic stories are told in connection with the consolations they administered to the suffering and the dying. To many a brave soldier, apparently a prey to the agents of death, Miss Nightingale became a veritable angel of life.

Alike in palace and in cottage, the sufferings of the troops had created a feeling of profound sympathy; but these sufferings were

aggravated by the rigours of an unusually severe winter. The Queen herself wrote to Lord Raglan: 'The sad privations of the army, the bad weather, and the constant sickness, are causes of the deepest concern to the Queen and Prince. The braver her noble troops are, the more patiently and heroically they bear all their trials and sufferings, the more miserable we feel at their long continuance. The Queen trusts that Lord Raglan will be very strict in seeing that no *unnecessary* privations are incurred by any negligence of those whose duty it is to watch over their wants. . . . The Queen earnestly trusts that the large amount of warm clothing sent out has not only reached Balaclava, but has been distributed, and that Lord Raglan has been successful in procuring the means of hutting for the men. Lord Raglan cannot think how much we suffer for the army, and how painfully anxious we are to know that their privations are decreasing.' The Prince Consort, writing to King Leopold a few weeks later said: 'The present administration of the army is not to be defended. My heart bleeds to think of it!' The solicitude thus felt in the most illustrious quarters was shared by the country, and it found expression on the re-assembling of Parliament. This was natural and imperative, even if no iota of blame in connection with the army arrangements in the Crimea could be directly attributed to the Ministry.

Acrimonious debates ensued in the two Houses. In the Upper House the Earl of Derby severely condemned the inefficient manner in which the war had been carried on. 'Too late,' he said, were the fatal words applicable to the whole conduct of Government in the course of the war, while the number of troops sent out had been quite insufficient to overthrow the power of Russia. The Duke of Newcastle, in reply, while not defending all the steps which had marked the conduct of the war from its commencement, said the Ministry were prepared to prosecute it with resolve and unflinching firmness. They would not reject overtures of peace, but they would not consent to any but an honourable peace. The Government had confidence in the army, in the people, and in their Allies, and cherished the highest hope of bringing the contest to a satisfactory issue. In the House of Commons, Mr. Disraeli attacked the policy of Ministers from first to last. Everything was a blunder or a mishap of some description or other. The Government had invaded Russia with 25,000 men, and made no provision for their support. With regard to the Treaty with Austria, he threw grave doubts upon the sincerity of our new Ally. Mr. Disraeli continued: 'I believe that this Cabinet of coalition flattered themselves, and were credulous in their flattery, that

the tremendous issues which they have had to encounter, and which must make their days and nights anxious, which have been part of their lives, would not have occurred. They could never dream, for instance, that it would be the termination of the career of a noble lord to carry on war with Russia, of which that noble lord had been the cherished and spoiled child. . . . It has been clearly shown that two of you are never of the same opinion. You were candid enough to declare this, and it is probable that no three of you ever supposed the result would be what it has been found to be.'

The only thing which sustained the country under such a deplorable state of affairs, said the leader of the Opposition, was the unparalleled heroism of our troops. Mr. Disraeli concluded with these words:—'No Austrian alliance; no Four Points; no secret articles—but let France and England together solve this great question, and establish and secure a tranquillisation of Europe.' Lord John Russell retorted in a speech of considerable dignity and power. There was not one gleam of patriotism, he said, in anything which had fallen from the right hon. gentleman. His object was to destroy confidence in Ministers, and to weaken the Anglo-French alliance. He justified at length the course of the Government, and defended the arrangement which had been entered into with Austria. On the report of the Address being brought up, Mr. Gladstone furnished details respecting the British forces in the East, and took occasion to answer certain criticisms which had been passed upon the Government. He did not lay claim to impeccability on their behalf, but they were guiltless of the errors which had been ascribed to them. They had never supposed that an impression could be made upon Russia with an army of 50,000 men—that figure only represented the number which could be carried on at once from Varna to the Crimea. France had already despatched to the seat of war between 90,000 and 95,000 men.

On the 15th of December the thanks of both Houses were formally voted to the officers and men of the army in the East, and to the French generals, their allies.

The Bill for the Enlistment of Foreigners was subsequently introduced, and was fiercely attacked by the opponents of the Government in both Houses. In answer to Lord Ellenborough's strictures in the Lords, the Earl of Aberdeen denied that the foreign recruits were to be used as substitutes for militiamen, or to be employed in this country. At a later stage, the Duke of Newcastle agreed to reduce the numbers to be enlisted from 15,000 to 10,000. In the House of Commons the bill was assailed by the Opposition, who were reinforced by some of the usual sup-

porters of the Ministry. Mr. Disraeli, at the second stage of the bill, announced that he should oppose it at every stage. He inveighed strongly against the conduct of the war and the employment of mercenary troops, and at the same time asserted that there had been no parallel to the siege of Sebastopol since the invasion of Sicily by the Athenians. If not in absolute peril, we were in a condition to cause grave anxiety. Lord John Russell rebuked his right hon. opponent for gloating over and anticipating disaster to the British arms. Ministers could not conduct the war if the present bill were rejected. Lord Palmerston urged that enlistment in England was a slow process, while the enemy with whom we were engaged could command an almost unlimited supply of men. In the debate on the third reading Mr. Bright maintained that in supporting Turkey we were 'fighting for a hopeless cause and a worthless ally.' Ministers, however, were victorious, the bill passing by a majority of 38; and on the 23rd of December—after having accomplished an almost incredible amount of work in a few days—Parliament adjourned for a month.

On its reassembling, it speedily became obvious that the House was determined, if possible, to sift the charges made in connection with the conduct of the war. The whole country seemed to expect a formal attack upon the Ministry. Lord Aberdeen was in a most unenviable position, and the Queen expressed her sympathy with him in his difficulties, which he had endeavoured to meet with admirable temper, forbearance, and firmness. Lord Ellenborough and Lord Lyndhurst gave notice of motions hostile to the Government in the Upper House, and in the Lower Mr. Roebuck announced that he should move for the appointment of a select committee 'to inquire into the condition of our army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of those departments of the Government whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of that army.' Instead of the Ministry being able to show a bold front before these attacks, Lord John Russell took time by the forelock, and caused universal astonishment by tendering to her Majesty his resignation of the office of President of the Council. This was a most extraordinary step, and Lord Aberdeen could only interpret its object to be the overthrow of the Ministry. The Duke of Newcastle, whose retirement from the office of Secretary at War Lord John Russell had long desired, offered to make himself the scapegoat of the Ministry. Lord Palmerston was anxious that the Government should not be broken up, believing that such an event would prove a calamity to the country; but he doubted his superior fitness for the post of War Minister over the Duke

of Newcastle. After much negotiation, the Cabinet resolved to hold together, save for the secession of Lord John Russell, who had resigned, he said, because he did not see how Mr. Roebuck's motion was to be resisted. His lordship's decision should have been come to earlier, if at all. The defects of management, the blunders of detail, by which one of the noblest armies that ever left British shores had been reduced to a pitiable condition, were no new facts, or at least asserted facts by those who professed to have authentic information on the subject; and Lord John Russell would have done well to brave the storm with his colleagues. His desertion was looked upon universally as an act of cowardice. In explaining the reasons for his resignation, his lordship paid a high compliment to many of his colleagues, especially singling out Mr. Gladstone.

The debate upon Mr. Roebuck's motion came on in due course. It was opposed by Mr. Sidney Herbert, who asserted that the condition of things in the Crimea had been grossly exaggerated, and that great improvements had already taken place. The motion, if carried, would paralyse all action, both at home and abroad. A speech was delivered by Mr. Stafford, however, which caused great sensation. The hon. member said he would only describe what he had seen. He condemned the sites of the hospitals at Scutari and Abydos as radically unhealthy, and there were other defects in connection with the former. But matters were much worse at the Balaclava hospital, where the bed-clothes had never been washed, where men sick of one disease had caught another by being put into the place where a man had died just before of fever. In one room he found fourteen, in another nine men lying upon the floor; while in the passage between them were excellent bedsteads, which might have been put up on an average of three minutes each. He also detailed specific cases of neglect, and consequent misery endured by the soldiers. He had seen hospitals containing three hundred sick, yet without wine; he had seen soldiers in vain asking for their knapsacks, which were stowed away under the cargoes of ships, and he had seen wounded men lying on the bare boards. The general effect of what he had witnessed had been summed up by a French officer, who observed to the hon. member, 'You seem, sir, to carry on war according to the system of the Middle Ages; and our regret for our backwardness is increased because we see the noble lives you are losing.' Mr. Stafford excepted from censure Miss Nightingale and her nurses, and concluded by referring to the attachment of the soldiers to their officers, and especially to the Duke of Cambridge, and also to the effect produced upon the army by the Queen's letter.

The situation of the Government was known to be critical, and a majority for Mr. Roebuck's motion was evidently expected by both sides of the House. Under these depressing and adverse circumstances, Mr. Gladstone rose to reply to the severe strictures which had been passed upon the Ministry. Thanking, in the outset, Lord John Russell for the eulogium pronounced upon him by the noble lord a few days before, he said he was at the same time bound to state that his lordship had not urged his remonstrances between the month of November and the time of his resignation. In November there were no complaints against the War Office, and only in the month preceding that, Lord John Russell had written to the Duke of Newcastle expressing his belief that he had done all in his office that a man could do. But there was more than this; for the Earl of Aberdeen, being doubtful of the intentions of the President of the Council, asked him on the 16th of December whether he still adhered to his intention of pressing changes in the War Department, and the noble lord stated, in reply, that, on the advice of a friend of his own, he had abandoned the views he pressed in November. So that up to the previous Tuesday night when the noble lord sent in his resignation, his colleagues did not know that he was dissatisfied, or that he meant to press his former views as to the reorganisation of the War Department; and it might be thought that, after losing the services of the noble lord, the Government ought not to have left the House, or at least not to have met them without some reorganisation. Then followed this striking passage in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's address:—'He felt it was not for them either to attempt to make terms with the House by a reorganisation, or to shrink from a judgment of the House upon their past acts. If they had shrunk, what sort of epitaph would have been written over their remains? He himself would have written it thus: Here lie the dishonoured ashes of a Ministry which found England at peace and left it in war, which was content to enjoy the emoluments of office and to wield the sceptre of power so long as no man had the courage to question their existence. They saw the storm gathering over the country; they heard the agonising accounts which were almost daily received of the state of the sick and wounded in the East. These things did not move them. But so soon as the hon. member for Sheffield raised his hand to point the thunderbolt, they became conscience-stricken with a sense of guilt and, hoping to escape punishment, they ran away from duty.'

This eloquent language—conveying as it did, by implication, withering rebuke to Lord John Russell—was received with

tumultuous cheers by one portion of the House. It at any rate demonstrated that the Government were not in the least actuated by the spirit of their late colleague. Mr. Gladstone next addressed himself to the motion before the House, observing that he himself would be the first to vote for it if it could be proved that it would benefit the army. He believed that it would aggravate, rather than alleviate, the evils complained of. There was also the less necessity for it, as by the latest accounts matters were improving. The whole army was improving—warm clothing had been served out everywhere, the huts were in course of being set up, the railway would be finished within three weeks of its commencement, and, what was of greater consequence, an arrangement had been effected between the generals by which 1,600 Frenchmen would be permanently in the trenches, relieving to that extent the same number of Englishmen. There had been other exaggerations as to the state of the army, which the Chancellor of the Exchequer now proceeded to clear up. According to the latest returns, he said, there were at that moment 28,000 English troops under arms before Sebastopol, and to these were to be added from 3,000 to 4,000 seamen and marines; thus bringing up the whole English force now in existence to more than 30,000 men. It could not be said, therefore, that the British army before Sebastopol was extinguished. Comparisons unfavourable to the English army having been made between our own military system and that of the French, Mr. Gladstone maintained that, as regarded the points to which he had referred, comparisons were rather favourable to us, though this was a question which could scarcely be made matter for public discussion. Next, replying to Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, who had condemned the Government for not destroying Odessa, Mr. Gladstone pointed out that Odessa was an open town, with 100,000 inhabitants, and with an army of 300,000 men within easy reach. How could this have proved comfortable winter quarters for the British army? Allowing that the administration of the War Departments at home was defective, he declined to admit that it had not improved, or that it was so defective as to deserve censure. After indicating many improvements which had been effected, he came to the gist of the motion before the House, and warmly defended the Duke of Newcastle from the censure sought to be cast upon him.

There was much in this spirited defence of the Government calculated to mitigate the censures cast upon its policy. Undoubtedly many improvements had been effected in the condition of the army, and were even then being effected; but the country desired to get at the bottom of the mismanagement

which had already resulted so disastrously for our troops, and also to have some guarantee against similar blundering in future. This could only be done by the adoption of some such motion as that of Mr. Roebuck, which was confessedly not the best means that could be devised for accomplishing its object, but perhaps the only one practicable. Mr. Disraeli, observing that the Government themselves had admitted they required reconstruction, said they were now called upon to vote confidence in an Administration of whose members even they were ignorant. He denied that the motion was levelled exclusively against the Duke of Newcastle, and he ought not to be made the scapegoat for a policy for which the whole Cabinet were responsible. Nor was the blame to be thrown upon our military system, which in the hands of able men had accomplished great ends. He then used the severest language which had hitherto been employed in describing the conduct of Lord John Russell. That noble lord's explanatory speech reminded him, he said, of a page from the *Life of Bubb Doddington*, in the unconscious admission it contained of what, in the eighteenth century, would have been described as 'profligate intrigue.' He maintained that these Cabinet dissensions would prove most injurious to the character of England. 'Two years ago England was the leading Power in Europe; would any man say that she now occupied that position?' Mr. Disraeli added that he was compelled to give his vote against a 'deplorable Administration.'

Lord John Russell had few friends at this juncture, for although there were some who approved his secession from the Government, there were apparently none who could commend the manner of it. The noble lord defended himself in his place, and said that if the whole of what had passed between himself and Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Newcastle could be laid before the House, the transactions would assume a different complexion. He strongly denied Mr. Disraeli's imputation that he had been guilty of intrigue; for in his anxiety to keep clear of anything like intrigue, he had, unadvisedly for himself, perhaps, not communicated his intention of resigning to anyone of his colleagues. Lord Palmerston, following Lord John Russell, condemned the motion as setting a dangerous precedent, and he hoped the House would not discredit Parliamentary Government in the face of Europe by continuing these discusions, and showing that a constitutional government was not so well able to carry on war as governments framed on other principles.

The noble lord made an energetic and telling defence, but it came too late. The Government appealed to a wall of adamant.

The result of the division was one of the greatest surprises

ever experienced in Parliamentary history. The numbers were—For Mr. Roebuck's committee, 305; against, 148—majority against Ministers, 157. The scene was a peculiar and, probably, an unparalleled one. The cheers which are usually heard from one side or other of the House on the numbers of a division being announced were not forthcoming. The members were for the moment spellbound with astonishment; then there came a murmur of amazement, and finally a burst of general laughter.

Thus collapsed the famous Coalition Cabinet of Lord Aberdeen—a Cabinet distinguished for its oratorical strength, and for the conspicuous abilities of its chief members. Upon Lord John Russell's secession, its last hope of being able to survive had passed away. The member for Sheffield had, indeed, pointed the thunderbolt, but it would not have fallen with such crushing force had not the resignation of the President of the Council carried confusion into the ranks of the Ministry. The time had undoubtedly come for the Cabinet of Lord Aberdeen to fall to pieces; but it would not have perished beneath such a tremendous majority had it been able to make a strong and united stand against the attacks of its foes. To the Premier himself a cessation from the cares of State must have been a welcome relief; and it was no secret that he would willingly have retired from office long before. He had only consented to remain at his post because there was no other member of his Ministry who could hold the Cabinet together.

The members of the Aberdeen Government fell into deep obloquy during this early period of the Crimean War; yet a high tribute has been paid by Mr. Martin to the Peelite section of the Cabinet. His views acquire the greater importance, seeing that they were also those of the Queen and the Prince Consort, who not only took the keenest interest in the national affairs at this crisis, but had every opportunity of judging of the sincerity and patriotism of their advisers. This tribute, while paid chiefly to the Premier and the War Secretaries, embraced also the most distinguished Peelite in the Cabinet, Mr. Gladstone, who, up to this period, could certainly not be suspected of lukewarmness in the prosecution of the war.

The resignation of the Aberdeen Ministry was announced in both Houses on the 1st of February, the Duke of Newcastle stating in the Lords, that it was his intention to have given up the office of Secretary at War whether the motion of Mr. Roebuck had been successful or not. He had, in fact, over and over again offered to surrender his position to any of his colleagues. The Earl of Derby was summoned by her Majesty, to whom he

explained the difficulties in the way of forming a Ministry. The country demanded Lord Palmerston as War Minister, and he was essential at the present moment to any Cabinet, though not (the noble earl believed) fit to be entrusted with the Seals of War. But even with Lord Palmerston's assistance, Lord Derby assured her Majesty that he could not form a Government without the co-operation of the Peelites. This he endeavoured to secure, but as Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Sidney Herbert intimated that they could only extend to him an independent support, Lord Derby again waited upon the Queen, and informed her that he could not undertake the task entrusted to him. Mr. Martin states that his lordship told her Majesty that 'an independent support' reminded him of the definition of the independent M.P., viz., one who could not be depended upon. Lord Lansdowne was next applied to for advice, and he recommended that an opportunity should be afforded Lord John Russell for the formation of a Ministry. The Queen herself wrote to the noble lord, addressing him as a person 'who may be considered to have contributed to the vote of the House of Commons which displaced her last Government,' and hoping 'that he will be able to present to her such a Government as will give a fair promise successfully to overcome the great difficulties in which the country is placed.' Her Majesty added that it would give her particular satisfaction if Lord Palmerston would join in this formation. Lord Palmerston readily agreed to serve under Lord John Russell, but Lord Clarendon absolutely declined to do so. 'What would be thought of him,' he asked, 'were he to accept as his leader the man who, while in the late Ministry, had steadily worked for the overthrow of Lord Aberdeen and his Peelite colleagues, and for the reinstatement in office of an exclusively Whig Ministry?' He considered it to be idle for Lord John Russell to attempt the task; no one in the country believed he could do it, and if a Ministry should be formed under his auspices, it would be 'still-born.' Lord John Russell being, as well-nigh everybody expected him to be, unsuccessful, a new Ministry was eventually formed by Lord Palmerston, though the changes from the Aberdeen Cabinet were so few that it might rather be called a reconstruction than a creation. Mr. Gladstone and his friends at first declined to serve in this new Ministry, on the ground of their personal attachment to Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Newcastle, whom they regarded as the real victims of the adverse vote in the House of Commons. These noblemen, however, expressly desired Mr. Gladstone not to allow his chivalrous feelings to stand in the way, and Lord Palmerston's Government was accordingly

constituted as follows:—First Lord of the Treasury, Viscount Palmerston; Lord Chancellor, Lord Cranworth; President of the Council, Earl Granville; Privy Seal, Duke of Argyll; Foreign Secretary, Earl of Clarendon; Colonial Secretary, the Right Hon. Sidney Herbert; Home Secretary, Sir George Grey; Secretary at War, Lord Panmure; Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone; First Lord of the Admiralty, Sir James Graham; Public Works, Sir William Molesworth; in the Cabinet, but without office, the Marquis of Lansdowne; President of the Board of Control, Sir Charles Wood. This Ministry was generally considered to afford promise of stability. It was also calculated to inspire confidence in the country. Lord Palmerston had for some time been regarded as the coming man, and his name carried great weight across the Channel.

It soon became evident, however, that though an apparently durable Administration had been formed, it was surrounded with grave difficulties. Whatever might have been the case as touching the country, by many prominent members of the House of Commons the new Government was regarded with feelings of distrust almost as keen as those which had led to the overthrow of Lord Aberdeen. Yet the new War Minister, Lord Panmure, entered upon his onerous duties with energy and determination. On the 16th of February, he stated that he proposed to remedy the evils complained of at Sebastopol by a bill for the enlistment of experienced men for shorter periods of two or three years. A great proportion of the forces sent to the Crimea were young and unseasoned recruits, who rapidly sickened and died off. His lordship also detailed other measures which had been taken to remedy existing defects. In the House of Commons, on the 19th of February, Mr. Layard rose to call attention to the existing state of affairs. 'The country,' he asserted, 'stood on the brink of ruin—it had fallen into the abyss of disgrace, and become the laughing-stock of Europe.' He complained that the new Ministry differed little from the last, and demanded answers from the Premier to these questions—Whether he was willing to accept peace on any terms?—Whether the country was going to engage in prolonged hostilities?—Whether it was proposed to engage on our behalf oppressed nationalities?—Whether the Circassians would be assisted or not?—and, in short, What was the foreign policy of the Government going to be? The people of England demanded a thorough reform. Mr. Layard then compared the conduct of the British Parliament with that of the French Convention, who, on the failure of their army, sent out their own members, securing an immediate and brilliant result. Lord Palmerston retorted that it would be an excellent thing if Mr.

Layard and his proposed committee could be sent out to the Crimea, and compelled to remain there till the close of the session. He lamented the sufferings of the army, and the mistakes which had been made; but as the present Government had come forward in an emergency, and from a sense of public duty, he believed that it would obtain the confidence of the country.

A few days later the curtain rose upon another strange scene in the Parliamentary drama. Mr. Roebuck having given notice of the appointment of his committee forthwith, and the country supporting him in this, a serious split occurred in the Cabinet. Hostility to the Ministry was disclaimed, but Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham, and Mr. Sidney Herbert took the same view of the question they had previously held. They were opposed to the investigation as a dangerous breach of a great constitutional principle, and if the committee were granted it would be a precedent from whose repetition the Executive could never again escape, however unreasonable might be the nature of the demands. They therefore retired from office. In defending himself for this step, Sir James Graham said that he could not consent to the appointment of a committee which included no member of the Government, and he was also opposed to a select committee. If secret, its investigations could not be checked by public opinion; and if open, the evidence taken would be immediately made public and canvassed in a manner injurious to the public service Mr. Herbert held that as a vote of censure the motion for the committee was valueless, while as an inquiry it would be a mere sham. Mr. Gladstone took up somewhat different grounds. He said that the committee, being neither for punishment nor remedy, must be for government, and could not fail to deprive the Executive of its most important functions. Holding the views they did, Mr. Gladstone and his friends could scarcely have felt at ease in a Cabinet in which the purely Whig element was strongly predominant. If their retirement had not come upon this question of resisting Mr. Roebuck's committee, it must have come sooner or later as the result of a wide divergence between the Peelite and the Whig sections of the Cabinet. Yet one point, notwithstanding, deserves some consideration, viz., whether it was not unwise on the part of Mr. Gladstone to have resisted this committee, seeing that the country was determined and almost unanimous upon the subject. Lord Palmerston and the Whigs probably relished the idea of the committee as little as the Peelites, but they perceived that it would be impossible for any Government to stand at that time without yielding to the universal demand for an investigation.

Of course, Mr. Gladstone took high constitutional grounds, as he had a perfect right to do, but the emergency was an exceptional one, and the appointment of the committee was the only way of allaying the popular excitement.

Lord Palmerston was at once able to fill up the vacancies in the Cabinet. Sir Charles Wood succeeded Sir J. Graham at the Admiralty; Sir G. C. Lewis succeeded Mr. Gladstone as Chancellor of the Exchequer; and Lord John Russell—already English Plenipotentiary at Vienna—was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies. An attempt to make Mr. Roebuck's committee a secret one failed, and the Government promised to afford every facility during its investigations. But before the committee began its sittings, an event occurred which, for the moment, in many minds at least, gave strong hopes of the restoration of peace. On the 2nd of March, the Emperor Nicholas died suddenly from pulmonic apoplexy. England, as well as the whole European Continent, heard the news with mingled feelings—surprise at the unexpected nature of the event; speculation upon the consequences which were likely to follow therefrom. The question now arose, Would your Sebastopol Committee be relegated to the limbo of all abortive schemes, and the pæans of peace be heard ringing throughout Europe; or would the successor of the Emperor Nicholas prosecute to the bitter end the struggle upon which his sire had entered?

CHAPTER XI.

THE CRIMEAN WAR (*concluded*).

The Vienna Conference—The Four Points—Failure of the Negotiations—Mr. Gladstone's Defence of the Expedition to the Crimea—Excitement caused by his Attitude—Lord John Russell and the Government—Mr. Disraeli's Attack on Lord Palmerston—Mr. Roebuck's Vote of Censure defeated—Continued War Debates—Progress of Events in the Crimea—Report of the Sebastopol Committee—Mr. Gladstone's Defence of his Conduct during the War—Difficulties of the Peelites—The Eastern Dramas of 1853-6 and 1875-8—Position of the Eastern Question in the two Periods—Difficulties of Foreign Policy—Reasons for Arrest of Judgment.

As Grand Duke Alexander, the new Autocrat of all the Russias had been distinguished for his enlightened and even somewhat liberal views; but he was now called to a position in which private sentiments counted for very little. Succeeding to an inheritance of war, it speedily became evident that he had resolved to pursue that war to its conclusion, rather than yield the positions taken up by the late Czar. He issued a warlike proclamation, and though he agreed to take part in the deliberations of the Vienna Conference, there was no sign made that he intended to abate one jot or tittle of the Russian claims. Meanwhile, before the Vienna Conference came to an end, the Anglo-French alliance was strengthened by the accession of Sardinia. A treaty was drawn up by which the King of Sardinia engaged to furnish and maintain a body of 15,000 men for the requirements of the war, and he was to receive in return a loan of £1,000,000 from the British Government.

Lord John Russell left England at the close of February as Plenipotentiary to Vienna. The two great objects which British statesmen had in view were the limitation of the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea and the acknowledgment of Turkey as one of the great European Powers. If these points could be gained, it was hoped they would result in putting an end to the war. The Conference began on the 15th of March at Vienna, but little progress was made, it being obvious at an early stage that Russia did not intend to yield. The Russian Plenipotentiary told Lord John Russell that Russia 'would not consent to limit the number of her ships—if she did so she forfeited her

honour, she would be no more Russia. They did not want Turkey, they would be glad to maintain the Sultan, but they knew it was impossible: he must perish; they were resolved not to let any other Power have Constantinople—they must not have that door to their dominions in the Black Sea shut against them.' In order that the reader may clearly understand the preliminary basis upon which the negotiations at Vienna were founded, we append the 'Four Points' which were the subject of so much discussion:—

'1. Russian Protectorate over the Principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Servia to cease; the privileges granted by the Sultan to these provinces to be placed under a collective guarantee of the Powers. 2. Navigation of the Danube at its mouth to be freed from all obstacles, and submitted to the application of the principles established by the Congress of Vienna. 3. The Treaty of the 13th of July, 1841, to be revised in concert by all the high contracting parties in the interest of the balance of power in Europe, and so as to put an end to the preponderance of Russia in the Black Sea. 4. Russia to give up her claim to an official protectorate over the subjects of the Sublime Porte, to whatever rite they may belong; and France, Austria, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia to assist mutually in obtaining from the Ottoman Government the confirmation and the observance of the religious privileges of the different Christian communities, and to turn to account, in the common interests of their co-religionists, the generous intentions manifested by the Sultan, at the same time avoiding any aggression on his dignity and the independence of his crown.'

After these propositions had been discussed for two days by the representatives of the Powers at Vienna, an arrangement was come to on the first point, by which Russia agreed to abandon all exclusive protection over the Danubian Principalities of Wallachia, Moldavia, and Servia; and an amicable settlement was also arrived at with regard to the free navigation of the Danube. But the third point was the crucial one. It not only provided for the revision of the Treaty of 1841, but sought to curtail the power of Russia in the Black Sea. After much deliberation, and many adjournments, Prince Gortschakoff, on behalf of Russia, declared that he could not agree to the limitation of her navy in any way, whether by treaty or otherwise. The Turkish envoys proposed a kind of compromise, but on the Conference meeting again on the 21st of April, Prince Gortschakoff reiterated his former declaration. Russia could not, without loss of dignity, accept any proposal limiting the amount of her forces in the Black Sea. Counter-proposals by Russia were now submitted, which the French and English Plenipotentiaries declared they had no authority to discuss; though the Austrian representative said that these proposals admitted of discussion, and contained elements of which Austria would endeavour to avail herself for an understanding. Finally, Austria put forward propositions which Lord John Russell and M. Drouyn de Lhuys regarded as affording a prospect of an amicable settlement of the question.

These propositions, however, being a virtual surrender of the chief points for which England and France had uniformly contended, M. Drouyn de Lhuys and Lord John Russell incurred great unpopularity for admitting them to be feasible. The former was compelled to resign his office of Minister of Foreign Affairs in France, and the latter was ultimately also compelled to secede from Lord Palmerston's Cabinet.

The failure of the Vienna Conference caused great excitement in England. Ministers were attacked again and again in both Houses. On the 24th of May, Mr. Disraeli brought forward the following resolution in the House of Commons:—'That this House cannot adjourn for the recess without expressing its dissatisfaction with the ambiguous language and uncertain conduct of her Majesty's Government in reference to the great question of peace or war; and that, under these circumstances, this House feels it a duty to declare that it will continue to give every support to her Majesty in the prosecution of the war, until her Majesty shall, in conjunction with her allies, obtain for this country a safe and honourable peace.'

Mr. Disraeli supported this motion in a speech of nearly three hours' duration. He made a powerful attack on Lord John Russell, who had been distinguished (he said) for his inflammatory denunciations of Russia, and was incompetent to negotiate a peace. Yet an impossible peace had nearly been concluded without that House, and a motion was placed on the table by Mr Milner Gibson, affirming that the propositions of Russia were reasonable, and that some blame attached to the Government for refusing them. He (Mr. Disraeli) complained that there were diplomacy and war existent at the same time, and he concluded by denouncing 'this subterfuge of negotiation and Ministerial trifling.'

Rising during the debate on this motion, Mr. Gladstone defended the expedition to the Crimea. He denied that it had been entirely unsuccessful, for while in August, 1854, Russia refused to accept the Four Points, in the month of December following the Emperor accepted those very propositions as a basis of negotiations which he had so strenuously opposed before. Looking at the question at issue as one only of terms, how did it stand? Russia had agreed to the First and Second points and part of the Third point. The Fourth would be agreed to at any time. The only matter to be settled now was as to the limitation of the power of Russia in the Black Sea. When a member of the late Government, he was in favour of limiting the power of Russia in the Black Sea, but he now thought that such a proposition implied a great

indignity upon Russia. He was of opinion that the Russian proposal to give to Turkey the power of opening and shutting the Straits was one calculated to bring about a settlement. As regarded the position of Russia now, he challenged any person to show him a case in the whole history of the world in which the political objects of war had been more completely gained without the prostration of the adverse party. He felt that he would be incurring a fearful responsibility if he did not raise his voice to beseech the House to pause before they persevered in a war so bloody and so decimating, while there was a chance of returning to the condition of a happy and an honourable peace. If we now fought merely for military success, 'let the House look at this sentiment with the eye of reason, and it would appear immoral, inhuman, and un-Christian. If the war were continued in order to obtain military glory, we should tempt the justice of Him in whose hands was the fate of armies, to launch upon us His wrath.' Though the orator's eloquence was warmly admired, however, he spoke to an audience largely unsympathetic. Lord John Russell, in replying to the arguments of Mr. Gladstone, contended that it was essential in the interests of Europe that the power of Russia should be considerably curtailed. There was no more indignity now to Russia in enforcing this than when Mr. Gladstone agreed to support the policy by measures so costly in blood and treasure. There was no security for Turkey or for Europe that Russia would not pursue her aggrandising designs, unless some limitation of her power was obtained. He denounced the conduct and the ambition of Russia in very eloquent terms. The Government secured a majority of 100 upon Mr. Disraeli's motion.

Mr. Gladstone's attitude at this juncture was much canvassed and condemned. One member, Mr. J. G. Phillimore, said that after reading Mr. Gladstone's recent speech, 'he could comprehend how great and magnificent preparations had shrunk into a miserable defence, how disaster and defeat had sprung from the bosom of victory, and how a fatal and malignant influence had long paralysed the influence of our fleets and armies.' As further demonstrating the excitement which Mr. Gladstone's speech had caused in many quarters, we will quote a portion of a letter which Prince Albert wrote to Lord Aberdeen, in view of the discussions that were still to come on in the House of Commons upon Sir F. Baring's motion relative to the conduct of the war, and Mr. Lowe's amendment thereupon. 'Any such declaration as Mr. Gladstone has made upon Mr. Disraeli's motion,' said his Royal Highness, 'must not only weaken us abroad in public estimation, and give a wrong opinion as to the

determination of the nation to support the Queen in the war in which she has been involved, but render all chance of obtaining an honourable peace without great fresh sacrifices of blood and treasure impossible, by giving new hopes and spirit to the enemy.' The Prince recognised the fact that Mr. Gladstone and his friends had been falsely accused of supineness at an earlier stage of the war, but he could not blind himself to the further very important fact that his latest speech would be laid hold upon both by the Opposition and the enemies of the war. Indeed, during the same debate, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton was vehemently cheered when he asked, 'When Mr. Gladstone was dwelling, in a Christian spirit that moved them all, on the gallant blood that had been shed by England, by her Allies, and by her foemen in that quarrel, did it never occur to him that all the while he was speaking, this one question was forcing itself upon the minds of his English audience, "And shall all this blood have been shed in vain?"'

The debate was resumed, and Sir F. Baring's motion, which was not inimical to the Government, was accepted by Lord Palmerston, Mr. Gladstone acquiescing in this course. Mr. Lowe's amendment was negatived. That the great majority of the House were still in a most warlike mood was evident from the cheers which greeted Lords Palmerston and Russell when they announced that the war must be vigorously proceeded with.

But the mistakes which had been made by our Plenipotentiary at Vienna could not be blotted out, and the Opposition left the Government no peace. Questions and hostile motions, or threats of resolutions, showered upon them. On the 10th of July, Sir E. Bulwer Lytton gave notice of this resolution:—'That the conduct of our Ministry in the recent negotiations at Vienna has, in the opinion of this House, shaken the confidence of this country in those to whom its affairs are entrusted.' It was felt that something must be done with this motion, and Lord John Russell again prepared to run away; indeed, there was nothing else left for him to do, if his colleagues were to be saved. Accordingly, on the 13th, he resigned. On the 16th, the day fixed for the debate upon Sir E. B. Lytton's motion, the resignation was announced in the House. Lord John Russell defended himself by saying that it was not true he had promised to support the Austrian propositions. They had been considered and rejected by the Cabinet, after due deliberation. He had felt bound to fulfil his promise to Count Buol at Vienna, but having done that, he also felt bound to submit as a plenipotentiary to the decision of the Government. He thanked the members of the Cabinet and other friends for the kindness they had shown him. There were

some friends, however, who professed great attachment, 'but whenever there was a rub in his fortunes they fell away like water, and were never found again except to sink him. For these he felt nothing but contempt.'

Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, upon the announcement of Lord John Russell's resignation, withdrew his motion, but in doing so he said he believed there was still a peace party in the Cabinet, which must be closely watched. Lord Palmerston said that his ex-colleague's resignation had been offered to him before, but he had declined it, and expressed a desire to stand or fall by him. Mr. Disraeli humorously sketched the conduct of the Premier and Mr. Bouverie, 'the friends of the noble lord, and very devoted to him, but who had managed notwithstanding to get him out of office.' The right hon. member for Buckinghamshire then went on to say that the end of it was this—'the noble lord, with a reputation of a quarter of a century—a man who for all that time had given a tone and a colour to the policy of this country—who had met the giants of other times in debate—who had measured rapiers with Canning, and divided the public admiration with Sir Robert Peel—had mysteriously disappeared, and did not dare to face this motion; while as to the noble lord now at the head of the Cabinet, he had addressed the House that night in a tone and with accents which showed that if the honour and interests of this country were much longer entrusted to him, the first would be tarnished and the last would be betrayed.'

This wholesale condemnation of Lord Palmerston was of course ill-deserved, and it seems almost difficult to believe—in these comparatively serene days—that such strongly vituperative language, with its scathing taunts and sarcasms, could have been prevalent in Parliamentary warfare less than a generation ago. It appears all the more extraordinary, seeing that Mr. Disraeli spoke these bitter words concerning Lord Palmerston upon a motion that was already moribund. With regard to Lord John Russell, there probably never was a statesman more universally condemned than his lordship was at this juncture; and the condemnation was by no means wholly undeserved. As eminent for his past services as any of his distinguished colleagues, he appeared completely to have lost his intellectual balance over the Eastern Question, and to have abdicated his claims to diplomatic distinction and practical statesmanship acquired in the past.

Mr. Gladstone, addressing the House also upon Sir E. B. Lytton's motion, complained that Lord John Russell had in a recent speech condemned the last of the Russian proposals then

before the House, though that proposal seemed to him to be substantially the very same measure which the noble lord had himself supported at Vienna. Touching the charge made against the Government by Mr. Disraeli, that the Cabinet was at one time disposed to accept the noble lord's proposals, he thought they were not amenable to it, for it appeared from the papers that, on the very day when Lord John's proposals were received in London, Lord Clarendon expressed to Count Colleredo his condemnation of the plan. So far from blaming the Government for hesitating about this offer of peace, he (Mr. Gladstone) blamed them for not giving the propositions that consideration which their gravity demanded, and for abruptly closing the hope of an honourable peace.

Mr. Roebuck next brought forward a sweeping motion, founded on the report of the Sebastopol Committee. It was in effect a vote of censure upon every member of the Aberdeen Cabinet, as being responsible for the sufferings of the army during the winter campaign in the Crimea. The hon. member called upon the House to pass sentence. 'It is said,' urged Mr. Roebuck, 'that we have got rid of all the elements of the Administration that were mischievous. That I am very far from believing. It is also said, "Are not Aberdeen, and Newcastle, and Herbert, and Gladstone out? And what more can you expect or do you want? Do you want to see everybody punished?" I say yes, every one who has been proved guilty.' The general feeling of the House, however, was that this was an extreme proposition, and the previous question, an amendment moved by General Peel, was carried by a majority of 107 in a not very full House.

The war debates, nevertheless, continued at intervals till the close of the session. Mr. Gladstone once more strongly deprecated the continuance of the war, in a speech which he made on the 3rd of August. He defended the Austrian proposals, and threw upon Ministers the whole blame for continuing the war after their rejection. He asked what definite object there now was for prolonging the struggle. We had cast aside a basis of agreement to which all the plenipotentiaries at Vienna had agreed, and were engaged solely in making war for paltry differences. He censured Lord Clarendon for not showing in his despatches any real desire for peace, and expressed his fears of a wider breach with Austria. Touching upon the position of the various Powers implicated in the strife, he drew a classical comparison, describing Turkey as an ally such as Anchises was to Æneas on his flight from Troy. We were gradually drifting away from friendly concert with Austria; Sardinia was dragging heavily through the conflict in mere dependence upon England;

and he did not believe that France was likely to add £100,000,000 sterling to her debt for a mere difference between limitation and counterpoise. Mr. Gladstone defied the Western Powers to control the future destinies of Russia, save for a moment; and he 'placed the undivided responsibility of the continuance of the war on the head of the Ministry.' He remained content in the belief that, in endeavouring to recall the Government from the course of policy they were then pursuing, he was discharging his duty as a patriot and a loyal subject of his Queen.

Such were the chief points of a very powerful and comprehensive speech; but the debate in which it was the most noteworthy episode fell through without a division. The speech was no doubt intended for the country as well as for the House, being Mr. Gladstone's last opportunity for defending himself upon the various questions involved before the approaching lengthy recess. A passage of arms—still on the question of the war—arose between Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston on the 7th of August, and on the 14th Parliament was prorogued. Ministers enjoyed their whitebait dinner as usual, but there were many changes at the board compared with its constituent elements a twelvemonth before. These changes were happily hit off at the time in a parody upon four lines of one of Sir Walter Scott's poems:—

'Where's Herbert kind, and Aberdeen,
Where's fluent Gladstone to be seen,
Where's Graham now, that dangerous foe,
And where's the Bedford Plenipo?'

The war events of the period are soon told. In May, 1855, the expedition to Kertch and the Sea of Azov destroyed many of the Russian vessels and several towns. The French, in conjunction now with Sardinia, won a splendid victory on the banks of the Tchernaya, August 16th. In June, Lord Raglan died of cholera, and was succeeded in command of the English troops by General Simpson, who, however, soon gave place to Sir William Codrington. Sebastopol still held out, and until this fortress was taken there was no hope of a termination of the war. At length the French—already in possession of the Mamelon—took the Malakoff tower by a brilliant attack, on the 8th of September. The British made a simultaneous attack, and seized upon the Redan, but they were driven from their position by the terrible fire of the Russians, who swept the fort from every side. On the 9th Prince Gortschakoff piloted the Russian garrison across the harbour to the northern part of the city, having sunk the ships before the retreat. This new position the Russians held

but a short time. The Allies immediately blew up the batteries and dockyards, and the fortress which the Emperor Nicholas had deemed impregnable was utterly destroyed. In the north, Admiral Dundas successfully bombarded Sveaborg, a strongly-fortified Russian town on the north of the Gulf of Finland. The bombardment lasted three days, August 9—11. General Williams, who held Kars, made a most heroic defence of the place, but for want of reinforcements was at length obliged to succumb. The power of Russia having been broken, alike on the Baltic and the Black Sea, the Emperor gave up the struggle, and negotiations for peace were entered upon. A treaty was subsequently concluded at Paris in March, 1856.

Mr. Roebuck's Sebastopol Committee presented its report on the 16th of June. This report, after describing the condition of the army, and reviewing the evidence given before the committee, ended with the following general conclusions :—'Your committee report that the sufferings of the army resulted mainly from the circumstances under which the expedition to the Crimea was undertaken and executed. The Administration which ordered that expedition had no adequate information as to the amount of forces in the Crimea. They were not acquainted with the strength of the forces to be attacked, or with the resources of the country to be invaded. They hoped and expected the expedition to be immediately successful, and as they did not foresee the probability of a protracted struggle, they made no provision for a winter campaign. The patience and fortitude of the army demand the admiration and gratitude of the nation on whose behalf they have fought, bled, and suffered. Their heroic valour and equally heroic patience under sufferings and privations have given them claims on the country which will doubtless be gratefully acknowledged. Your committee will now close their report with a hope that every British army may in future display the valour which this noble army has displayed, and that none may hereafter be exposed to such sufferings as have been recorded in these pages.' The Duke of Newcastle, upon whom was laid the chief blame for the disasters to the army in the Crimea, was not the ablest administrator who could have been selected to grapple with the difficulties of the war; but, as a recent historian has observed, the fault at this critical period lay rather with the system and the circumstances than with the man, though it is quite possible that a Minister of greater administrative ability might have succeeded better. This is the view very largely taken now by all unbiassed critics, and it is borne out by a careful examination of contemporary evidence and documents bearing upon the Crimean War.

We have dwelt somewhat at length upon this important episode in English history because it is one to a right understanding of which Mr. Gladstone himself attaches considerable importance, and it is one, moreover, in connection with which his own conduct has been much canvassed. It now only remains briefly to note the points of Mr. Gladstone's defence of the course he pursued during the war. First he says that it was the fate of himself and his friends to join the Cabinet of Lord Palmerston at a critical juncture, and to quit it within a fortnight or three weeks. The cause of the secession was that the Premier having set out with the determination to resist the appointment of the Sebastopol Committee, like his predecessor, Lord Aberdeen, at length came to the conclusion that resistance would be ineffectual, and determined to succumb. The Peelities had no option but to resign, though in reality 'they were driven from their offices.' Yet, as Mr. Gladstone's critics may urge with some force, he might have known, from the temper of the nation and the House, that the appointment of a committee could not be avoided, and it was a pity, therefore, that he took office at all under Lord Palmerston; but, having accepted office, might he not have yielded to the appointment of the committee, seeing that everything inimical to the Ministry was expressly disclaimed. But Mr. Gladstone opposed the committee on the grounds we have seen stated, and he remained stedfast to his friends. He was again blamed for recommending a cessation of the war, when it appeared to him that the original demands made of Russia had been exceeded. The upshot is that 'the question which broke up one Cabinet, and formidably rent another, which agitated England and sorely stained her military reputation in the eyes of Europe, remained then, and remains now, untried by any final court of appeal.' There were conflicting judgments as to where, and upon whom, responsibility should be fixed; and if it were found impossible then rightly to apportion the blame for the Crimean disasters, it is still more impossible now. The wisest and best course to adopt, therefore, is to drop the curtain upon this humiliating scene in English history.

Mr. Gladstone has well shown the difficulties which beset the Peelites after the death of their great leader. It took no less than thirteen years to effect their final incorporation with the Liberal party. For eleven of these thirteen years of disembodied existence they were independent members. 'They were like roving icebergs, on which men could not land with safety, but with which ships might come into perilous collision. Their weight was too great not to count, but it counted first this way and

then that.' These small but powerful independent bodies are always a great puzzle to the two chief political parties in the State. Their very conscientiousness, as it were, acts as a bar to their public usefulness. The Peelites began to cease exercising a strong influence upon the Court and the House, as a political party, with the fall of Lord Aberdeen; and it was a happy thing for each individual member of the body, as well as most conducive to the welfare of the country, when he became identified fully and finally with Liberal opinions.

Commenting upon the comparisons which have been drawn between the Eastern drama of 1853-6 and that of 1875-8, Mr. Gladstone impugns their accuracy. He thus states his own view of the two periods:—

'There was in each case an offender against the law and peace of Europe; Turkey, by her distinct and obstinate breach of covenant, taking on the later occasion the place which Russia had held in the earlier controversy. There were in each case prolonged attempts to put down the offence by means of European concert. In 1853-4 these proceeded without a check, until the eve of the war. In 1875-7 the combination was sadly intermittent; but in the singular and unprecedented conference at Constantinople, it was, at least on the part of the assembled representatives, perfectly unequivocal. In 1854 the refusal of Prussia to support words by acts completely altered the situation; and in 1876-7 the assurance conveyed to Turkey from England that only moral suasion was intended, had the same effect.' The difference was that, in 1854-5, two great Powers, with the partial support of a third, prosecuted by military means the work they had undertaken; in 1877 it was left to Russia alone to act as the hand and sword of Europe, with the natural consequence of weighting the scale with the question what compensation she might claim, or would claim, for her efforts and sacrifices.'

Those who differ most from Mr. Gladstone upon the Eastern Question will probably admit that he has here indicated some essential points of difference between the two periods Another Liberal statesman who held office during the time of the Crimean war, the Duke of Argyll, has also insisted upon the wide divergences which marked the two epochs. In a work recently published, he remarks that upon the Eastern Question, as it occupied public attention in 1854, there was comparatively little difference of opinion. Russia was so clearly in the wrong that little or nothing could be said in her defence. 'When the imperious character of the Emperor Nicholas led him to reject every reasonable compromise, and when the Cabinets of London and of Paris came to the conclusion that they could yield no further, the country was not only practically unanimous, but was even hotly enthusiastic in support of a war which had become inevitable.'* But the Duke maintains that everything was different in 1876. 'The Eastern Question was raised by native insurrections in the provinces of Turkey, excited and

* *The Eastern Question: From the Treaty of Paris, 1856, to the Treaty of Berlin, 1878, and to the Second Afghan War.* By the Duke of Argyll.

justified by the gross misgovernment of the Porte. The whole Eastern Question, therefore, as it was then raised, resolved itself into this—how the abuses and vices of Turkish administration were to be dealt with by the Powers which had supported Turkey in the Crimean War, and by those other Powers, embracing all the principal governments of Europe, which had ultimately signed the Treaties of 1856.' Both statesmen held in 1853 that the policy of supporting Turkey in her quarrel with Russia was perfectly consistent with a conviction, or at least a fear, that Turkey was in danger of sinking under internal and irremediable causes of decay. The aggressive spirit, the violence, and the ambition of Russia left English statesmen no option but to support the weaker Power against her enemy.

Nothing is easier than to criticise a policy after it has been shown to have failed, or after it has achieved its end; nothing is so difficult as to resolve upon a policy at the moment when prompt and vigorous measures are required. In passing judgments, therefore, upon statesmen of whatever party, or section of a party, it is especially incumbent upon us to remember the difficulties by which they have been surrounded. Moreover, that which may seem a wise policy to-day may have appeared exactly the opposite to the wisest minds of a bygone generation. The science of politics is a varying one; the elements upon which action is founded are never the same in two periods, and it is obviously unjust in the clearer light of a later time ruthlessly to condemn without the strictest investigation the action of statesmen in the past. It is the tendency of political criticism of the day, on both sides, to brand with opprobrious epithets those who are diametrically opposed to the views of the writers. It is especially necessary in politics that men make large allowances for the exigencies of time and circumstances. Our political idols are not the flawless angels we deem them, nor are their rivals the monsters of imperfection and apostasy they are sometimes depicted. The changes in the standpoint of a leader of political opinion, be he Liberal or Conservative, are nearly always, we will hope, brought about by 'the slow and resistless forces of conviction'—rarely by unworthy and time-serving motives. Looking back upon this episode of the Crimean War in this spirit, it may not be difficult to perceive that that which is apparently ambiguous in Mr. Gladstone's conduct is capable of an explanation honourable to himself as a man and as a statesman, and is the result of that high devotion to duty which has stamped his character as uniformly upright and conscientious in the eyes of the world.

CHAPTER XII.

DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY—1856-58.

Negotiations for Peace—Conclusion of a Treaty—The Treaty criticised in both Houses—Sydney Smith on Foreign Interference—Mr. Gladstone's Speech—The Objects of the War—Arbitration for International Differences—Treaty Engagements—The Belgian Press—Lord Palmerston's Reply—Lord John Russell's Resolutions on National Education—Mr. Gladstone's Objections thereto—A curious Division List—A new Loan—The Cost of the War—The Budget—England and the United States—Enlistment of Recruits for the British Army—Mr. Gladstone severely criticises the Policy of the Government—Ministerial Victory—Government and the Session of 1857—Debate on the Address—Budget introduced by Sir G. C. Lewis—Mr. Disraeli's Amendment—Mr. Gladstone's Criticisms of the Budget—Defeat of Mr. Disraeli's Amendment—The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Financial Policy discussed—The Palmerston Government and its Chinese Policy—Mr. Cobden's Motion—Remarks by Mr. Gladstone—Defeat of the Government—Lord Palmerston's Appeal to the Country—The Bank of England and the Monetary Panic—The Conspiracy to Murder Bill—Excitement in the Country—Mr. Milner Gibson's Resolutions—Powerful Speech by Mr. Gladstone—Ministerial Defeat—Resignation of the Government—A Derby Ministry—Church Rates—Measures for the future Government of India—Three India Bills—Mr. Gladstone on the Danubian Principalities and the Eastern Question—Mr. Disraeli's Budget for 1858—Mr. Gladstone and the Ionian Islands—Appointment as Lord High Commissioner Extraordinary—Incorporation of the Islands with Greece.

AT the opening of the session of 1856, negotiations for peace were already in progress, but the prospect of a cessation of hostilities was not regarded universally in England in a favourable light. There were not wanting those who desired the War to proceed for the purpose of recovering the national prestige, which had been partially lost by the disasters in the Crimea, and by the surrender of Kars to the Russians. But on the 31st of March, while the House of Commons was engaged in Committee of Supply, Lord Palmerston interposed to announce that a Treaty of Peace had been concluded at Paris. His lordship said that by the stipulations of the treaty the integrity and the independence of the Turkish Empire would be secured. The treaty was honourable to all the contracting Powers who were a party to it; and while it had put an end on the one hand to a war which every friend to humanity must naturally wish to see concluded, on the other hand it would lay the foundation of a peace which the noble lord trusted, so far as relating to the circumstances out of which the war began, would

be lasting and enduring. The British negotiators, Lord Clarendon and Lord Cowley, had not only maintained the honour, dignity, and interests of the country they represented; but by their conciliatory conduct had secured for themselves and their country the respect, esteem, and goodwill of those with whom they had had to do.

The terms of the treaty were subjected to considerable criticism in both Houses. In the Commons, Mr. Herbert, the seconder of the address to her Majesty upon the conclusion of a peace, admitted that there was a want of enthusiasm in the country on the subject of the treaty, but he attributed this not to any dissatisfaction with its terms, but to a variety of causes, the chief of which was a general conviction that if the war had been continued, the British army would have added largely to the laurels it had won. Animated speeches were delivered by Mr. Sidney Herbert and Mr. Milner Gibson. The latter quoted an extract from a characteristic letter of Sydney Smith to Lady Grey, on the subject of foreign interference. This letter might with advantage have been quoted in the House of Commons on many occasions since the time at which it was written. 'For God's sake do not drag me into another war,' implored the great Whig humourist. 'I am worn down and worn out with crusading and defending Europe and protecting mankind; I must think a little of myself. I am sorry for the Spaniards—I am sorry for the Greeks—I deplore the fate of the Jews; the people of the Sandwich Islands are groaning under the most detestable tyranny; Bagdad is oppressed; I do not like the present state of the Delta; Thibet is not comfortable. Am I to fight for all these people? No war, dear Lady Grey! I beseech you secure Lord Grey's sword and pistols, as the housekeeper did Don Quixote's armour. If there is another war, life will not be worth having. . . . . May the vengeance of Heaven overtake all the legitimates of Verona! but, in the present state of rent and taxes, they must be left to the vengeance of Heaven. I allow fighting in such a cause to be a luxury; but the business of a prudent, sensible man is to guard against luxury.'

Mr. Gladstone's speech in this debate was an important one, not only from the nature of its arguments, but as the final deliverance, upon this great question of the Crimean war, of one upon whom—rightly or wrongly—considerable blame had been laid at the commencement of the struggle with Russia. He had been charged, together with Sir James Graham and other colleagues of his in the Aberdeen Cabinet, with underrating the dangers and responsibilities of the war. It was alleged, again

and again, that their half measures had precipitated the contest and afterwards increased its magnitude. Mr. Gladstone began by remarking that the question before the House was not a very broad one, inasmuch as the amendment to the address only proposed to substitute the modified word 'satisfaction' for 'joy' at the conclusion of the peace. He regarded the treaty as an honourable one, because the objects of the war had been attained. Referring to the statement that we had become bound, with the other Christian Powers of Europe, not only for the maintenance and integrity of the Turkish Empire against foreign aggression, but also to the maintenance of Turkey as a Mahomedan State, Mr. Gladstone added, 'If I thought, sir, that this treaty of peace was an instrument which bound this country and our posterity, as well as our Allies, to the maintenance of a set of institutions in Turkey which you are endeavouring to reform if you can, but with respect to which endeavour few can be sanguine, I should not be content to fall back upon the amendment of my noble friend (Lord C. Hamilton), expressing that I regarded the peace with satisfaction; but, on the contrary, I should look out for the most emphatic word in which to express my sense of condemnation of a peace which bound us to maintain the law and institutions of Turkey as a Mahomedan State.' With regard to the objects for which the war had been undertaken, he denied that they had sought to secure the settlement of any question respecting the internal condition of Turkey. 'The juxtaposition of a people professing the Mahomedan religion with a rising Christian population having adverse and conflicting influences, presents difficulties which are not to be overcome by certain diplomatists at certain hours, and in a certain place. It will be the work and care of many generations—if even then they were successful—to bring that state of things to a happy and prosperous conclusion. But there was another danger—the danger of the encroachment upon, and the absorption of Turkey by Russia, which would bring upon Europe evils not less formidable than those which already existed. Such a danger to the peace, liberties, and privileges of all Europe we were called upon absolutely to resist by all the means in our power.' But Mr. Gladstone went on to regret that a more substantive existence had not been secured to the Principalities, though he owned that this was not the fault of England and France. The neutralisation of the Black Sea he objected to, as meaning nothing more in time of war than a series of pitfalls. Recognised rules should also have been established to regulate interference on behalf of the Christians. The proposal to submit international differences to arbitration he regarded as a great triumph, though there was a danger

that if encouragement should be given to the trumping-up of untenable claims and bad cases as a matter of diplomatic contention between nations, they would end by making more quarrels than they could possibly avert. He held that no country ought to resort to arbitration until it had reduced its claims to what it considered the minimum, and brought them to that state in which they were fit to be supported by force. If they laid down that rule, then a resort to arbitration was indeed a powerful engine on behalf of civilisation and humanity. Under such circumstances, this proposal to establish a system of arbitration (which he rejoiced to say was an English one) might lead to a diminution of what undoubtedly had been a great scourge to Europe of late years—namely, the enormous cost of its military establishments. He was glad to find that the moment at length was come when they had every reason to hope the greatest military powers in Europe—Russia and France—were about to set a bold example in the way of reduction of their military establishments.

Mr. Gladstone then dwelt with much fulness upon the bearings of the twenty-second protocol of the conference at Paris. He had been pleased with what had passed, especially as affecting Naples, yet it was an innovation to entertain such subjects in the history of conferences of pacification. He wished to know what was the position of the Powers not represented at the Conference; and also what was the exact force or value that belonged to the records inscribed upon the protocols. 'Are they treaty engagements? Certainly they are not. Do they approximate to the character of engagements? If they do, how near do they come to it? If they do not, how far are they from it? If they do not partake at all of the nature of engagements, what are they? They are authoritative documents. Those who like them may claim them as allies and powerful auxiliaries. Those who do not like them may endeavour to depreciate them. Infinite discussions may arise upon their character.' Confusion in international rights and engagements would result from these semi-authoritative records. The most important question was that relating to the state of the press in Belgium. Lord Clarendon had fairly intimated that the scheme which had been suggested could find no support or sympathy in England; but some unfortunate mishap must have occurred, seeing that the protocol recited that all the plenipotentiaries had not hesitated loudly to condemn the excess in which the Belgian newspapers indulged with impunity, by recognising the necessity of remedying the real inconveniences attending the uncontrolled licence which was so greatly abused in Belgium.

Standing as he did in the first and principal fortress of European freedom, Mr. Gladstone held that these matters imperatively called for explanation. The representatives of Prussia and Austria, Baron Mantenffel and Count Buol, had said that the repression of the press must be considered as a European necessity; Count Walewski, on the part of France (and he hoped he expressed his own views only and not the deliberate intentions of his Sovereign or the Government), had affirmed that legislation was required in the subject of the Belgian press, and that compulsion must be resorted to if necessary; while Count Orloff, on the part of Russia, said he had no instructions, and passed by every one of the topics without comment. Difficulties had arisen in connection with some States, but there had been a general readiness to deal with the Belgian press. Mr. Gladstone earnestly hoped that these declarations affecting Belgium were not indications of policy, but that they had issued lightly from the mouths of those distinguished persons, and that having been uttered they would be regretted and forgotten; they could not be recalled. In the meantime, he demanded, were these charges against Belgium just? If impunity for excesses existed in that country, the evil was not to be attributed to the want of a law, but to the neglect of putting the law in motion. Trial by jury for offences of the press was one of the articles of the Belgian Constitution, and those articles could not be changed at the mere will of either the Government or of the two Houses of the Legislature. 'I think it right,' concluded Mr. Gladstone, 'to point out, as clearly as it is possible for an independent member of Parliament to do so, that this appeal to a people, gallant and high-spirited as the Belgians are — an appeal which appears to be contemplated under the compulsion of foreign, and some of them remote, Powers, and having for its object the limitation by the Belgians of their own dearest rights and most cherished liberties — is not a policy which tends to clear the political horizon, but rather one which will darken and disturb it, and cast gloom and despondency over a prospect otherwise brilliant and joyous.'

Lord Palmerston concluded the debate, contending that the objects of the war had been fully accomplished, and in two short years. With regard to the Belgian press, he assured the House that the British Government would be no party to any interference with an independent nation with the view of dictating the steps she should take to gag the press. He believed that the war had settled division in every part of Europe—north, south, east, or west he saw nothing but hope and consolation—and he trusted, in conclusion, that the youngest man who sat in that

House might not live to see the time when it would be necessary for the responsible servants of the Crown to call upon the people of the country to support their Sovereign in the prosecution of any new war. The amendment having been withdrawn, an address to her Majesty was agreed to, and the curtain thus fell upon the closing scene of one of the greatest and most sanguinary dramas of our national history.

Early in this session Lord John Russell brought forward in the House of Commons a series of resolutions on the subject of National Education. These resolutions provided (*inter alia*) that eighty sub-inspectors should be added to the existing number of inspectors; that the sub-inspectors should report on the available means for the education of the poor in each school district; that in order to extend such means the power of the commissioners of charitable trusts should be enlarged, and that the funds then useless or injurious to the public should be applied to the education of the middle and poorer classes of the community; that where such means were not available, the ratepayers should have the power of taxing themselves for the maintenance of schools; that employers of children between nine and fifteen years of age should be required to furnish certificates half-yearly of the attendance of such children at school, and to pay for such instruction. After some discussion, however, the formal motion on the first resolution was withdrawn, and on the 10th of April the House resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, 'to consider the present state of public education in England and Wales.' Lord John Russell now moved his first resolution, referring to the speech he had made upon introducing the whole. The policy of the Government was severely criticised during the debate, and Mr. Gladstone, in alluding to this change of front, said that no doubt Lord John Russell anticipated defeat, and was anxious to extricate the remnants of his army from a dangerous and desperate position. The noble lord intended, no doubt, to save the principle of local influences as opposed to central control, and to save the principle of religious as opposed to secular instruction; but the House were convinced that in these vital respects he would be entirely disappointed. It had happily been found practicable in England to associate together in the most perfect harmony these two principles—the principle of voluntary exertion, through which they might get heart, and love, and moral influences infused into their school instruction, and the principle of material aid from the State, by which the skeleton and framework of their education were provided. But if he (the speaker) were driven to abandon the voluntary principle, or place exclusive

reliance upon it, he should not hesitate to say at once, 'Give me the real education, the affection of the heart, the moral influences operative upon character, the human love, that are obtained through the medium of the voluntary principle, carried out by men whose main motive is one of Christian philanthropy, rather than throw me upon a system which, whatever the intentions of its first mover may be, must sooner or later degenerate into hard irreligion.' Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to discuss the resolutions, which, whether unconstitutional or not, were, he held, of such dangerous tendency that if they were not unconstitutional it was because they involved consequences still more fatal. They tended to create a central controlling power, involving secular instruction and endless religious quarrels.

A division was taken upon the question, 'That the chairman do now leave the chair,' which was carried by 260 votes to 158. This majority of 102 being virtually against the resolution of Lord John Russell, it was not now proceeded with. The division list revealed curious elements. In the majority were found Mr. Gladstone, Mr. (now Earl) Cairns, Mr. Cardwell, Lord Robert Cecil (now Marquis of Salisbury), Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Milner Gibson, Sir James Graham, Mr. Sydney Herbert, Mr. Lowe, Lord John Manners, Mr. Roundell Palmer (Lord Selbourne), and Mr. Walpole. In the minority were Sir Alexander Cockburn, Sir George Grey, Mr. Horsman, Lord Palmerston, Mr. Villiers, and Sir Charles Wood; while the tellers were Lord J. Russell and Sir J. Pakington.

In committee of Ways and Means, on the 22nd of February, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had proposed resolutions authorising a loan of £5,000,000, and the funding of £3,000,000 of Exchequer Bills. The war had rendered a large pecuniary provision necessary. Sir G. C. Lewis did not at this time bring forward his annual budget, but made a statement respecting the revenue. It had been so disturbed by speculative fluctuations in the sugar trade, exportation of spirits under drawback to supply the wine deficiency abroad, and other causes, that the whole deficiency was now reckoned at £1,600,000. The actual expenditure had exceeded the estimate by £1,960,000, chiefly under military heads, and they were at that moment in a financial position nearly £4,000,000 less favourable than he had estimated. In reply to the Chancellor's statements upon the real cost of the war and the amount of debt incurred, Mr. Gladstone said that the debt created within twenty-four months was probably £36,000,000. Many items of further charge would fall in, and altogether the net cost of the war would probably be hardly represented by an addition of 50 per cent. to the £43,000,000 estimated by the

Chancellor of the Exchequer as the precise sum which the war had cost us. The resolutions were agreed to. It was not until the 19th of May that Sir G. C. Lewis introduced his budget. Its main features were as follows :—The total expenditure for 1855-6 (including the loan of £1,000,000 to Sardinia) was £89,428,355; and the income £65,704,491. During the past two years of war the total expenditure had been £151,121,307, and for the previous two years of peace it was £102,032,596. In consequence of the preparations which had been necessary, the extra war expenditure would run into the present year; and he calculated the probable expenditure at £82,113,000, and the income from all sources at £71,740,000. The Government did not propose to levy new taxes, but would partially meet the deficiency by a loan of £5,000,000, a considerable sum in addition having been previously arranged for.

Referring to some observations which had been made by Mr. Disraeli on the subject of Sardinia, Mr. Gladstone said he thought the right honourable gentleman justified in his allusions. If Sardinia should entertain schemes of aggression, we could scarcely wonder at it. She laboured under great difficulties, but she must practise self-denial and exhibit a right example to Italy, and in the moral force flowing from that she would find her reward. Mr. Gladstone then proceeded to criticise the budget, denying the assertion that the parsimony of the House of Commons had been the cause of our disasters in the late war. Prussia and Sardinia were examples proving that an efficient army need not be an expensive one. He considered that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was making very narrow provision to meet the expenditure. It was sailing very close to the wind to allow for a surplus of only £160,000 upon a certain expenditure of £77,000,000. Mr. Gladstone again manifested his strong views upon the necessity for meeting national crises as they arose, by observing that 'they should not set the pestilent example of abolishing taxes, and borrowing money in their stead.' Here was a disposition to stimulate increased expenditure, while every effort was directed to stinting the means of meeting that expenditure. The Chancellor's budget resolutions were ultimately agreed to.

The relations between the Governments of England and the United States, which had been strained considerably in 1855, were still further strained in the following year. The Central American Convention of 1850 had given the first shock to a harmonious understanding, but the question which caused the greatest uneasiness was that of the enlistment of recruits in the United States for the British army. On

several occasions during the session of 1856 questions were raised upon this matter, but it was not until the 30th of June that the general subject of our relations with America was fully and formally discussed. On the order for going into committee of supply on that day, Mr. G. H. Moore moved as an amendment the following resolution:—'That the conduct of Her Majesty's Government, in the differences that have arisen between them and the Government of the United States, on the question of enlistment, has not entitled them to the approbation of this House.' Mr. Moore not only affirmed that the neutrality law of the United States had been grossly and deliberately violated by persons acting with the approbation of her Majesty's Government; but also that her Majesty's Government had contemplated and sanctioned the violation of the law. The hon. member accused Mr. Crampton, the British Ambassador (who had only performed the duties indicated to him by Lord Clarendon), of subverting international law by secretly enlisting the subjects of the United States. Lord Clarendon deprecated all violation of the law, but the whole question turned upon the interpretation of it, and an eminent American lawyer had given an opinion directly contrary to that of the noble earl.

During the debate, which was a very protracted one, Mr. Gladstone delivered a long and able speech. 'It appears to me,' he said, 'that the two cardinal aims that we ought to keep in view in the discussion of this question are peace and a thoroughly cordial understanding with America for one, the honour and fame of England for the other. I am bound to say that in regard to neither of these points am I satisfied with the existing state of things, or with the conduct of her Majesty's Government. A cordial understanding with America has not been preserved; and the honour of this country has been compromised.' Mr. Gladstone acknowledged that he had great difficulty in coming to a decision what vote to give upon that important question; at the same time, he could not meet the resolution proposed by Mr. Moore with a direct negative. Unless the House was prepared to displace the Government, it ought not to weaken their hands. Votes of censure on the Government should only be proposed by those who were able to give effect to the principle contained in those votes. Coming to the actual matter at issue, he asked whether wrong had not been done? 'In the first place, he charged the Government with practising concealment; in the second place, he maintained that the American Government were deluded and misled. The law was knowingly broken by the agents of the British Government. There was not one hair's-breadth of distinction between the

position of Mr. Crampton and the position of the Government. What the American Government complained of was the employment of an agency within the United States, not only to give information, but to tempt, to induce by the offer of valuable considerations, the subjects of the United States to go beyond the United States for the purpose of enlisting. Mr. Crampton did not communicate this to the American Government. He had not only been guilty of concealment, however, but he had broken the solemn promise that he would confine himself to communicate to the persons who addressed themselves to him the terms on which they would be received into the British service.' Mr. Gladstone then went on to prove the injustice of the charge against the American Government, of having at first confined its complaints to the proceedings of unauthorised persons, and subsequently extended those complaints to the British Minister and his subordinates. 'Aiming as I do at a plain and intelligible statement, I must say the American Government was deceived by the proceedings of the British Government. I say we intentionally broke the law of the Union.' After examining the cases of several recruiting agents, the speaker maintained that Mr. Crampton had been made a scapegoat. He and three consuls had been punished, yet, although the British Government acquiesced in and indorsed the acts of its agents, it accepted with satisfaction its own acquittal. Mr. Gladstone thus concluded:—'When I look back to the period when party combinations were strong in the House—when Sir Robert Peel was on those (the Opposition) benches, and Lord John Russell on these, I think—though many mistakes and errors were committed on both sides—that, on the whole, the Government of the country was honourably and efficiently carried on. I believe that the day for this country will be a happy day when party combinations shall be restored on such a footing. But this question, instead of being a party question, is a most remarkable illustration of the disorganised state of parties, and of the consequent impotency of the House of Commons to express a practical opinion with respect to the foreign policy of the country. Under these circumstances, the only resource left to me is the undisguised expression of the opinions which I strongly and conscientiously (perhaps erroneously) feel after the study of these papers. I have had the privilege of expressing these opinions freely and strongly—a privilege which I would not have waived on any account when I consider the bearing of the case with respect to the American alliance, which I so highly prize; or with respect to that which I still more highly prize and more dearly love—the honour and fair fame of my country.'

Although no stronger indictment than Mr. Gladstone's was framed against the Ministry, from fear of causing serious embarrassment in the conduct of the affairs of the country, he voted against the resolution, which was negatived by 274 to 80.

The year 1857 was one of unusual political activity and excitement. Animated debates took place upon the foreign policy of the Government, with what result we shall presently see. In the House of Commons, during the debate on the Address, the course of the Ministry was subjected to severe criticism by Mr. Disraeli, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer having made a statement with respect to his financial measures, without replying to the strictures of the right hon. gentleman, Mr. Gladstone rose to take up the thread of the debate. He expressed his surprise that the Chancellor of the Exchequer should not have replied to the allegations of Mr. Disraeli, on the subject of the foreign policy of the Government, as these charges were definite enough, and, if correct, bore materially upon the advice given to the Crown by its Ministers. There was no promise in the Royal Speech of information on the question which arose respecting the Treaty of Paris, the settlement of the Central American dispute, and the Persian war. He should have been glad if the unhappy events in China had been noticed in a different manner, and with regard to Persia, he desired to know upon whose authority that war had been waged, whether the expedition and its policy had been approved by the Court of Directors of the East India Company, or whether that body was only the nominal authority. He likewise asked at whose charge the war was to be carried on. He held that if this country was to bear part of the charge, Parliament ought to have been called together earlier. Dealing with domestic questions, Mr. Gladstone protested against the paragraph relating to the Bank of England being understood to import any foregone conclusion as to the precise terms of the renewal of the Act of 1844, considering it to be completely open to Parliament to determine if that Act were not capable of improvement. With regard to the agitation against the income-tax, he earnestly desired to bring the minds of the people of this country to a consideration of the question as to what was a just and reasonable scale of expenditure. If the 9d. tax were given up without an equivalent reduction of the estimates, there must either be new taxation or a loan. He was opposed to either; he felt it to be his bounden duty first to lay hold of the expenditure and to battle with the estimates. He knew nothing of an alleged compact between parties in the House of Commons in 1853. 'The pledge of the Government was given in 1853,' said Mr.

Gladstone, 'and we received value for it. It referred mainly to something that was to take place in 1860. Four years of the seven have passed away. It is to my mind reasonable and just that the right hon. gentleman on behalf of his friends, and that every man on his own behalf and on behalf of his constituents, should acknowledge the duty of the House of Commons to say now, in 1857, whether the pledges of 1853 are or are not to be fulfilled.' The speaker deprecated the inquiries about a uniform and a varying rate. It was a question between the air and the clouds—had never become practical. There were, however, practical matters before them. 'As far as my duty is concerned,' he continued, 'it will be my effort and labour to secure a fulfilment of the pledges given in 1853. I understood those pledges as the right hon. gentleman understands them. I have not forgotten them. I never can forget to the latest day of my life, and I shall always remember with gratitude, the conduct of the House of Commons at the period when these measures were adopted, and the generosity of the sentiments which they evinced. I must endeavour to answer that conduct, at least so far as depends on me; and I shall endeavour to answer that conduct by striving to bring the expenditure of the country and its fiscal arrangements into such a shape as will allow the extinction of the income-tax in 1860.'

The Address was eventually agreed to. The budget, however, was looked forward to with great interest, and on the 13th of February it was introduced by Sir G. C. Lewis. It proposed to fix the income-tax, for the next three years, at 7d., as originally done by Sir Robert Peel. The Exchequer would in consequence receive twenty-one instead of twenty millions. The total revenue was estimated at £66,365,000, leaving a surplus over expenditure of £891,000. The total amount of taxes remitted was £11,971,000. By the Chancellor's calculations the entire debt of £40,000,000, arising out of the Crimean War, would be extinguished in twenty years. Mr. Gladstone asked for time in which to consider this comprehensive scheme. On the 20th Mr. Disraeli inaugurated a two nights' debate, by moving, 'That it would be expedient, before sanctioning the financial arrangements for the ensuing year, to adjust the estimated income and expenditure in a manner which shall appear best calculated to secure the country against the risk of a deficiency in the years 1858-9 and 1859-60, and to provide for such a balance of revenue and charge respectively in the year 1860 as may place it in the power of Parliament at that period, without embarrassment to the finances, altogether to remit the income-tax.' Mr. Disraeli disclaimed all idea of proposing any measure hostile to

public credit, or a vote of want of confidence in the Government. The Chancellor of the Exchequer replied that there was no probability of any deficiency or of an impediment to the remission of the income-tax in 1860. He considered Mr. Disraeli's resolution uncalled for, and it would lead to no practical result.

Mr. Gladstone now delivered his general criticisms upon the budget. No man, he affirmed, was more deeply interested in the scheme than himself, for it concerned a plan in every part contradictory to that which he had proposed, and which had been adopted by the present House of Commons. Successive Administrations had aimed at the consolidation and simplification of the financial laws, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer had condemned the labours of Parliament for the last fifteen years. The income-tax, though grievous and inquisitorial, had been introduced to purchase blessings to be wrought out for the mass of the people through its instrumentality. But with what beneficial changes was it proposed now to associate this tax? There was an idea that this year there would be a remission of taxation to the extent of £11,970,000; but omitting war taxes to the amount of £4,470,000—with the cessation of which the Government could not be credited—the remission of the income-tax in 1857-58 would be only £4,600,000. Against this sum was to be set £1,400,000, to be laid upon tea and sugar; so that the real amount of taxes remitted in 1857-58 would be only a little over £3,000,000; nor was he satisfied that the supposed surplus of £891,000 would be *bonâ fide* applicable Mr. Gladstone again insisted upon the obligation of Parliament to adhere to the stipulation entered into with the country respecting the income-tax; and then proceeded to indicate what he considered to be serious flaws in the budget. Its first grave and main defect was that it was based upon an excessive expenditure, and at the proper time he should move that the estimates of expenditure be revised and further reduced. Six millions had been added to the expenditure of the country in four years, quite apart from the war—a fact which suggested most serious reflections. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in saying that he could not estimate the expenditure of a future year, though he could estimate the revenue, had trifled with the House, and treated them like children. 'Yet he had taken the expenditure of 1853-54 as that of 1858-59, which,' for reasons stated by Mr. Gladstone, 'he treated as a pure delusion, calculating that the expenditure of the latter year would exceed that of 1857-58, and that the real wants of the public service were likely to increase. The prospect for next year, taking the income and expenditure of the present, appeared to him to be that there would be a

.evenue, after deductions, of £61,065,000, to meet an expenditure of £66,724,000, leaving a deficiency of more than £5,600,000, which in 1860 would have augmented to £8,600,000. The right hon. gentleman next censured the Chancellor of the Exchequer's views upon indirect taxation, and said that the amount of taxes remitted from 1842 to 1854 amounted to £21,985,000—or, deducting taxes imposed, to £14,485,000, which added to the comforts or deducted from the privations of the country; and the increase in the revenue had covered the whole amount of the remissions. 'In Sir Robert Peel's time,' said Mr. Gladstone, you were called upon to remit £1,400,000 of indirect taxes, now you are called on to impose indirect taxes to that amount; then you were called on to fill up a deficiency at your own cost, now you are called on to create a deficiency at the cost of others; you were then called upon to take a burden on yourselves to relieve the great mass of your fellow countrymen, now you are called upon to take a burden off the shoulders of the wealthier classes in order that you may impose indirect taxes upon the tea and sugar which are consumed by every labouring family in the country. I can only say that, for my own part, I entertain on this subject a most decided opinion, and nothing shall induce me to refrain from giving every constitutional opposition in my power to such a proposition. Before the Speaker leaves the chair, if health and strength be spared me, I shall invite the House to declare that, whatever taxes we remove, we will not impose more duties upon the tea and sugar of the working man. When we are in committee there will be no other opportunities of renewing this protest. These things, if they are to be done, shall at least not be done in a corner. The light of day shall be let in upon them, and their meaning and consequences shall be well understood.' The speaker complained strongly of the enormous deficiency created by the proposal of the Government, and expressed his belief that by a wise economy it was practicable to relieve taxation, to reduce expenditure, and to maintain a surplus revenue. 'No consideration upon earth,' he said, in conclusion, 'would induce me by voice or by vote to be a party to a financial plan with regard to which I feel that it undermines the policy which has guided the course of every great and patriotic Minister in this country, and which is intimately associated, not only with the credit and the honour, but even with the safety of the country.'

When the House divided on Mr. Disraeli's resolution, the numbers were—Ayes, 206; Noes, 286. It was therefore lost by a majority of eighty.

On the 6th of March, the Chancellor of the Exchequer intro-

duced an amended scale for the tea duty; but at the same time recapitulated and defended the principles of his financial policy. He moved a resolution to the effect that the duty on tea should be, after the 5th of April, 1857, to the 5th of April, 1858, 1s. 5d. per lb. Mr. Gladstone, fulfilling his pledge to oppose the scheme, moved as an amendment that the duty be, after the 5th of April, 1857, 1s. 3d. per lb., and after the 5th of April, 1858, 1s. per lb. He still held that the spirit of the proposals of Sir G. C. Lewis was adverse to the principles on which the operations of the last fifteen years had been conducted. The main object of all those operations had been—quite apart from questions of prohibition and protection—to afford an extended, a judicious, and a permanent relief to the consumers of those great commodities imported from abroad which were essentially connected with the comforts of the great mass of the population. He regretted that the plans of her Majesty's Government during the present year, for the first time, made an attack on that long established principle. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's scheme would go to the country with a deficiency of Ways and Means, unless the expenditure were reduced. Sir G. C. Lewis had speculated upon a surplus revenue of £800,000; but the alteration of twopence in the pound in the proposed tea duties would reduce the nominal surplus by about £500,000. Yet he had not provided for the expenses of the wars with China and Persia after the 5th of April, and these, swollen by other items, would leave no surplus income whatever. He condemned the continuance of the war duties in time of peace, and also the manner in which the tea trade had been dealt with in connection with these war duties. If he were an advocate for an extended and organic reform in the Parliamentary representation of the people, he could not desire a better case than the one with which the Government furnished him by their financial policy. They were undoing the beneficial work of former Parliaments, and adding to the burdens which were leviable by law upon the tea and sugar of the people.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in reply, said that Mr. Gladstone had represented the budget unfairly as one of increased taxation, and that if he had been called upon to prepare a scheme upon the principles recommended by the right hon. gentleman, he should be utterly at a loss how to set about it. In the end Mr. Gladstone's amendment was negatived by 187 to 125. A few days later, Mr. Gladstone again referred to the increased public expenditure. In the discussion on the second reading of the Income Tax Bill, he expressed his conviction that there was a very material connection between the foreign policy

of her Majesty's Government and the excessive taxation and high expenditure of the country. He believed it still practicable to bring the income-tax to a close, but if they really did so, it must be by adopting new rules of proceeding. The moment at which it might be practicable to bring the tax to a termination was rapidly passing away, and unless they bestirred themselves, in the course of two or three years it would be much too late, and a sheer waste of time to entertain that question,—seeing that the relation between the demands of the public service and every provision for meeting them, independently of the income-tax, would leave no room for maintaining the public credit and satisfying the wants of the country, except through the means which that tax provided.

On the bringing up of the report of the committee of supply (Navy Estimates), Mr. Gladstone for the third time drew attention to this subject, and moved a resolution, to the effect that in order to secure to the country that relief from taxation which it justly expected, it was necessary, in the judgment of the House, to revise and further reduce the expenditure of the State. He based his motion upon two grounds—first, that there did not appear to be an adequate provision for the exigencies of the year; and, secondly, that the expenditure of the country had not of late been kept under due control, but had increased to a point which had become embarrassing, and which threatened to become even alarming. Comparing in detail the present estimates with those of preceding years, he found that the military estimates had in five years gone up from £16,012,000 to £20,517,000. The civil charges required closely watching, and the Executive Government ought to be among the first and most effectual checks for restraining the spirit of laxity in regard to the administration of the public money. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, while admitting that there was much in Mr. Gladstone's speech to deserve consideration, observed that he anticipated no deficiency in the ensuing year. The estimates, though large, were not extravagant, and the Government had done all in their power to reduce them. Mr. Gladstone did not divide the House upon his amendment, and the Ministerial proposals passed.

When the Divorce Bill was warmly contested in the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone made an earnest and impassioned speech against the measure, eloquently contending for the equality of woman with man in all the rights pertaining to marriage. He dealt with the question on theological, legal, and social grounds. After a prolonged contest, nevertheless, the bill eventually became law.

The Palmerston Government suffered a severe check during

this session by a hostile vote in connection with its Chinese policy. It seems that a lorcha called the *Arrow*, showing British colours, had been seized by the Chinese. The question arose as to the right of the vessel to the protection of the British flag. It was alleged by the opponents of the Government that a vessel built in China, captured by pirates, and recaptured by Chinese, and afterwards manned, owned, and bought by Chinese, could have no claim upon us. Moreover, Sir John Bowring had stated that the licence to carry the English flag had expired some time before. Lord Derby, who moved a resolution in the House of Lords condemning the Government, affirmed that the quarrel had arisen entirely from Sir John Bowring's absorbing desire to bring about his own official reception in Canton. The Upper House supported the Ministry by a majority of 36, but in the House of Commons the debate closed with an opposite result. Mr. Cobden introduced the subject by moving the following resolution:—'That this House has heard with concern of the conflicts which have occurred between the British and Chinese authorities in the Canton River; and, without expressing an opinion as to the extent to which the Government of China may have afforded this country cause of complaint respecting the non-fulfilment of the Treaty of 1842, this House considers that the papers which have been laid upon the table fail to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to at Canton in the late affair of the *Arrow*; and that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the state of our commercial relations with China.' In closing an able speech in support of his resolution, Mr. Cobden maintained that Sir John Bowring had not only violated the principles of international law, but had acted contrary to his instructions, and even to express directions from his Government, and he was afraid lest this petty squabble should lead to complications with other nations. The debate extended over four nights, and included speeches by Lord J. Russell, Mr. Lowe, Sir J. Graham, Sir J. Pakington, Sir F. Thesiger, the Attorney General, Mr. Roundell Palmer, Mr. Gladstone, Lord Palmerston, and Mr. Disraeli. As an exhibition of debating power, the discussion attained a very high level of Parliamentary oratory.

In commencing his speech, Mr. Gladstone protested against making Sir John Bowring a stalking-horse to divert the attention of the House from the real matters that were in issue. Though Sir John Bowring's conduct was involved in the discussions, they were not trying him judicially. It was their duty to be fair, just, and equitable towards him, but their prime and paramount duty was to consider the interests of

humanity and the honour of England. He regretted that, from motives which he did not doubt were nothing more than an excess of zeal for the public service, Sir John Bowring had been led into proceedings in themselves unwarrantable. Yet his policy was not unknown to her Majesty's Government, nor by them disapproved. Mr. Gladstone, with great warmth, defended Sir James Graham from the attack made upon him by Sir George Grey in relation to the appointment of Sir John Bowring. Coming to the general question, he denied that we had festering wrongs against the Chinese; and he reminded the House that no answer had been given to the objection that, if a wrong had been committed by the Chinese in the case of the *Arrow*, the proper remedy was by reprisals. Replying to the doctrine of the Attorney-General, that the term 'British Subjects' in the treaty meant any Chinese resident at Hong Kong, Mr. Gladstone asked, When we talked of treaty obligations by the Chinese, what were our treaty obligations towards them? Hong Kong was given to us to be a port in which British ships might careen and refit. He demanded whether our contraband trade in opium was not a breach of treaty obligations. Had our Government struggled to put it down, as bound by treaty? Had they not encouraged it by organising a fleet of lorchas under the British flag? They who put the British flag to the uses to which it had been put stained that flag. The right hon. gentleman then dwelt upon the calamities which the war had inflicted upon the Cantonese, and observed that the resolution of Parliament invited the wisdom of members to put an end to them. He demanded the reasons why we were at war with the Chinese. Were we afraid of the moral effects upon the Chinese if the acts of the Government were disavowed? He implored the House to consider the moral impressions which must be produced, and never could be avoided. Mr. Gladstone concluded as follows:—

'Every member of the House of Commons is proudly conscious that he belongs to an assembly which in its collective capacity is the paramount power of the State. But if it is the paramount power of the State it can never separate from that paramount power a similar and paramount responsibility. The vote of the House of Lords will not acquit us; the sentence of the Government will not acquit us. It is with us to determine whether this wrong shall remain unchecked and uncorrected. And at a time when sentiments are so much divided, every man, I trust, will give his vote with the recollection and the consciousness that it may depend upon his single vote whether the miseries, the crimes, the atrocities that I fear are now proceeding in China are to be discountenanced or not. We have now come to the crisis of the case. England is not yet committed. With you, then, with us, with every one of us, it rests to show that this House, which is the first, the most ancient, and the noblest temple of freedom in the world, is also the temple of that everlasting justice without which freedom itself would only be a name or only a curse to mankind. And I cherish the trust and belief that when you, Sir, rise to declare in your place to-night the numbers of the division from the chair which you adorn, the words which you speak will go forth from the walls of the House of

Commons not only as a message of mercy and peace, but also as a message of British justice and British wisdom, to the farthest corners of the world.'

Lord Palmerston made an effective reply, in which he reflected strongly upon the combination of parties confederated together upon this question against the Government. He also reminded the House that it had in its keeping not only the interests, the property, and the lives of many of our fellow-countrymen, but the honour, the reputation, and the character of the country. Mr. Disraeli—before Mr. Cobden rose to close the debate in a brief speech—accepted the construction put upon the motion that it was a vote of censure on the Government. Referring to the alarm over a suggested combination manifested by Lord Palmerston, the right hon. gentleman said that the noble lord was the very archetype of political combination without principle. If Lord Palmerston complained that he was the victim of a conspiracy, let him appeal to the country.

Upon a division being taken on the latter part of Mr. Cobden's resolution, the numbers were—For the resolution, 263; against, 247—majority against the Government, 16. The resignation of the Ministry was expected by the Opposition, though the Government was confessedly strong in the country. Counting upon this support, Lord Palmerston stated in the House of Commons that although, after such a defeat, resignation was the usual and proper course to pursue, he did not believe the rule applied to the present case. Recent divisions had not shown a want of confidence in the Government, and he accordingly felt justified in dissolving.

The Prime Minister had not misinterpreted the feelings of the nation in adopting this course. The Government gained a considerable accession of strength upon their appeal to the country; and amongst the prominent Liberals who were defeated at the elections were Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, Mr. Gibson, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Layard. The Peelites also suffered considerably, although Mr. Gladstone was fortunate in being returned again for Oxford University, unopposed, in conjunction with Sir William Heathcote. Parliament met for a short sitting in December, when a very important financial question came before it. A monetary panic had been created by the stoppage of several banks in the United States, and the directors of the Bank of England appealed, in consequence, to the Ministers of the Crown for authority to increase their issue of notes, and so to suspend the operation of the Bank Charter Act of 1844. The Government at once agreed to this, and brought into Parliament a Bill of Indemnity. Mr. Gladstone, while not opposing the bill, said that the Act of 1844 affected the question of issue only,

leaving that of banking untouched, and he thought the present was a fit time for ascertaining the views of Parliament upon the subject. 'Instead of directing the committee to go round again the circle of inquiry into the currency and the law of issue, it would be better employed in investigating the commercial causes of the late panic, and how far they were connected with the state of banking. The effect of referring a heap of subjects to an overburdened committee would be to postpone legislation, and obstruct inquiry into the causes of the recent panic and the present embarrassment.' In the discussion on the third reading of the bill, Mr. Gladstone reiterated these arguments, affirming that great evils arose from the confusion which prevailed between the functions of currency and banking. An amendment by Mr. Disraeli was negatived by a large majority, and the bill passed.

On the re-assembling of Parliament in February, Lord Palmerston introduced his ill-fated Conspiracy to Murder Bill, a measure which involved the downfall of the Government. The futile attempt made by Orsini to assassinate the Emperor of the French had evoked in this country a good deal of sympathy for the latter. The French Imperialists, however, indulged in virulent attacks upon the English people, who were charged with allowing foreign refugees to concoct and mature in this country plots to be carried into execution elsewhere. It was suggested that we should change our laws to meet such cases as the one that had just occurred; but this suggestion excited the utmost indignation in the country. Lord Palmerston, nevertheless, acknowledging that the Minister for Foreign Affairs at Paris had urged upon the English Government the necessity of taking some steps in the matter, introduced a bill to amend the law of conspiracy with intent to murder. It was proposed to make conspiracy to murder a felony punishable with penal servitude for five years, and to make the law uniform throughout the United Kingdom. The Government carried the first reading of the bill by an immense majority; but before the second reading came on a feeling had spread throughout the country that the Ministry were simply obeying the behests of the French Emperor in pushing forward this measure. Accordingly, Mr. Milner Gibson moved certain amendments to the effect 'That this House hears with much concern that it is alleged the recent attempts upon the life of the Emperor of the French have been devised in England, and expresses its detestation of such guilty enterprises: that this House is ready at all times to assist in remedying any defects in the criminal law which, after due investigation, are proved to exist:

and that this House cannot but regret that her Majesty's Government, previously to inviting the House to amend the law of conspiracy at the present time, have not felt it to be their duty to reply to the important despatch received from the French Government, dated Paris, January 20, 1858, which has been laid before Parliament.' In his speech in moving these resolutions, Mr. Gibson quoted the following passage from the *Times*:—'When Lord Palmerston has made up his mind to court the good will of a foreign Power, no sacrifice of principle or of interest is too great for him. From first to last his character has been the want of a firm and lofty adherence to the known interests of England; and it is precisely from a want of such guiding laws of conduct that our foreign policy has degenerated into a tissue of caprices, machinations, petty contentions, and everlasting disputes.' Sir Robert Peel said that a bill had been submitted to Parliament at the dictation of a foreign Government. M. de Morny had affirmed that England was a lair of savage beasts and a laboratory of assassins. Sir Robert excited great laughter by quoting an expression used towards Louis Napoleon by one of his flatterers, who thus apostrophised him in the course of an address he was presenting:—'Sire, you are too fond of liberty!'

The one speech, however, during this debate which most deeply impressed the House was that delivered by Mr. Gladstone. Attaching to the French alliance a peculiar and special value, he was, he said, anxious to maintain that alliance. Since 1856, unfortunately, there had been quarrels between the two Governments which had weakened the position of England. But—after some other observations—he demanded whether the French despatch had been answered, and whether it did not require an answer. Lord Palmerston had stated that he answered it verbally, but of all explanations that was the most unsatisfactory. It was contrary to the spirit of the Constitution to thrust verbal answers upon the House, and called for notice. The speaker next entered into an examination of the terms of Count Walewski's despatch, in order to prove that they were unfounded and injurious to England. He was emphatically of opinion that it was the absolute and primary duty of the Government to have answered these charges, and to have explained to the French Government the state of our law. Not only had not this been done, but they were asked to pass the present bill as an answer to Count Walewski's despatch. Mr. Gladstone thus concluded his powerful speech:—

'If there is any feeling in this House for the honour of England, don't let us be led away by some vague statement about the necessity of reforming the criminal

law. Let us insist upon the necessity of vindicating that law. As far as justice requires, let us have the existing law vindicated, and then let us proceed to amend it if it be found necessary. But do not let us allow it to lie under a cloud of accusations of which we are convinced that it is totally innocent. These times are grave for liberty. We live in the nineteenth century; we talk of progress; we believe that we are advancing, but can any man of observation who has watched the events of the last few years in Europe have failed to perceive that there is a movement indeed, but a downward and backward movement? There are a few spots in which institutions that claim our sympathy still exist and flourish. They are secondary places—nay, they are almost the holes and corners of Europe so far as mere material greatness is concerned, although their moral greatness will, I trust, ensure them long prosperity and happiness. But in these times more than ever does responsibility centre upon the institutions of England; and if it does centre upon England, upon her principles, upon her laws, and upon her governors, then I say that a measure passed by this House of Commons—the chief hope of freedom—which attempts to establish a moral complicity between us and those who seek safety in repressive measures, will be a blow and a discouragement to that sacred cause in every country in the world.'

After speeches from the Attorney-General and others, Mr. Disraeli drew attention to the fact that the real question now before the House was not diplomatic or political, but one between the House and the servants of the Crown. Lord Palmerston then rose to reply. He complained that Mr. Milner Gibson and Mr. Gladstone had departed from the subject under consideration, and had entered into a long and elaborate attack upon his former conduct as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. When Mr. Gibson stood forth as the champion of the honour of England and the vindicator of the rights of the country against foreign nations, it was the first time in his life that he (Lord Palmerston) had seen him in that character. The policy which he had invariably advocated had been one of submission—of crouching to every foreign Power with which we had any differences to discuss. The right hon. gentleman belonged to a small party who said, 'What care we if this country should be conquered by a foreign force? If we were conquered by a foreign Power, they would allow us to work our mills.' Lord Palmerston was interrupted by strong exclamations of dissent from this attack upon Mr. Gibson, and addressing himself to the general question, he implored the House not to rush headlong into a course which would have an entirely contrary effect to the policy advocated by Mr. Gladstone.

The Government, however, were defeated, the numbers being —For the Ministerial bill, 215; against, 234—majority, 19. A scene of great excitement ensued on the numbers being announced, the cheering of the majority being long and vehement. When the division list was published on the following day, it was discovered that the majority was composed of 146 Conservatives, 84 Liberals, and 4 Peelites, viz., Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and

Sir James Graham. Lord Palmerston, being unable further to contend against the adverse circumstances by which his Ministry was surrounded, and having lost the confidence of so large a body of the Liberal party, placed his resignation in the hands of her Majesty. Yet though the Palmerston Government had thus fallen, there was little hope of a strong Conservative Government being formed, or one which could hope to retain the support of those by whose aid the late Ministry had been defeated. The Earl of Derby was sent for, and agreed to form a Ministry. In this Ministry Mr. Disraeli again became Chancellor of the Exchequer.

In the same session, during the debate on the Church Rates Abolition Bill, Mr. Gladstone said that if Church rates were to be abolished it should be done in a manner to mitigate as much as possible the pressure of the change. The whole tone of his speech was very different from that of an uncompromising defender of these rates, and he concluded his observations as follows :—'If it were not that I am actuated by the desire of dealing in a spirit of fairness towards this measure, and did desire to secure its rejection, I should say leave the bill as it stands, and let hon. gentlemen opposite deal as they can with the difficulties in which they would be involved in passing it.'

Mr. Gladstone was opposed to the legislation of the Government in connection with the East India Company. The Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced a series of resolutions, having for their object the abolition of the governing powers of the Company, their transference to the Crown and the home Government, and the better regulation and government of India generally. Mr. Gladstone said that after the decision of the House in February in favour of terminating the existing form of government in India, he could not concur that resolutions were the best form of proceeding. There was considerable feeling in the country against the proposed scheme, and, looking at the state of public affairs, he protested against affirming the motion before the House. In neither plan could he see the elements of a good scheme; 'and there was great difficulty in attempting to govern by one people another people separated not only by distance, but by blood and institutions. The Court of Directors had been practically a body protective of the people of India, and there ought not to be a less provision for that object. He looked in vain, however,' he said, 'in either plan for any protective power that could be compared with the Court of Directors. There should be a protection afforded to the people of India against the ignorance, error, or indiscretion of the people and Parliament of England. There had grown up a system fraught

with danger to the Parliament and to the liberties of the people of England, as well as to India, by the undue and unconstitutional exercise of power by the Executive here, through the treasury and army of India, by which wars were commenced without the knowledge or consent of Parliament, and an accumulation of debt was cast upon India.' There was no limitation of this power, or worse than none, in either plan, and therefore he remonstrated against the Chancellor of the Exchequer's motion. Some progress was made with the resolutions, but the Indian legislation of the Government was destined to be arrested by important political events.

The state of parties this session was a most anomalous one. The Derby Government existed very largely upon sufferance, but that sufferance was not to be prolonged for any length of time. Mr. Gladstone, however (who had declined the post of Secretary for the Colonies, offered him by Lord Derby), gave on more than one important occasion very valuable support to the Ministry. The Governor-General of India, on the 3rd of March, issued a proclamation to the chiefs and people of Oude, promising indulgence to those who came forward promptly and gave to the Chief Commissioner their support in the restoration of peace and order. Lord Ellenborough, President of the Board of Control, forwarded a despatch to the Governor-General in which he strongly condemned his proclamation. In consequence of these events, Mr. Cardwell in the Commons, and Lord Shaftesbury in the Lords, brought forward motions censuring the Government. The latter was defeated, but the resolution in the Lower House met with a singular fate. New papers having been laid before the House which set in a fresh light the Ministerial policy, Mr. Cardwell was earnestly pressed by many of his own friends to withdraw his resolution. Mr. Gladstone swelled the general voice, and said that, while he hoped the House would concur in the course of withdrawal now proposed to be taken by Mr. Cardwell, he trusted that her Majesty's Government would not refuse to declare that, in the general conduct of affairs in India under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty, Lord Canning had deserved and would receive approbation. This 'fiasco,' as it was described, gave Mr. Disraeli an excellent opportunity, of which he was not slow to avail himself, to banter the opponents of the Government. This he did at Slough, in a speech full of wit and powerful sarcasm, which afterwards became the subject of exciting debates in both Houses.

The India Bill, No. 2, having been withdrawn by Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Gladstone endeavoured to prevent a revival of legislation upon this subject in the session of 1858 by

moving, on the 7th of June, the following resolution:—'That, regard being had to the position of affairs in India, it is expedient to constitute the Court of Directors of the East India Company by an Act of the present session to be a Council for administering the government of India in the name of her Majesty, under the superintendence of such responsible Minister, until the end of the session of Parliament.' He justified his proposal on the ground that it was not practicable during that session to perfect a scheme of government for India that would be worthy of Parliament and of the people. The problem was one of the most formidable ever presented to any nation or any legislature in the history of the world, and the evils of delay were insignificant in comparison with those of crude and hasty legislation.

Lord Stanley opposed the amendment, and after a long discussion it was negatived by 285 to 110. After having carried five of their resolutions, the Government abandoned this mode of procedure, and introduced the India Bill, No. 3. The House had agreed to the proposition of a Council for India, but the manner of its constitution gave rise to many amendments. Mr. Bright delivered an important speech, in which he developed his own ideas upon the best form of government for India. If he were a Minister, he said, and could get the House to agree with him, he would have five Presidencies in India, perfectly equal, administered from Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Agra, and Lahore. Among these governments there would be a generous rivalry for good, instead of utter stagnation; evil ambition would be checked, and there would be no governor so great that he could not be controlled. At a later stage of the bill an important amendment, moved by Mr. Gladstone, was carried, providing that 'except for repelling actual invasion, or under other sudden and urgent necessity, her Majesty's forces maintained out of the revenue of India shall not be employed in any military operation beyond the external frontier of her Majesty's Indian possessions without the consent of Parliament to the purposes thereof.' On the 8th of July the India Bill passed through its final stage in the House of Commons.

Mr. Gladstone delivered during this session a speech, in connection with the Danubian Principalities, which bears a somewhat significant relation to his later views upon the Eastern Question, and is therefore worthy of some attention. He brought forward a motion to the effect, that an address be presented to her Majesty, to submit to her Majesty that that House, bearing in mind the obligations imposed by the Treaty of Paris, so far as they affected the Danubian Principalities, had observed with

satisfaction the general tenor and spirit of the Declaration recorded by her Majesty's Chief Plenipotentiary at the Conferences of 1856, concerning the future organisation of those territories; and humbly to convey to her Majesty the earnest hope of the House that in the further prosecution of that important subject just weight might be given to those wishes of the people of Wallachia and of Moldavia which, through their representatives, elected in conformity with the said treaty, they had recently expressed. Mr. Gladstone disclaimed all idea of dictating a policy to the Executive Government, but he was extremely anxious to recognise communications made to the House in the most formal manner by the Executive Government, in a matter deeply affecting the happiness of millions of our fellow-creatures. In adducing reasons for the support of his motion, he placed first the wish and ardent desire of almost the entire population of the Principalities for this union, which had been sanctioned by the Suzerain Power in 1834 in a public and authoritative document. There were but three Powers represented at Paris to whose opinion upon this question any great moral weight was attached, viz., France, England, and Sardinia, whose judgment was sure to carry with it the mass of European opinion; and a solemn pledge was given by their Plenipotentiaries, afterwards embodied in the Treaty of Paris, that the question should be referred to the judgment of the people of the Principalities. The result of the appeals by the Divans, *ad hoc*, to the people of Moldavia and Wallachia, had been almost unanimous in favour of the union. All the inhabitants felt that if they hoped to be free, and wished to keep the soil of their country unpolluted by the heel of the stranger, it could only be by the union of the Principalities. After having consulted the people through their representatives, and asking them what was their prayer, it was absurd to refer the whole question to the disposal of five or six commissioners. He admitted that the provinces asked something more than union, viz., that when they were united they should, in order to avoid local jealousies, have a prince or chief, taken from a foreign family. England had given no pledge on this matter, and the great Powers of Europe reserved their decision upon it. But the one great object was union, and Mr. Gladstone said he should assume that the desirability of this was admitted, as bringing about the well-being of the provinces. He also observed that the feeling in the Principalities was favourable to Turkey, and the reason why it was favourable was not that the people were inclined to the creed or traditions of Turkey, but that the relation between these countries and Turkey was one founded upon a

liberal basis, and that there had been thus far no sensible collision of interests between them. Let the union not take place, and the Principalities would be a constant source of anxiety to European policy; if it were consummated, a living barrier would be interposed betwen Russia and Turkey. Nor could the union have the slightest injurious effect on the Ottoman Empire, which had never possessed the sovereignty of the Principalities. 'It would have been better,' said the right hon. gentleman in concluding, 'to have said nothing about the Principalities, to have given no promises, to have announced no policy, if, after stimulating the feeling for the union up to the highest pitch, and holding it out by public authority at Paris as the one thing which, above all other things, was necessary for the welfare and prosperity of those countries, we are now to reverse that policy. I must really say that if it were our desire to embroil the East, to sow the seeds and create the elements of permanent difficulty and disunion, to aggravate every danger which threatens Turkey, to pave the way for Russia 'and to prepare willing auxiliaries for Russia in her projects southwards, we could not attain those objects by any scheme better laid down than that of abandoning our pledges and promises and giving in to the Austrian policy.'

That there was a generous and statesmanlike breadth in this view was not denied; but it was objected by the Government that the effect of the motion would be to dismember the Turkish Empire. The union of the provinces under a foreign prince would make them practically independent of the Porte, and this was in direct contravention of the Treaty of Paris. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he could not conceive a step that would be more embarrassing to the Government at that moment than the adoption of Mr. Gladstone's motion. This was negatived by 292 votes to 114.

Mr. Disraeli's budget scheme for 1858 excited but a languid interest in his most formidable opponent, though its author in framing it was beset with unusual difficulties. There was an increased public expenditure, while the commercial embarrassments of the preceding six months had lessened the revenue. Under these and other depressing financial circumstances, Mr. Disraeli's statement was looked forward to with no little trepidation by his own supporters. The principal features of the budget were an operation upon the Exchequer bonds, the equalisation of the spirit duties, and the introduction of a tax on bankers' cheques. From the equalisation of the spirit duties it was hoped to obtain an additional £500,000, and by the stamp on bankers' cheques a sum of £300,000. There was a deficit of £3,990,000; and the Chancellor proposed to postpone

the engagement to pay off £2,000,000 of Exchequer bonds, and £1,500,000 of the war sinking fund. By these means, and with the additional sums from the spirit duties and the tax on bankers' cheques, the deficit would be entirely met, and there would be a surplus revenue. Mr. Disraeli added that he hoped it would still be possible to carry into effect in the year anticipated the 'wise arrangements' of Mr. Gladstone for the extinction of the income-tax.

In the debate on the first resolution put from the chair, Mr. Gladstone expressed his satisfaction that the feeling of the committee was favourable to the spirit of the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He thanked the latter for the course he had taken with respect to the equalisation of the spirit duties. It would be unreasonable to make large demands upon the Government in the way of many beneficial changes in the commercial system which were yet necessary; it was but fair also that the Government should have the leisure of a recess, in order to enable it to deal satisfactorily with the reduction of expenditure. Yet he did trust there was a prospect of keeping down the scale of the national expenditure to such dimensions as would give a practical character to their expectations, and enable them to cherish the reasonable hope of being able to confer upon the country, at an early date, an actual and positive realisation of its wishes. The budget, which was approved by the country generally, was safe from any serious attack after the conciliatory speech of Mr. Gladstone.

In the autumn of 1858 Mr. Gladstone accepted from the Earl of Derby the appointment of Lord High Commissioner Extraordinary to the Ionian Islands, and in that capacity went out to Corfu. The Ionian Islands comprise Cephalonia, Cerigo, Corfu, Ithaca, Paxo, Santa Maura, and Zante, with their dependencies. They were erected, in the year 1800, into the Republic of the Seven United Islands. In 1815 they were placed under the protection of England. Difficulties having arisen in connection with their government, Mr. Gladstone was despatched on a commission of inquiry. The inhabitants were desirous of severing the connection with England, and of adding themselves to the kingdom of Greece. The Ionians regarded the appointment of Mr. Gladstone as a virtual intimation that the British Government intended to abandon the protectorate. A despatch of the Colonial Secretary somewhat supported this view. The already strained relations which existed between ourselves and the authorities of the islands reached the utmost pitch of tension at this juncture by the surreptitious publication in the *Daily News* of two important despatches. These despatches,

written by the Lord High commissioner, Sir John Young, were, in substance, a recommendation to abandon all the islands to their own will with the exception of Corfu, which the Commissioner advocated should be retained as a military fortress. On the 27th of January, 1859, the Legislative Assembly of the Ionian Islands, sitting at Corfu, proposed the annexaton of their Republic to Greece. A petition to that effect was presented a few days afterwards to Mr. Gladstone. The right hon. gentleman saw that the firm determination of the Ionian people was incorporation with Greece, and he despatched to the Queen a vote of the Ionian Parliament, affirming that 'the single and unanimous will of the Ionian people has been and is for their union with the kingdom of Greece.' The subsequent history of the affair is soon told. General Sir H. Storks having been appointed Lord High Commissioner of the islands, Mr. Gladstone embarked at Corfu for England on the 19th of February. The Legislative Assembly at Corfu did not allow the question of cession to sleep, however, and after some years of agitation the Ionian Islands were formally handed over to Greece in June, 1864, whereupon the Governor and the British troops immediately retired.

Though it may be contended that England has failed in her duty to Greece of recent years, the Greeks have not forgotten our many previous expressions of goodwill—the cession of the Ionian Islands being amongst them. This cession may be taken as the starting-point of a new movement in Greek national life; and there have been many indications since that Greece desires to attain, and is fitting herself for, a higher position amongst the Powers of modern Europe than she has hitherto enjoyed. In the opinion of many, the time must again come when England will extend to Greece, with her illustrious race and her unexampled history, the hand of cordial and lasting friendship.

CHAPTER XIII.

HOMERIC STUDIES.

The Study of Homer—Mr. Gladstone's chief Literary Recreation—His *Magnum Opus—Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age*—Scope of the Work—General View of the Homeric Controversy—Mr. Freeman's Criticism on Mr. Gladstone's Work—The Poems of Homer and the Sacred Writings—Homer's Place in Education—His Historic Aims—The probable Date of the Great Greek Poet—The Homeric Text—Ethnology of the Greek Races—Relation of the Homeric Poems to the Holy Scriptures—Mr. Gladstone's Third Volume—The Politics and the Poetry of Homer—Specimen of Mr. Gladstone's Criticism—Shakespeare and Homer—Other Works by Mr. Gladstone in relation to Homer—*Juventus Mundi*—Its Objects and Scope—*Homeric Synchronism*—The Time and Place of Homer—Historical Arguments—Birthplace of the Homeric Poems—The Infancy of Greece—A Final Word on Mr. Gladstone's Studies.

To thread the labyrinthine mazes of Homer, and solve the problems associated with his name, has been the chief intellectual recreation, the close and earnest study, of Mr. Gladstone's life, in its literary aspect. 'The blind old man of Scio's rocky isle' possesses for him an irresistible and a perennial charm. Nor can this occasion surprise, for all who have given themselves up to the consideration and attempted solution of the Homeric poems have found the fascination of the occupation gather in intensity. It is not alone from the poetic point of view that the first great epic of the world attracts students of all ages and of all countries; Homer presents, in additon, and beyond every other writer, a vast field for ethnological, geographical, and historical speculation and research. The ancient world stands revealed in the Homeric poems. Besides the many learned tomes which have been written from these special points of view, almost numberless are the volumes based upon the equally debatable questions of the Homeric text and Homeric unity. He who would master this great and intricate, this most difficult subject, must devote the whole of his life to the task; and even then, when an enforced end is put to his labours, he will probably discover (to borrow a simile from Sir Isaac Newton) that, with regard to Homer and Homeric literature, he stands only upon the shore of knowledge, with the boundless ocean lying before him still unexplored.

Conspicuous, then, amongst Englishmen who in the present century have devoted themselves to the study of Homer, stands Mr. Gladstone. He is deeply versed in Homeric lore. There are doubtlessly more erudite scholars upon exclusively Greek questions, but Homer has been to him as a companion. Those who differ from his theories have recognised the enthusiasm with which he has pursued his studies, and the power and grace of the rhetoric with which he has clothed the results of these studies. There has been ascribed to him a 'radical deficiency in the faculty of imagination which makes him throughout rather collect truths by induction than conceive and realise them: rather arrive, by more or less subtle reasoning, at more or less plausible conclusions, than embody great perceptions with that power of divination which constitutes the genius of a Niebuhr or a Gibbon.' But in the study of Homer the investigator is of necessity thrown back upon the inductive method to a very large extent, and it should be no reproach to Mr. Gladstone in this connection. Probabilities—truly magnificent probabilities—are the chief grounds upon which students have to proceed; and the connecting of these probabilities into a harmonious whole may be a safer and more reasonable process than the construction of a theory from the perceptions and divinations of a powerful imagination.

However, it is our main purpose now simply to indicate the scope of that work which Mr. Gladstone conceived and executed in years of opposition—when the claims of the State upon him were not so exacting—and which may justly be described as his *magnum opus*. The results of his wide and laborious research were embodied in three large volumes, entitled *Studies on Homer*.* The purely technical parts of this work are very elaborate in detail, but these are not the portions which most closely touch the general reader, who is unable to enter into the controversy upon the text of Homer, the Catalogue, and the hundred other ramifications of the subject which are of profound interest to the student. But there are many passages in the work possessing a general value for the breadth of their speculation, the lessons and conclusions they endeavour to enforce, the comparisons instituted between ancient and modern genius, and for the admirable spirit and eloquence with which they are written. In the Prolegomena Mr. Gladstone explains his objects, takes a general view of the Homeric controversy, shows the place of Homer in classical education,

* *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age.* By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, D.C.L., M.P. for the University of Oxford. Oxford: at the University Press. (1858).

develops the historic aims of Homer, discusses the probable trustworthiness of the text, and attempts to fix the place and authority of the poet in historical inquiry. The writer's objects are high and laudable, if the second branch of effort in his inquiry be difficult of complete attainment and exposition. These objects are described as two-fold: first, to promote and extend the fruitful study of the immortal poems of Homer; and, secondly, to vindicate for them their just degree both of absolute and, more especially, of relative critical value. Even in this eminently practical age we may admit the force of Mr. Gladstone's plea on behalf of classical studies. If the majority of men have little time to devote, either in youth or maturer age, to Greek or Roman literature, there must still be a considerable residue to whom studies in this direction are not only attractive but feasible. But the study of Homer was long neglected, even in the universities. As Mr. Gladstone says, at Oxford in his own day the poems of Homer were read chiefly by way of exception, and in obedience to the impulses of individual tastes. They were not a substantive or recognised part of the main studies of the place, and the case was rare indeed if they were used as the subject-matter of the ordinary tutorial lectures. Happily, since 1850 there has been witnessed a favourable change in this respect.

An eminent living critic, after describing these three volumes as a great but very unequal work, yet one which would be a worthy fruit of a life spent in learned retirement, pays the following warm tribute to Mr. Gladstone's Homeric researches:—

'As the work of one of our first orators and statesmen, they are altogether wonderful. Not, indeed, that Mr. Gladstone's two characters of scholar and statesman have done aught but help and strengthen one another. His long experience of the world has taught him the better to appreciate Homer's wonderful knowledge of human nature; the practical aspect of his poems, the deep moral and political lessons which they teach, become a far more true and living thing to the man of busy life, than they can ever be to the mere solitary student. And, perhaps, his familiarity with the purest and most ennobling source of inspiration may have had some effect in adorning Mr. Gladstone's political oratory with more than one of its noblest features. . . . What strikes one more than anything else throughout Mr. Gladstone's volumes is the intense earnestness, the loftiness of moral purpose, which breathes in every page. He has not taken up Homer as a plaything, nor even as a mere literary enjoyment. To him the study of the Prince of Poets is clearly a means by which himself and other men may be made wiser and

better.' * Mr. Freeman's criticism, however, is by no means one of wholesale panegyric. He considers that Mr. Gladstone fails in scientific ethnology, while scientific mythology he does not even attempt. But after making all deductions, the able and competent critic from whom we have just quoted describes 'these noble volumes' as 'worthy alike of their author and of their subject, the freshest and most genial tribute to ancient literature which has been paid even by an age rich in such offerings. Mr. Gladstone will not rate our admiration the less because we have plainly stated our wide dissent from some important parts of his book.' He has 'done such justice to Homer and his age as Homer has never received out of his own land. He has vindicated the true position of the greatest of poets; he has cleared his tale and its actors from the misrepresentations of ages.'

Mr. Gladstone truly points out that the Greek mind, which became one of the main factors of the civilised life of Christendom, cannot be fully comprehended without the study of Homer, and it is nowhere so vividly or so sincerely exhibited as in his works. Although the poet introduces us to a new and distinct standard of humanity, yet many of his ideas 'almost carry us back to the early morning of our race, the hours of its greater simplicity and purity, and more free intercourse with God.' The Homeric world is alike removed from Paradise and the vices of a later heathenism; yet if we seek that genuine knowledge of man which is founded upon experience, 'how is it possible to over-value this primitive representation of the human race in a form complete, distinct, and separate, with its own religion, ethics, policy, history, arts, manners, fresh and true to the standard of its nature, like the form of an infant from the hand of the Creator, yet mature, full, and finished, in its own sense, after its own laws, like some master-piece of the sculptor's art?' Comparing the poems of Homer with the sacred writings of the Old Testament, Mr. Gladstone observes that they can never be put into competition with the latter as touching the great fundamental, invaluable code of truth and hope. But he has an excellent passage pointing out how the one may be regarded as supplementary to the other. Examining the history of the race, as regards the Greeks, it is Homer that furnishes the point of origin from which all distances are to be measured. 'The Mosaic books, and the other historical books of the Old Testament, are not intended to present, and do not present, a picture of human society or of our nature drawn at large.

* *Historical Essays.* By Edward A. Freeman, M.A., D.C.L. (Second Series.)

Their aim is to exhibit it in one master relation, and to do this with effect they do it to a great extent exclusively. The Homeric materials for exhibiting that relation are different in kind as well as in degree; but as they paint, and paint to the very life, the whole range of our nature, and the entire circle of human action and experience, at an epoch much more nearly analogous to the patriarchal time than to any later age, the poems of Homer may be viewed, in the philosophy of human nature, as the complement of the earliest portion of the Sacred records.'

But while the poems of Homer possess this extrinsic value as a faithful and vivid picture of life and manners, they have also an intrinsic greatness which has given their writer the first place in that marvellous trinity of genius—Homer, Dante, and Shakespeare. Mr. Gladstone shows how the transcendency of his poetical distinctions has overshadowed his many other claims and uses. The passage in which this thought is elaborated is an effective piece of literary criticism.

With regard to the place due to Homer in education, while admitting the greater value of the tragedians as practical helps and models in Greek composition, Mr. Gladstone maintains that, after all allowances, they cannot, in respect of purely poetic titles, make good a claim to that preference over Homer which they have extensively enjoyed. Estimating the tragedians from another point of view—with reference to what they tell and not the manner of telling it—the argument for assigning to Homer a still greater share of the attention of our youth becomes stronger. Excepting the works of Aristotle and Plato, the writer remarks that he knows of no author offering a field of labour and inquiry either so wide or so diversified as that which Homer offers. In public schools he is read chiefly for his diction and poetry, even by the most advanced; and if he is to be read for his skill in the higher and more delicate parts of the poetic calling, as well as for his humanity and his never-ending lessons upon manners, arts, and society, he must be read at the universities. 'He is second to none of the poets of Greece, as the poet of boys; but he is far advanced before them all—even before Æschylus and Aristophanes—as the poet of men.'

Such is the high educational aspect in which Mr. Gladstone views Homer, using the word educational now in its highest and fullest sense. Upon the historic aims of Homer—a topic perhaps still more interesting—he writes at even greater length. Accompanying that breadth and elevation which betoken the highest genius, we have in Homer an even more rare fulness and consistency of the various instruments and organs which make up the apparatus of the human being. Nothing is

more extraordinary in his poems than their general accuracy and perfection of minute detail. 'Where other poets sketch, Homer draws; and where they draw he carves. He alone, of all the now famous epic writers, moves (in the *Iliad* especially) subject to the stricter laws of time and place; he alone, while producing an unsurpassed work of the imagination, is also the greatest chronicler that ever lived, and presents to us, from his own single hand, a representation of life, manners, history, of morals, theology, and politics, so vivid and comprehensive, that it may be hard to say whether any of the more refined ages of Greece or Rome, with their clouds of authors and their multiplied forms of historical record, are either more faithfully or more completely conveyed to us.' Mr. Gladstone endorses Wachsmuth's observation that even the dissolution of Homer's individuality does not get rid of his authority. The presumption against Homer as an historical authority does not spring from the fact that he mixes marvels with common events (else Herodotus and others would be destroyed along with him), but from the fact that his compositions are poetical, and men have ceased to connect the poetical form of composition with history. But this does not impugn his authority. The question that arises is, 'In what proportions has he mixed history with imaginative embellishments?' This question Mr. Gladstone discusses, and amongst other matters in favour of Homer's historical authority he cites the great multitude of his genealogies, their extraordinary consistency one with another, and with the other historical indications of the poems; their extension to a very large number, especially in the Catalogue, of secondary persons; that remarkable production, the Catalogue itself, taken as a whole: the accuracy with which the names of races are handled and bestowed, the particularity of the demands made upon the various characters for their family history, and the numerous legends or narratives of prior occurrences with which the poems are thickly studded. This is a fairly strong list of something more than probabilities, putting out of sight numberless minor indications of the true historic spirit. Mr. Gladstone holds it to be a fair inference from the *Odyssey* that the Trojan war was sung to the men and the children of the men who waged it. Some of the signs of historical accuracy are preserved even at considerable cost of poetical beauty. There are, moreover, a multitude of minor shadings running through the poems which, from their very nature, we are compelled to suppose real. Yet there is, after all, no point more important for the decision of this question of historical authority than the general tone of Homer himself,

and this point Mr. Gladstone expounds and enlarges upon, comparing Homer with other writers who have never been able perfectly to simulate the ancient life which they profess to depict. He reminds us that Strabo confuted Eratosthenes, who had treated the great sire of poets as a fabulist. Having contended keenly for the historic aim and character of Homer, Mr. Gladstone observes finally upon this branch of his subject, 'It does not appear to me reasonable to presume that Homer idealised his narration with anything like the licence which was permitted to the Carlovingian romance; yet even that romance did not fail to retain, in many of the most essential particulars, a true historic character; and it conveys to us, partly by fact and partly through a vast parable, the inward life of a period pregnant with forces that were to operate powerfully upon our own characters and conditions.' Homer must be read in a higher sense than that which divests poetry of its relation to reality.

As to the probable date of Homer, Mr. Gladstone places it within a generation or two of the Trojan war, assigning as his principal reasons for so doing the poet's visible identity with the age, the altering but not yet vanished age of which he sings, and the broad interval in tone and feeling between himself and the very nearest of all that follows him. On the question of the probable trustworthiness of the text of Homer, he formulates the two following propositions, as fitting canons of Homeric study:—'1. That we should adopt the text itself as the basis of all Homeric inquiry, and not any preconceived theory nor any arbitrary standard of criticism, referable to particular periods, schools, or persons. 2. That as we proceed in any work of construction by evidence drawn from the text, we should avoid the temptation to solve difficulties found to lie in our way by denouncing particular portions of it as corrupt and interpolated: should never set it aside, except upon the closest examination of the particular passage questioned: should use sparingly the liberty even of arraying presumptions against it, and should always let the reader understand both when and why it is questioned.' Mr. Gladstone's mode of procedure in thus accepting the Homeric text as genuine has many advantages, and is infinitely preferable to other methods which have been shown to have failed. But it is also not without its dangers and difficulties, as his critics have demonstrated, for 'arguments as to the theology, history, manners, geography of the Homeric age, founded on the assumption that the received Homeric text is all equally genuine, are essentially unreal.' Convenience is not a safe reason to assign for accepting the genuineness of the text.

The task which Mr. Gladstone undertakes with regard to the text of Homer is the extremely difficult one of endeavouring to 'divaricate true from false' and of marking, at least as probable, what he 'conceives to be un-Homeric, interpolated, or altered,' and he has confessedly thrown much light upon these questions by his laborious investigations. After the failure of so many constructive and destructive hypotheses, he asks, 'Who will ever again venture to publish an abridged or remodelled *Iliad?*' We do not propose to follow the author through his examination of the fortunes of the Homeric text, nor to reproduce his arguments showing that the presumptions of the case are favourable, and not adverse, to the general soundness of the text. The final point discussed in the Prolegomena is the place and authority of Homer in historical inquiry. Clearing the question of all incumbrances, and admitting the cases where the authority of the bard must be clearly and distinctly set aside, Mr. Gladstone yet submits the following thesis:—'That, in regard to the religion, history, ethnology, polity, and life at large of the Greeks of the heroic times, the authority of the Homeric poems, standing far above that of the whole mass of the later literary traditions in any of their forms, ought never to be treated as homogeneous with them, but should usually, in the first instance, be handled by itself, and the testimony of later writers should, in general, be handled in subordination to it, and should be tried by it, as by a touchstone, on all the subjects which it embraces. Homer is not only older by some generations than Hesiod, and by many centuries than Æschylus and the other great Greek writers, but enjoys a superiority in another important respect, viz., that no age since his own has produced a more acute, accurate, and comprehensive observer. Judging from internal evidence, he alone stood within the precincts of the heroic time, and was imbued from head to foot with its spirit and its associations.'

The second division of the first volume of this work is devoted to the ethnology of the Greek races, and is a practical application of the principles laid down in the preliminary essay. After stating the scope of the inquiry, the author treats of the Pelasgians and cognate races; of the Phœnicians and the outer geography of the *Odyssey;* of the Catalogue and the Hellenes of Homer; of the respective contributions of the Pelasgian and Hellenic factors to the compound of the Greek nation; of the three greater Homeric appellatives; of various Homeric titles, and of the connection of the Hellenes and Achæans with the East. The second volume possesses more general interest, being devoted to a consideration of the religion of the

Homeric age. Mr. Gladstone discusses the mixed character of the supernatural system or Theo-mythology of Homer, and this is followed by an elaborate section on the traditive element of the Homeric Theo-mythology, and likewise one on its inventive element. The fourth section deals with the composition of the Olympian Court, and the classification of the whole supernatural order in Homer; in the fifth the Olympian community is considered in its members themselves; while the sixth discusses their influence on human society and conduct. Section seven is on the traces of an origin abroad for the Olympian religion; and this is succeeded by sections on the morals of the Homeric age, woman in the heroic age, and the office of the Homeric poems in relation to that of the early books of Holy Scripture.

The last section possesses special interest, and it is one, therefore, to which we will refer more fully. Mr. Gladstone observes that both the Books of Scripture and the Homeric poems open up to us a scene of which we have no other literary knowledge. They are by far the oldest of known compositions, and while perfectly distinct and independent of each other, they are in no point contradictory, while in many they are highly confirmatory of each other's genuineness and antiquity. Yet as historical representations, and regarded from the human aspect, they are very different. 'The Holy Scriptures are like a thin stream, beginning from the very fountain-head of our race, and gradually, but continuously, finding their way through an extended solitude into times otherwise known, and into the general current of the fortunes of mankind. The Homeric poems are like a broad lake outstretched in the distance, which provides us with a mirror of one particular age and people, alike full and marvellous, but which is entirely dissociated by a period of many generations from any other records, except such as are of the most partial and fragmentary kind. In respect of the influence which they have respectively exercised upon mankind, it might appear almost profane to compare them. In this point of view, the Scriptures stand so far apart from every other production, on account of their great offices in relation to the coming of the Redeemer and to the spiritual training of mankind, that there can be nothing either like or second to them.'

Yet, granted this, the Homeric poems still bear a relation to the Scriptures which no other work in the world can claim. Speaking of their influence, mediate and immediate—for they not only moulded the mind and nationality of Greece, but through Greece exercised an immeasurable influence upon the

world—Mr. Gladstone quotes the saying of M. Renan: — '*Les vraies origines de l'esprit humain sont là; tous les nobles de l'intelligence y retrouvent la patrie de leurs pères.*' Passing over the great purpose of the Scriptures as regards the relations between God and man, there remains a relative parallelism between the oldest of these Holy Scriptures and the works of Homer. But not only because they are the oldest known compositions does the author establish relations between these writings, but because each confirms the testimony of the other by numerous coincidences of manners. 'That Divine Word which tells us that the Redeemer came in the fulness of time indirectly points to the great transactions which filled the space of ages since the Fall, when time was not yet full; and the greatest of all those great transactions, surely, were the parts played by Greece and Rome, as the representative of humility at large in its most vigorous developments. They, too, as well as the discipline of the Jewish people, doubtless belonged to the Divine plan.' Thus the early Scriptures and the Homeric poems combine to make up for us a sufficiently complete form of the primitive records of our race. Mr. Gladstone admirably and eloquently insists, however, that it is a mistake to bring some portions of the Sacred Writings before the tribunal of the mere literary critic.

Rome has given the most extraordinary example on record, says the author, of political organisation, while Greece has had for its share the development of the individual; but the seeds of both these perfect growths, and all that they involved, would appear to be contained in the Homeric poems. It is further observed that of the personal and inward relations of man with God, of the kingdom of grace in the world, Homer can tell us nothing; but of the kingdom of Providence much, and of the opening powers and capabilities of human nature, apart from Divine revelation, everything. Mr. Gladstone closes this section of his work with a comparison of the times preceding the Advent with those which have followed it. Christianity, marshalling the intellectual and material forces of the world in her own cause, has for the past fifteen hundred years marched at the head of human civilisation. Its learning, art, and genius have been those of the world, as have almost, though not absolutely, its greatness, glory, grandeur, and majesty. 'He who hereafter, in even the remotest age, with the colourless impartiality or mere intelligence, may seek to know what durable results mankind has for the last fifteen hundred years achieved, what capital of the mind it has accumulated and transmitted, will find his investigations perforce concentrated upon and

almost confined to that part, that minor part, of mankind which has been Christian.' In this view Mr. Gladstone will secure an infinitely wider suffrage than Gibbon. Before the Advent, however, the treasure of Divine revelation was committed into the hands of a race who were almost forbidden to impart it, and who were certainly not the leaders of the world. But the construction and promulgation of laws and institutions, arts and sciences, with the chief models of greatness in genius or in character, were committed to others; and to Homer was assigned the first and most remarkable stage of this development.

The third volume is divided into four sections:—1. Agorè; Polities of the Homeric Age. 2. Ilios; Trojans and Greeks compared. 3. Thalassa; the outer Geography. 4. Aoidos; some points of the Poetry of Homer. The first and last of these sections are the most attractive, both as regards the subjects discussed and the very able critical handling which the author gives them. Dealing with the strong development of political ideas in Greece, Mr. Gladstone combats the opinion expressed by Mr. Grote that in Homer the sentimental attributes of the Greek mind appear in disproportionate relief, as compared with its more vigorous and masculine capacities—the powers of acting, organising, judging, and speculating. If the sentimental attribute is to be contradistinguished from the powers of acting, organising, and judging, then Mr. Gladstone knows of nothing less sentimental in the after history of Greece than the characters of Achilles and Ulysses, than the relations of the Greek chiefs to one another and to their people, than the strength and simplicity which laid the foundation-stones of the Greek national character and institutions, and made them the counterparts of the structures now ascribed to the Pelasgians—so durable and massive, though simple, as to be the marvel of all time. The author proceeds to illustrate the vitality and depth of the influences derived from these sources, which have given to Greece such an enviable immortality:—

'Even when the sun of her glory had set there was yet left behind an immortal spark of the ancient vitality, which, enduring through all vicissitudes, kindled into a blaze after two thousand years; and we of this day have seen a Greek nation, founded anew by its own energies, become a centre of desire and hope, at least to Eastern Christendom. The English are not ashamed to own their political forefathers in the forests of the northward European Continent; and the later statesmen, with the lawgivers of Greece, were in their day glad, and with reason glad, to trace the bold outline and solid rudiments of their own and their country's greatness in the poems of Homer Nothing in those poems offers itself—to me at least—as more remarkable than the deep carving of the political characters, and, what is still more, the intense political spirit which pervades them. I will venture one step further, and say that of all the countries of the civilised world there is no one of which the inhabitants ought to find that spirit so intelligible and accessible

as the English: because it is a spirit that still largely lives and breathes in our own institutions. There we find the great cardinal ideas which lie at the very foundation of all enlightened government; and there we find, too, the men formed under the influence of such ideas; as one among ourselves, who has drunk into their spirit, tells us—

> "Sagacious, men of iron, watchful, firm,
> Against surprise and sudden panic proof."

And again—

> "The sombre aspect of majestic care,
> Of solitary thought, unshared resolve." *

It was surely a healthful sign of the working of freedom that in that early age, despite the prevalence of piracy, even that idea of political justice and public right, which is the germ of the law of nations, was not unknown to the Greeks.'

The fourth division of this concluding volume is sub-divided into several sections, concerned respectively with the plot of the *Iliad;* the sense of beauty in Homer, human, animal, and inanimate; Homer's perception and use of number; Homer's perceptions and use of colour; Homer and some of his successors in epic poetry, particularly Virgil and Tasso; some principal Homeric characters in Troy—Hector, Helen, Paris; and the declension of the great Homeric characters in the later tradition. The section in which comparisons are instituted between Homer and Milton, Dante, Virgil, and Tasso, is distinguished for its broad and profound criticism, though some of the judgments expressed will probably be found to clash with those formed by readers who have their individual favourites amongst the epic poets. It is not possible for any critic, in weighing the merits of the world's greatest poets, to secure the perfect assent of his readers to all his conclusions. But Mr. Gladstone strikes out from his subject many illuminating rays. For a specimen of his larger criticism, as opposed to the more minute, take the following passage:—

'To one only among the countless millions of human beings has it been given to draw characters, by the strength of his own individual hand, in lines of such force and vigour that they have become, from this day to our own, the common inheritance of civilised man. Ever since his time, besides finding his way into the usually impenetrable East, he has provided literary capital and available stock-in-trade for reciters and hearers, for authors and readers, of all times and of all places within the limits of the western world—

> "*Adjice Mæoniden, a quo, ceu fonte perenni,*
> *atum Pieriis ora rigantur aquis.*"

Like the sun, which furnishes with its light the close courts and alleys of London, while himself unseen by their inhabitants, Homer has supplied with the illumination of his ideas millions of minds that were never brought into direct contact with his works, and even millions more that have hardly been aware of his existence. As the full flow of his genius has opened itself out into ten thousand irrigating channels by successive sub-division, there can be no cause for wonder if some of them have not preserved the pellucid clearness of the stream. Like blood from the great artery of the heart of man, as it returns through innumerable veins,

* *Merope*, by Matthew Arnold.

it is gradually darkened in its flow. The very universality of the tradition has multiplied the causes of corruption. That which, as to documents, is a guarantee, because their errors correct one another, as to ideas is a new source of danger, because everything depends upon constant reference to the finer touches of an original, which has escaped from view. 'And this universality is his alone. An Englishman may pardonably think that his great rival in the portraiture of character is Shakespeare; a Briton may even go further and challenge, on behalf of Sir Walter Scott, a place in this princely choir second to no other person but these. Yet the fame of Hamlet, Lady Macbeth, Othello, or Falstaff, and much more that of Varney, or Ravenswood, or Caleb Balderstone, or Meg Merrilies, has not yet come, and may never come, to be a world-wide fame. On the other hand, that distinction has long been inalienably secured to every character of the first class who appears in the Homeric poems. He has conferred upon them a deathless inheritance.'

Concerning the leading point in this criticism, it must be admitted that with every year that passes Shakespeare's fame gradually approaches that of Homer in its universality. Leaving out of view Homer's chief heroes, the charactor of Hamlet is even now one of the most familiar of poetic creations—so familiar that it is known throughout the civilised world. Yet not three centuries have elapsed since he sprang into being from the imagination of his creator; and it is neither an impossible nor an unreasonable conjecture to assume that when the age of Shakespeare shall be that of the present age of Homer, the great characters of his dramas will claim the immortality and universal fame which now belongs alone to the deathless personages of the Homeric poems.

It was objected when these volumes originally appeared that all their main arguments were constituted upon the basis of strict textual accuracy, a theory which cannot be maintained, and that the inconclusive, not to say illusory, character of the premises re-acts on the conclusion. 'Where we admire most,' said one writer, 'we are least persuaded: reasonings intended to drive home convictions to our minds seem to reach them with no momentum, and waste their power in the air; while, on the other hand, we are constantly struck with the refined ingenuity of incidental portions and with the deep sense of poetical beauty, and Homeric beauty in particular, which they manifest.' On questions of topography, the Ulyssean wanderings, &c., Mr. Gladstone's conclusions have also been called in question; nor in a field so vast can we wonder at these wide divergences of opinion. But one great admission has been made—and this will be readily endorsed by all readers—respecting such Homeric commentaries as Mr. Gladstone's: they afford lessons of value in the exalted idea which they tend to form of the ethical acquirements of man in what is termed a rude state: It has also been well remarked that these volumes are an indirect but complete refutation of the fallacy—which has spread so much of late years—that the advance of man, generation by generation, is to be

measured solely by his progress in intellectual acquirements. The intellect may reach the highest point of advancement, and yet a rapid decline of morality supervene, unless there is some greater preservative of virtue and morals than intellectual culture.

But we must now leave this work, which in its elaborate detail is a colossal monument of the author's patience and Homeric knowledge. Seldom is it that so great an undertaking is successfully executed by one engaged in the business and turmoil of political life. But we perceive in the author's enthusiasm and deep love of his subject the incentives which alone rendered such a work possible under these circumstances. In the concluding words of the last volume, Mr. Gladstone himself touches upon the pleasing and engrossing nature of his task. He observes that to pass from the study of Homer to the ordinary business of the world is to step out of a palace of enchantments into the cold grey light of a polar day. 'But the spells,' he adds, 'in which this sorcerer deals, have no affinity with that drug from Egypt which drowns the spirit in effeminate indifference: rather they are like the φάρμακον ἐσθλὸν, the remedial specific, which, freshening the understanding by contact with the truth and strength of nature, should both improve its vigilance against deceit and danger and increase its vigour and resolution for the discharge of duty.'

This chief work upon Homer Mr. Gladstone has followed up by kindred writings at various periods. In 1877, he contributed a paper on '*The Dominions of Odysseus*' to *Macmillan's Magazine*, and also wrote the Preface to Dr. Schliemann's *Mycenæ*. Thirty years ago or more he contributed to the *Quarterly Review* an article upon Lachmann's *Iliad*, a paper regarded with great interest at the time of its appearance by all students of Homer. Nor has he confined himself altogether to Homeric criticism, for there appeared some years ago a small quarto volume of translations from the first book of the *Iliad*, and of some separate passages, executed by Mr. Gladstone and Lord Lyttelton. Two works, however, by Mr. Gladstone, in relation to Greece and Homer, still remain for notice, and these are worthy of more than a mere mention. *Juventus Mundi: Gods and Men of the Heroic Age in Greece*, was published in 1869; and *Homeric Synchronism* appeared in 1876.*

* See also articles by Mr. Gladstone upon subjects connected with Homer in the *Contemporary Review* and the *Nineteenth Century*. The volume on Homer, in Macmillan's Series of *Literature Primers*, edited by the Rev. J. R. Green, was also written by Mr. Gladstone. It gives, in a succinct form, the author's views upon Homer the man, the Homeric question, and the many ramifications of the general subject expounded at greater length in the *Homeric Studies*. In delivering his valedictory

Juventus Mundi was mainly the product of the two recesses of 1867 and 1868, and in it the author states that he has endeavoured to embody the greater part of the results at which he arrived in the *Studies on Homer and the Homeric Age*. The reader will therefore find the later work valuable as putting him in possession of the main lines of Mr. Gladstone's arguments and opinions upon the Homeric problems. Some modifications of previous views had been arrived at in the course of the intervening period of ten years. With regard to the ethnology of Homer, a further prosecution of the subject, as relating to the Phœnicians, brought out much more fully and clearly what Mr. Gladstone had before only hinted at, and he now awarded to them a highly influential function in forming the Greek nation. This modification consequently acted in an important manner upon any estimate of Pelasgians and Hellenes respectively. The author had now felt warranted in giving a larger space to deduction, and a smaller one to minute particulars of inquiry in a work which aimed at offering some practical assistance to Homeric study in our schools and universities, 'and even at conveying a partial knowledge of this subject to persons who are not habitual students.' But while anxious to commend to readers generally conclusions from the Homeric poems which appeared of great interest with reference to the general history of human culture, and of the Providential government of the world, he was much more anxious to encourage and facilitate the access of educated persons to the actual contents of the text. Mr. Gladstone pointed out that the doubts cast upon the origin of the poems have assisted in fostering a vague instinctive indisposition to laborious examination; 'the very splendour of the poetry dazzles the eye as with whole sheets of light, and may often seem almost to give to analysis the character of vulgarity or impertinence.' He did not shrink from his main object, however, namely, to provoke the close textual study of the poet as opposed to the second-hand method of seeking for information anywhere save in Homer himself.

A knowledge of the text of Homer is not, as Mr. Gladstone insists, by any means a commonplace accomplishment, seeing that this text involves an aggregate of 27,000 lines, as full of infinitely varied matter as an egg is full of meat. And readers

address as Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, on the 3rd of November 1865, Mr. Gladstone took for his subject, 'The place of ancient Greece in the Providential order of the World;' and visiting Eton College in June, 1879, he gave a lecture on the great Greek poet, in the library of the College. Mr. Gladstone endeavoured to prove that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were really the work of one poet, Homer—that they were constructed at the time of the Trojan war, and were not the composite works of several persons compiled at a much later period of the Greek history.

require to be very careful in accepting unverified statements of what is, or is not, in Homer. Touching the difficulty of the unsettled and transitionary state of the rules and practicé with respect to Greek names, and to the Latin forms of them, Mr. Gladstone follows many high authorities in adopting generally the Greek names of the deities and mythological personages instead of the Latin ones.

The introductory chapter of this work is a more succinct statement than appeared in the author's previous treatise of the historic character of Homer's poetry; the second deals with the three great appellatives, Danaoi, Argeioi, and Achaioi; the third is concerned with the Pelasgoi; the fourth is entitled 'Hellas'. the 5th is upon the Phœnicians and the Egyptians; the sixth on the title 'Anax Andrōn'; the seventh on the Olympian system; the eighth on the divinities of Olympos; the ninth gives a further sketch, and presents the moral aspects, of the Olympian system; the tenth discusses the ethics of the Heroic Age; the eleventh its polity; the twelfth the resemblances and differences between the Greeks and the Trojans; the thirteenth the geography of Homer; the fourteenth his plots, characters, and similes; while the fifteenth and concluding chapter treats of miscellaneous aspects in Homer—his idea of beauty; his physics, metals, and measure of value; his use of number, and his sense of colour.

Homeric Synchronism is an inquiry into the time and place of Homer. The author speaks with more certitude upon these important questions than he had done hitherto, believing that the time had at length come for serious efforts to connect the poems of Homer, by means of the internal evidence which they supply, with events and personages which are now known from other sources to belong to periods, already approximately defined, of the primeval history of the human race. Mr. Gladstone is fully impressed with the magnitude of the task before him, and admits that a rational reaction against the irrational excesses and vagaries of scepticism may readily degenerate into the rival folly of credulity. Opposing wrong does not always carry with it the assurance of being right. While conservative as regards the poet, Mr. Gladstone observes that he is radical and dissenter to the uttermost as respects several of the opinions too freely accepted from a lazy and incomplete tradition. He agrees with Lucian in his criticism of some preceding critics, that they would have been saved from much erroneous and much gratuitous speculation had they been more careful to observe the primary laws of poetic insight, and to acknowledge that seal and stamp with which it is the prerogative of supreme genius to authenticate its

handiwork. His own method had been to distinguish carefully between certainty and probability, between knowledge and conjecture; and he had been especially careful to found all inquiries and conclusions upon a close and painstaking examination of the Homeric text, and to conduct his researches according to the established laws of evidence as opposed to the lawlessness of *ipse dixi* and of arbitrary assertion. It is not only an important investigation, but one of supreme interest, that of attempting to fix the place of Homer in history, and also in the Egyptian chronology.

Mr. Gladstone had contended for, or admitted, in previous works, the following six points:—That the poems of Homer are in the highest sense historical; that there was a solid nucleus of fact in his account of the Trojan war; that there did not yet exist adequate *data* for assigning to him, or to the Troïca, a place in the established chronology; that his own chronology was to be found in his genealogies, which were usually careful and consistent; that there was no extravagance in supposing he might have lived within half a century after the war, though he was certainly not an eye-witness of it; and that there was very strong reason to believe that he flourished before the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnesos. On another occasion he also pointed out that the time might be at hand when, with the aid of further investigations, it would be possible to define with greater precision those periods of the Egyptian chronology to which the Homeric poems and their subject appeared to be related. *Data* of considerable importance had been gradually gathering and enlarging, so that the missing links now recovered might frame at least the *disjecta membra* of a chain of evidence. Assyrian as well as Egyptian research now supplied valuable material in aid of the general design.

In this new work the author carried his affirmative propositions much further, and offered presumptive evidence which bore students greatly on the road no proof, of a distinct relation of time between the Homeric poems and other incidents of human history, which are extraneous to them, but are already in the main reduced into chronological order and succession; namely, portions of the series of Egyptian dynasties. With this relation established, a further relation indirectly followed to the chronology of the Hebrew records. Mr. Gladstone has, perhaps naturally, by many critics been regarded as too sanguine in thus endeavouring to build up an unbroken body of actual history from materials which can never be completely harmonised. But the manner in which he has pursued his inquiries, and the results he arrives at, betoken more than ingenuity; they establish a fair

theory of presumption and credibility. More they could not do, owing to the extraordinary exigencies of the case.

This treatise upon *Homeric Synchronism* is divided into two parts. The first treats of matters connected generally with the place and date of Homer in history, and the topics dealt with in this relation are—the Plain and Site of Troy; the Hissarlik Remains, discovered by Dr. Schliemann; the European *habitat* of Homer, and his priority to the Dorian Conquest; and the Authorship of the Hymn to the Delian Apollo. In the second part the author endeavours 'to drive at least a single pile into the solid ground of history, as a kind of first fruits from modern Egyptology; as a beginning towards marking out, and fencing in, the historical limits both of Homer's subject and of his career. My warrant for introducing the topics treated in Part I. is to be found in this—that, if Homer were an Asiatic Greek, of the period most commonly supposed, at some time after the Dorian Conquest, it is idle to talk of placing him in any particular relation to the Egyptian chronology, and a waste of labour to trace out in detail his possession of Egyptian knowledge and traditions; for, to Asiatic Greece, Egypt was but the name of one among foreign lands, and its wide-reaching Empire was neither any longer felt in action, nor witnessed of by patent and accessible records, nor retained in the living memory of man.' Having thus prepared his ground, Mr. Gladstone contends in the second part of his work that there are detailed matters as of fact in the poems, which fit themselves on to other matters of fact, either originally made known, or brought into greatly clearer light, by the Egyptian monuments; also, that we have a large number of scattered indications of Homer's Eastern, and especially his Egyptian, knowledge, in his cosmological ideas and representations, as well as in a variety of incidental notices. By the aid of these contentions and arguments the author leads up to the one grand, general conclusion—that there are probable grounds of an historical character for believing that the main action of the *Iliad* took place, and that Homer lived between certain chronological limits, which may now be approximately pointed out to the satisfaction of reasonable minds.

Having thus indicated the general aims of this work, it is not our purpose to trace its arguments in detail, nor the steps by which Mr. Gladstone shows that the Homeric poems could not have had their birthplace in Asia, nor have been composed after the Dorian invasion: but before leaving the subject, we will quote the following passage on the extraordinary interest which attaches to the warlike incidents of the infancy of Greece:—'We have examples in modern times, and even in the most

recent experience, of great States which owe all their greatness to successful war. The spectacle offered to a calm review by this process is a mixed, sometimes a painful one. So, too, it seems, that the early life of the most wonderful people whom the world has ever seen was largely spent in the use of the strong hand against the foreigner. That people was nursed, and its hardy character was formed, in the continuing stress of danger and difficulty. But the voyage of Argo, the march of the Seven against Cadmeian Thebes, the triumphant attack of the Epigonoi, the enormous and prolonged effort of the war of Troy, the Achaian and so-called Danaan attempts against Egypt, were not wars or expeditions of simple conquest. They were not waged in order to impose the yoke upon the necks of others. And yet, though varied in time, in magnitude, in local destination, they seem, with some likelihood at least, to present to us a common character. They speak with one voice of one great theme; a steady dedication of nascent force, upon the whole noble in its aim, as well as determined and masculine in its execution. For the end it had in view, during a course of effort sustained through so many generations, was the worthy, the paramount end of establishing, on a firm and lasting basis, the national life, cohesion, and independence.'

We now part from these Homeric studies, into which Mr. Gladstone has thrown so much perception, learning, and research. The Siege of Troy and the Wanderings of Ulysses possess an undying charm, whether their chief incidents be wholly fictitious partially fictitious, or veritable history; and no nobler study could well engage the leisure of a man of culture. It is worthy of note, in conclusion, that after all his just and lofty encomiums upon the Homeric records, Mr. Gladstone deduces from them the great abiding lesson, that they do but 'show us the total inability of our race, even when at its maximum of power, to solve for ourselves the problem of our destiny; to extract for ourselves the sting from care, from sorrow, and, above all, from death; or even to retain without waste the knowledge of God, where we have become separate from the source which imparts it.'

The author has brought to his investigations of the Homeric text an almost unexampled patience, an intrepid judgment, and a keenly analytical faculty; but, above all, there glows throughout his pages that spirit which is the outcome of the Christian religion—a religion higher and deeper than that of the great Greek poet, a religion which has transfigured all the relations of this mortal life, and which forms a great and indissoluble link uniting humanity with God.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SESSION OF 1859.—THE BUDGET OF 1860 AND THE FRENCH TREATY.

Public Affairs in 1859—The Reform Question—Introduction of the Government Bill—Its Rejection moved by Lord John Russell—Speech of Mr. Gladstone—Defeat of the Government—Appeal to the Country—The New Parliament—Resignation of the Derby Ministry—A Palmerston Administration—Mr. Gladstone again Chancellor of the Exchequer—Opposed on appealing for Re-election at Oxford—Returned by a large majority—The Budget of 1859—Debate on the Peace Conference—Roman Catholic Relief Act Amendment Bill—Animated Scene in the House—Negotiation of the French Treaty—The Budget of 1860—Details of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Proposals—Relief of Trade and Commerce—The Commercial Treaty and Free Trade—A new Bond of Union with France—Tribute to Mr. Cobden—Customs Reform Scheme—Proposed Abolition of the Paper Duty—Character of the Financial Statement of 1860—Attacks upon it by the Opposition—Repeal of the Paper Duty strongly opposed—Views of Protectionist Papermakers—The Lords and the Paper Duty—Important Deputation to Lord Derby—The Bill rejected—Feeling in the Country—A Constitutional Question—The Chancellor of the Exchequer carries his Proposals for the Reduction of the Duty on Foreign Paper.—Mr. Gladstone on Lord John Russell's Reform Bill—The Chancellor of the Exchequer elected Lord Rector of Edinburgh University.

A REVOLUTION of the political wheel—wholly unexpected in some quarters, but predicted in others—once more brought Mr. Gladstone into office in the year 1859. At the commencement of this session, and indeed for some time previously, two important questions agitated the public mind, almost to the exclusion of all others. These were, first, the state of our foreign relations, especially as affecting France, Austria, and Italy; and, secondly, the subject of Parliamentary Reform. Unable to struggle against the unmistakable expression of the popular will, the Derby Government had pledged itself to bring in a Reform Bill; but long before this measure was even framed, or Parliament had assembled, the feeling in the country had been greatly stirred by Mr. Bright and others in favour of a large extension of the franchise. The member for Birmingham had expressed himself with more than his wonted fervour upon this question, and the supporters of the Government indulged the belief that he had damaged the cause he intended to advance by the 'violence' of his advocacy. In several great public meetings, Mr. Bright had condemned and denounced in vigorous rhetoric the existing state of the representation, and

demanded a wide extension of the suffrage. For a time, the turbulent demonstrations which took place in various parts of the country acted as a check upon many moderate men, who had hitherto advocated a fair measure of Parliamentary reform, and there was a partial reaction amongst certain classes against the movement.

But the time had come when some concessions must be made, and it was admitted, alike on Conservative as on Liberal benches, that upon the nature of the Ministerial proposals in this direction depended the very stability of the Government itself. After interpellations from the Opposition, and remonstrances against delay, the Chancellor of the Exchequer fixed the 28th of February for the first reading of the Government Reform Bill. Amid a scene of great expectation and excitement, Mr. Disraeli, on the day named, proceeded to unfold the details of the scheme. It was not intended, he said, to alter the limits of the franchise, but to introduce into the borough a new kind of franchise, founded upon personal property, and to give votes to persons receiving £10 yearly from the funds, or £20 in pensions, as well as to graduates in the universities, ministers of religion, members of the legal and medical profession, and various other classes. The bill also recognised the principle of the identity of suffrage between the counties and the towns, of which the effect would be to add about 200,000 persons to the county constituency. Mr. Disraeli said the change which it would be his duty to recommend would not rest upon the principle of population, nor upon that of property joined with population. He finally described the Government measure as 'wise, prudent, adequate to the occasion, conservative, and framed by men who reverence the past, are proud of the present, and confident of the future.'

The bill was allowed to pass its first reading, but it speedily became evident that it was not regarded with satisfaction by the country, and also that it would meet with strenuous opposition in the House. The Liberals, joined by a portion of the Conservatives, objected strongly to the clause by which it was proposed to take away from freeholders in boroughs the franchise by which they were now qualified to vote in counties. The Ministry was also weakened by the secession of two of its prominent members, Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley, who as Conservatives could not support the measure. On the order for the second reading of the bill on the 20th of March, Lord John Russell moved the following amendment:—'That this House is of opinion that it is neither just nor politic to interfere in the manner proposed by this bill with the freehold

franchise as hitherto exercised in counties in England and Wales; and that no re-adjustment of the franchise will satisfy this House or the country which does not provide for a greater extension of the suffrage in cities and boroughs than is contemplated in the present measure.' The mover of this resolution delivered an able speech in its support, concluding with the expression, 'With regard to this great question of Reform, I may say that I defended it when I was young, and I will not desert it now that I am old.'

There were members who, like Mr. Horsman, thought the bill could be modelled in committee, so as to meet the wishes of the country, but others, again—as, for example, Mr. Sidney Herbert—while disclaiming all question of party feeling, supported the amendment. Mr. Bright maintained that the measure excluded the working classes, told them they were dangerous, and that these were privileges they ought not to share. Mr. Gladstone, who gave a modified support to the Government on this occasion, began by remarking upon the singular coincidence of opinion on all sides with regard to this great question of Parliamentary Reform. As there was no controversy traceable to differences between political parties, he regretted that the House was now in hostile conflict, with a division before them, which would estrange those by whose united efforts alone a satisfactory settlement could be come to. He objected to the form of the resolution, but confessed that if they could have had a strong Government he should have been induced to vote for it. He saw, however, that after carrying the resolution the Opposition would pursue separate courses. The House should do what it could in respect of the bill, and the Government had a claim upon members. Sketching the failures of previous Governments, amidst the laughter and cheers of the House, Mr. Gladstone remarked, 'In 1851 my noble friend, then the First Minister of the Crown, approached the question of Reform, and commenced with a promise of what was to be done twelve months afterwards. In 1852, he brought in a bill, and it disappeared, together with the Ministry. In 1853 we had the Ministry of Lord Aberdeen, which commenced with a promise of Reform in twelve months' time. Well, 1854 arrived; with it arrived the bill, but with it also arrived the war, and in the war was a reason, and I believe a good reason, for abandoning the bill. Then came the Government of my noble friend the member for Tiverton, which was not less unfortunate in the circumstances that prevented the redemption of those pledges which had been given to the people from the mouth of the Sovereign on the Throne. In 1855 my noble friend

escaped all responsibility for a Reform Bill on account of the war; in 1856 he escaped all responsibility for Reform on account of the peace; in 1857 he escaped that inconvenient responsibility by the dissolution of Parliament; and in 1858 he escaped again by the dissolution of his Government.' Pointing the moral of these failures, the speaker affirmed that they strengthened the misgivings of the people as to the reluctance of the House to deal with this question, made it more hazardous to interpose obstacles, and required the progress of the Government bill to completion. Examining the measure itself, he announced that he could not be a party to the disfranchisement of the county freeholders in boroughs; he could not be a party to the uniformity of the franchise; he could not be a party to a Reform Bill which did not lower the suffrage in boroughs. Unless they could have a lowering of the suffrage, it would be better not to waste time upon the subject. He approved that portion of the bill relating to the redistribution of seats, but put in a strong plea on behalf of the small boroughs.

These boroughs were the nursery ground of men who were destined to lead the House and be an ornament to their country; and he maintained that the extension and the durability of our liberty were to be attributed, under Providence, to distinguished statesmen introduced to the House at an early age. These were reasons for going into committee. If they passed the amendment, it could have no other effect than that of retarding a settlement of the question: it was not the question of the Government, but of Reform. He urged the House not to let slip its golden opportunity. For himself, he should be governed by no other consideration than the simple one—what course would most tend to settle the question? When he voted to negative the resolution of Lord John Russell, he should give his vote neither to the Government nor to party.

No forecast of the division could be indulged in, for it was admitted to be a very open question indeed; but the utmost excitement prevailed when it became known that the Government had been defeated by a substantial majority in an exceedingly full House. The numbers were—For the second reading, 291; against, 330—majority against the Government, 39. Lord Derby thereupon decided on appealing to the country, a step which, as Mr. Bright said, while causing much inconvenience, was a constitutional and perhaps necessary one. Parliament was prorogued by Commission on the 19th of April, and the new writs were immediately issued. Mr. Gladstone was again returned for Oxford University. The new Parliament, which found the Government in a considerable minority, met on the 31st of

May. A debate immediately arose in the House of Commons upon the conduct of the Ministry, an amendment to the Address being moved by the Marquis of Hartington. The debate was a highly animated and protracted one. Upon its conclusion, the division gave the following result—For the amendment, 323; against it, 310—majority against the Government, 13. The House having now twice pronounced against the Ministry, the latter had no option but to resign. Lord Palmerston was sent for, and he succeeded in forming an Administration. In this Ministry Mr. Gladstone accepted the post of Chancellor of the Exchequer, which he now filled for the second time.

Although in giving his vote against Lord John Russell's resolution Mr. Gladstone expressly stated that he did it with the view of procuring a settlement of the great Reform question, and not with a view of generally supporting Lord Derby's Government, he speedily discovered that he had alienated from himself a considerable body of his constituents. Consequently, on applying for re-election he was strongly opposed, the Conservative candidate being the Marquis of Chandos. The Rev. H. L. Mansel, B.D., Waynflete Professor, was the chairman of the Marquis's committee. In a manifesto addressed to the electors, and signed by Mr. Mansel, appeared this passage:—'By his acceptance of office, Mr. Gladstone must now be considered as giving his definite adhesion to the Liberal party, as at present re-constructed, and as approving of the policy of those who overthrew Lord Derby's Government on the late division. By his vote on that division, Mr. Gladstone expressed his confidence in the administration of Lord Derby. By accepting office, he now expresses his confidence in the Administration of Lord Derby's opponent and successor.' To this representation, the Rev. R. Gresley, chairman of Mr. Gladstone's committee, replied, in a letter addressed to Mr. Mansel. He denied that Mr. Gladstone had been guilty of an act of tergiversation by accepting office in the new Ministry, and added that he simply gave a silent vote against turning out the Government of Lord Derby on a motion of want of confidence at that time and under those circumstances. There was no ground for the charge of inconsistency. The nomination took place on the 27th of June. The Dean of Christ Church proposed Mr. Gladstone in a Latin speech, of which the following is a translation:—'Members of the University of Oxford, I stand before you to offer to your suffrages the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, D.C.L., of Christ Church, as your representative in Parliament. There is no need that I should be copious in eulogising him to you, although I could do so with ease. For who among you but knows how convincing

is his argument, how great his experience as a statesman, how universal his information, how pure his life, how deep his religious feeling? In a word, who can so worthily as he represent our University in the legislative assembly of the country? But I would further remind you that it is not any ordinary man who can bear this dignity, not any one taken at random who is fit to be honoured with your votes, but one whose talents, eloquence, weight, learning all may see, and may not only see but respect, one, in short, with regard to whom, if elected, there shall be but one opinion; that the University most worthily enjoys and most worthily exercises the right of election. For him, therefore, so often returned by you, I again solicit your votes, and in my opinion no adequate cause either has been or can be alleged for breaking through the standing custom of the University: once elected, always elected.' The Rev. Dr. Wynter, President of St. John's College, proposed the Marquis of Chandos. Both candidates had their warm and apparently equal bodies of supporters at the nonination. The polling, however, which continued for five days, closed with a large majority for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the numbers being—For Mr. Gladstone, 1,050; Lord Chandos, 859.

The new Chancellor had but scant breathing space in which to prepare his financial statement, which was produced in the House of Commons on the 18th of July. The budget, nevertheless, was a very important one in some respects, and was awaited with eagerness by the House. Mr. Gladstone, after recapitulating the estimates of income made by his predecessor in the previous year, which had been exceeded by the results, stated that the estimated revenue of the current year would be £64,340,000, and the estimated expenditure of the year £69,207,000. There would thus be a gross deficiency in the current year of £4,867,000. This being the time when it became the Committee to make adequate and effective provision for the wants of the year, it was likewise a time when its attention should be rigidly confined to those wants, the charges being of an exceptional character, especially those for the army and navy. The Committee, therefore, were not to busy themselves with comprehensive plans of finance upon the present occasion; next year it would be necessary to enter upon larger views of our financial system, for next year the income-tax would lapse, as well as certain war duties upon tea and sugar; on the other hand, the Long Annuities would fall in. How were they to raise the necessary funds to meet the present deficiency—by borrowing or by taxes? The sum required was a large one, but it ought

never to drive the British Parliament to the expedient of augmenting the National Debt, which nothing but dire necessity should induce it to do. It appeared to him that a loan ought not to be resorted to; that there never was a period when the people of England were more satisfied with the justice and necessity of the demands upon the public purse, or more able or willing to meet those demands. Then, if they were driven to taxes in order to meet the expenditure of the next year, should the taxation be direct or indirect? It was not desirable to augment the malt duty, nor would it be wise to increase the spirit duties. It would be impolitic to increase the duties of customs or excise. There- consequently remained the income-tax. That tax had been originally introduced for two objects: first, to make reforms in our fiscal system; secondly, to meet sudden public exigencies; and when it was for the dignity, honour, and safety of the country that efforts should be made to augment the national defences, the income-tax was, above all others, a regular and legitimate resource. The gross deficiency to be met was £4,867,000. By a re-arrangement of the credit allowed to maltsters they could procure almost immediately a sum of £780,000. The deficiency would thus be reduced to a little over £4,000,000, and this it was proposed to raise by an augmentation of the income-tax. It now stood at the rate of 5d. in the pound, and an additional 4d. would yield something over £4,000,000. He proposed that this additional sum should be levied on incomes amounting to upwards of £150, but that incomes under that sum should pay only 1½d. extra; and he also proposed that the augmented tax should be leviable upon the first half-yearly payment after the resolution should have been adopted by the House. This addition to the tax, added to the sum derived from the maltsters. would produce £5,120,000. Deducting the whole deficiency of the year, there would thus remain a surplus of £253,000. Mr. Gladstone concluded with this appeal:—'Instead of ascribing to the great English people a childish impatience to meet necessary demands with which they were never chargeable, I, on the contrary, shall rely on their unyielding, inexhaustible energy and generous patriotism, and shall be confident that they will never shrink from or refuse any burden required in order to sustain the honour or provide for the security of the country.'

On the order for going into committee of Ways and Means, some days afterwards, Mr. Disraeli criticised his rival's budget, and reviewed the financial policy of the late Government. He strongly protested against the continuance of the current enormous expenditure, which rendered it necessary to fritter

away the treasure of the income-tax. The nation, he maintained, could not go on raising £70,000,000 annually; and he demanded that France and England 'should mutually prove, with no hypocrisy, but by the unanswerable evidence of reduced armaments, that they really desired peace.' Such an agreement would render practicable the cessation of the income-tax in 1860.

Mr. Gladstone, replying to Mr. Disraeli's objection to the proposed mode of levying the income-tax, said the House of Commons was as much entitled to tax six months' profits as those of twelve months. The effect of the modification would be to throw half the additional tax on the year 1860-61, making it part of the Ways and Means not of the current year, but of the next. Coming to more general matters, the Chancellor of the Exchequer observed that Mr. Disraeli had endeavoured to impress upon the present Government the necessity of preserving the alliance between England and France—which had become almost the law of our foreign policy—and he said, 'Require the diminution of armaments.' He (Mr. Gladstone) expressed his opinion that the moment the state of Europe allowed, it would be the duty of the English Government to use every effort in that sense. But why should Mr. Disraeli, he asked, denounce all congresses? Three months before Lord Malmesbury was despatching telegrams for the purpose of bringing about a congress. For himself, he was not prepared to subscribe to all Mr. Disraeli's opinions as to the peace; he would rather reserve his judgment than pledge himself, in the present state of Europe, by giving a distinct approval of its terms. The budget resolutions were eventually agreed to.

Shortly before the close of the session an important debate arose upon the Peace Conference, with special reference to the affairs of Italy. Lord Elcho proposed an address to her Majesty, stating that, in the opinion of the House, it would be consistent neither with the honour nor the dignity of this country to take part in any conference for the purpose of settling the details of a peace the preliminaries of which had been arranged between the Emperor of the French and the Emperor of Austria. Mr. Kinglake moved upon this the 'previous question.'

The Chancellor of the Exchequer at once rose and said that, so far as he and his colleagues were concerned, they were prepared to meet the motion with a direct negative; but if the House was of opinion that it was inconvenient to entertain the motion at all, they were ready to concur in that which Mr. Kinglake had made without any concert with them. Lord Elcho's motion spoke of taking part in a conference for the purpose

of settling the details of the peace arranged between the two Emperors. He was not aware of any such intention. The details of the peace would be settled by the belligerents themselves, and what remained would be, not the details of the peace, but great questions of European policy, vitally affecting the happiness of Italy. The principal point made by Lord Elcho was the contrast between the neutrality of the late and that of the present Government. He (Mr. Gladstone) gave credit to the late Government, represented by Lord Malmesbury, for their intention, and for a restless but a sound and manly assiduity to maintain peace, and there had been no departure from the neutrality on the part of the present Government. The object of the noble lord's motion was to prevent the Government from taking part in the conference, lest they should be hostile to Austria. To disclaim such a motive, he said, was needless, and would be disparaging. There was no foundation for such a supposition. It was the desire of the Government to see Austria strong, flourishing, and happy; but it did not follow that they might not have their own feeling and conviction that she might, by another policy, better discharge her duties and consult her own separate and individual interests. To understand the present position of Austria it was necessary to go back for the last forty-five years. During that interval, wherever liberty raised its head in Italy it was crushed by the iron hand of Austria, and abuses were re-established in all their rigour. The position of Sardinia, with her improved institutions, became of necessity a standing danger to Austria. It was necessary that the British Government should consider what, in the present state of circumstances, was best for Italy, for Austria, and for Europe. Might not Austria be stronger out of Italy than in it? This was an opinion which might be held by honest men, and he was himself strongly of that opinion. But the true policy of this country, according to Lord Elcho, was the policy of non-intervention. What, then, he asked (here Mr Gladstone triumphantly held aloft the blue-book), is the policy adopted and enforced in these papers? The questions the noble lord had referred to had not been proposed before going into the conference. The mover of the resolution had argued that we had confidence in the Emperor of the French or we had not, and in either case we should not enter the conference. He (Mr. Gladstone) agreed that if we had not confidence, and were essentially at variance with France, it would be a question of prudence how far we should enter into the conference; but he could not understand the other branch of the dilemma, which would come to this: that whatever might be the

liberal sentiments of the Emperor of the French, we would refuse to assist him, but leave him to struggle with his difficulties. This was a recommendation which he concluded by earnestly entreating the House to discountenance.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer was followed (amongst other speakers) by Mr. Horsman, Mr. S. Herbert, Lord John Russell, Mr. Disraeli, and Lord Palmerston. It was generally agreed, however, that Mr. Gladstone's speech had effectually disposed of the motion; and Lord Elcho, expressing himself satisfied with the discussion, withdrew it.

Perhaps the most exciting debate of the whole session arose over the Roman Catholic Relief Act Amendment Bill. By this measure, which was supported by the Government, it was proposed that a Roman Catholic should be eligible for the office of Lord Chancellor of Ireland. To English members like Mr. Newdegate, and Irish members of the Orange type of Mr. Whiteside, the bill appeared a suicidal one. Pass it, and the Constitution was gone. Mr. Newdegate, in particular, it is to be feared, must have spent many sleepless nights while this attempted base betrayal of the Protestant liberties of England was going forward. The hon. member moved the rejection of the measure, which he described as being an invasion of the Protestant Constitution, and as practically abrogating the settlement of 1829. Mr. Whiteside was equally strong in his denunciation of the bill, and, in an unfortunate moment for himself, brought Mr. Gladstone's name into his speech in such a manner as to rouse the ire of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The physical atmosphere of the House was very sultry (it was now the middle of July), but the mental speedily transcended it. An eye-witness, describing the scene, remarked that he was not surprised at the loudness of Mr. Newdegate's groans and the double-dyed Orange hue of Mr. Whiteside's stupendous oration, especially seeing how nearly within the grasp of the latter had been the Irish Chancellorship; but what was surprising was the tone and manner of Mr. Gladstone. While the Irish Secretary, Mr. Cardwell, was balancing the two parties in Ireland in his elaborate sentences, Mr. Gladstone stood at the bar in an attitude very near akin to contempt for the business which the Government official was manipulating so unskilfully; but after Mr. Whiteside had spoken, and his own time came, Mr. Gladstone 'started up with his face full of fire and his manner flushed with vigour, and delivered a masterly, keen, crushing speech of ten minutes—no more—which was at once dignified, humorous, argumentative, and piled up with grand phraseology, concentrating every faculty of an orator and all the scorn of an offended

member of Parliament. It was one of those bursts of earnest speechmaking which are now so rare in the House of Commons, and which are worth waiting through a long, hot summer night to listen to. It even roused Mr. Walpole into a diluted imitation of a style which had so successfully carried the House along with it; it brought out sarcasm and irony bitter enough from Mr. Disraeli; elicited something of the insolent tone of 1857 from Lord Palmerston; animated the torpor of Sir George C. Lewis; and actually flashed inspiration into the lymphatic and apathetic idiosyncrasy of Sir William Somerville; while it put the House into one of those fevers of excitement which, when they begin about one o'clock in the morning, are so difficult to allay. Certainly one has not for a long time witnessed so decided a case of that electrification of the House and its prolonged effects with which at times it is affected in the strangest and strongest manner.' The measure thus violently opposed has since become law, as, indeed, have many other measures which led men who failed to move with the spirit of the times to look for the setting of the sun of England's greatness. Yet that noble but impalpable inheritance, the English Constitution, still remains to us—as great, as glorious, as durable at this day as in any generation of our past history.

The year 1860 will be for ever memorable as a new point of departure in British commerce and manufactures. The country was at peace with foreign nations; calmness and moderation reigned at home; and Parliament was enabled to proceed unfettered with those wise and beneficent acts of legislation which have caused the session to occupy one of the most conspicuous positions in our domestic history. England and France were to be in the future bound together, not by such ties of alliance as the mutual dread of war involves, but by the deeper and more lasting ties of friendship and of peace. Mr. Cobden, commissioned by, and acting in unison with, the English Government, was successful in negotiating with France a commercial treaty based on Free Trade principles—a treaty which gave an impetus to the trade of this country whose far-reaching effects are felt even to our own day. Whatever may be the views of Englishmen upon the general tenor and spirit of the Government of the third Napoleon, his ready acquiescence in, and determination to carry through, a treaty based upon hitherto much-combated principles, redounded greatly to his sagacity and penetration. The fight in France against the adoption of Free Trade was not so long or so bitter as in England; but the Emperor's resolve, notwithstanding, involved a sharp and severe struggle. In the end the treaty was success-

fully negotiated by Mr. Cobden, under the auspices, and with the aid, of Mr. Gladstone as our Finance Minister.

The conclusion of this treaty invested the budget of the year with additional importance. It was awaited with the deepest interest and solicitude, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer fixed the earliest day possible for its delivery, namely, the 6th of February. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Gladstone was seized with indisposition, and the statement was postponed until the 10th. On that day the Minister appeared before a densely crowded assembly. The House was packed to the doors and through all its approaches. Never in the memory of members had a financial statement possessed such fascination. Combating his physical weakness so far as to come down to the House three days before the time originally specified after the announcement of his illness, the Chancellor of the Exchequer 'walked up the floor of the House with an alacrity which was surprising, and bent his head with conscious pleasure before the hearty cheers which greeted his appearance.' There was in him, apparently, no trace of weakness, physical or mental.

The House having resolved itself into a committee of Ways and Means, Mr. Gladstone rose, and at once plunged into his statement. 'Sir,' he began, 'public expectation has long marked out the year 1860 as an important epoch in British finance. It has long been well known that in this year, for the first time, we were to receive from a process not of our own creation a very great relief in respect of our annual payment of interest upon the National Debt—a relief amounting to no less a sum than £2,146,000—a relief such as we never have known in time past, and such as, I am afraid, we shall never know in time to come. Besides that relief, other and more recent arrangements have added to the importance of this juncture. A revenue of nearly £12,000,000 a year, levied by duties on tea and sugar, which still retain a portion of the additions made to them on account of the Russian war, is about to lapse absolutely on the 31st of March, unless it shall be renewed by Parliament. The Income-tax Act, from which during the financial year we shall have derived a sum of between £9,000,000 and £10,000,000, is likewise to lapse at the very same time, although an amount not inconsiderable will still remain to be collected in virtue of the law about to expire. And lastly, an event of not less interest than any of these, which has caused public feeling to thrill from one end of the country to the other—I mean the treaty of commerce, which my noble friend the Foreign Minister has just laid on the table—has rendered it a matter of propriety, nay, almost of absolute necessity, for the Government to request the House to deviate,

under the peculiar circumstances of the case, from its usual, its salutary, its constitutional practice of voting the principal charges of the year before they proceed to consider the means of defraying them, and has induced the Government to think they would best fulfil their duty by inviting attention on the earliest possible day to those financial arrangements for the coming year which are materially affected by the Treaty with France, and which, though they reach considerably beyond the limits of that treaty, yet, notwithstanding, can only be examined by the House in a satisfactory manner when examined as a whole.'*

Mr. Gladstone then went on to announce that the financial results of the year—so far, at least, as the receipts were concerned—were eminently satisfactory. The total estimated revenue was £69,460,000; the actual amount produced was not less than £70,578,000. The expenditure had been £68,953,000. Under ordinary circumstances this amount would have left a surplus of £1,625,000; but there had been additional charges, arising out of the expedition to China, in the army of £900,000, and the navy, £270,000. Then came the effect of the treaty with France, for which there was to be deducted from the customs £640,000. The total was £1,800,000, which would have placed the revenue on the wrong side of the account; but in a happy moment, Spain—'not under any peculiar pressure from us, but with a high sense of honour and duty'—had paid a debt of £500,000, of which £250,000 would be available at once, so that a small surplus would still be left on the total revenue. With regard to the interest of the debt in the coming year, the estimated charge was £26,200,000, leaving £2,438,000, or more than the annuities which were about to lapse. The Consolidated Fund charges would be £2,000,000; the army, militia, and the charge for China would be £15,800,000; the navy and packet service, £13,900,000; or altogether, £29,700,000, being an increase of more than £3,000,000 on the military estimates of the preceding session. The miscellaneous estimates were £3,500,000; the revenue departments, £4,700,000;—the grand total being £70,100,000. Coming to the estimate of the year in perspective, Mr. Gladstone said that, taking the imports as they then stood, it was:—Customs, £22,700,000; excise, £19,170,000; stamps, £8,000,000; taxes, £3,250,000; income-tax, £2,400,000; with the post-office the total being £60,700,000; thus leaving a deficit

* A corrected verbatim report of this and other budget speeches appears in the volume—published under Mr. Gladstone's authority—*The Financal Statements of* 1853, 1860-1863. *To which are added a Speech on Tax Bills*, 1861, *and on Charities*, 1863. By the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone.

of £9,400,000; and this without any provision for £1,000,000 coming due on Exchequer bonds. Even if the existing war duties on tea and sugar should be retained, the deficit would still be £7,300,000. This would require an income-tax of 9d. in the pound, there being no remission of taxation in the trade and commerce of the country; but the £9,400,000 would require an income-tax of 1s. in the pound. He knew that it might with justice be demanded of him, 'What has become of the calculations of 1853?' His answer was, that in that year it was reckoned there would be gained by taxes then imposed between that and the present time a sum of £5,959,000, which was about the sum that the income-tax would have reached at 5d. in the pound in the present year. The succession duty had failed to produce what was expected; surpluses had been stopped by the intervention of war; and there was, moreover, the charge for additional debt incurred by the Russian war, which amounted to £2,920,000. The alteration in the spirit duties, however, had added £2,000,000 to the revenue; and the revenue generally had been so prosperous, that if the expenditure had not rapidly increased the amount calculated in 1853 would have been realised. It was a constantly increasing expenditure which had destroyed the calculations of 1853.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer next demonstrated by elaborate statistics how much richer the country was than in 1842 and 1853. In the former year the annual income of the country was £154,000,000; in 1853 it had risen to £172,000,000; in 1857-8 it stood at £191,000,000; and in 1859-60 at £200,000,000. The increase had occurred in every class in the country, and in the agricultural class most of all. In 1842, the gross expenditure of the country was £68,500,000; in 1853 it was £71,500,000; in 1859-60 it was £87,697,000; these totals including the local expenditure as well as that of the State properly so called, showing a gradual but large increase. The comparative growth of wealth and expenditure was therefore wholly unequal, and it showed the course which the country was pursuing—a course with which he was far from being satisfied. But there was a deficit of £9,400,000 to be met. He had shadowed out a budget by which with an income-tax of 1s. in the pound their object could be achieved, with a relief to the consumers of tea and sugar to the extent of the remaining portions of the war duty; or, there was a more niggardly budget, which would keep up the duties on tea and sugar, yet still leave the country liable to an income-tax of not less than 9d. in the pound. It was his intention to apply in aid of the expenditure of the year a sum of not less than £1,400,000,

which was no part of the proposed taxation of the year, but which would be obtained by rendering available another portion of the malt credit, and likewise the credit usually given on hops. The heavy income-tax which had been borne would not have been borne as it had been without discontent, but for the strength which the country had derived from the recent commercial legislation, and the confidence of the nation in the integrity and wisdom of Parliament. Slightly modifying the statement as to the absence of discontent, the right hon. gentleman said, 'I speak in general terms. Indeed, I now remember that I myself had, about a fortnight ago, a letter addressed to me complaining of the monstrous injustice and iniquity of the income-tax, and proposing that, in consideration thereof, the Chancellor of the Exchequer should be publicly hanged!'

Enforcing the duty of the Government to take further steps in the direction of relieving trade and commerce from imposts in pursuance of the principles of Free Trade (nowithstanding the difficulties which existed), Mr. Gladstone subsequently entered into calculations to show that remissions of taxation had always been accompanied by increase of revenue, consequent on the increase of trade and commerce. He then announced that he did not propose to touch the taxes on tea or sugar, which would be renewed as they then stood for one year. 'I now come,' continued the speaker, 'to the question of the commercial treaty with France. And, sir, I will at once confidently recommend the adoption of the treaty to the committee as fulfilling and satisfying all the conditions of the most beneficial kind of change in our commercial legislation.' With regard to the points of the treaty, France was to reduce the duties on coal and iron in 1860; on yarn, flax, and hemp early in 1861. On the 1st of October, 1861, the duties would be reduced or prohibition removed from all British articles, so that no duty should be higher than 30 per cent. *ad valorem*, all the staple manufactures of Britain being included. In three years afterwards the maximum duty was to be 25 per cent. *ad valorem*. England, on her part, engaged herself immediately and totally to abolish all duty on all manufactured goods from France, to reduce the duty on brandy to 8s. 2d. per gallon, on foreign wine (not merely French) to 3s. per gallon, and in 1861 still further, in reference to the strength of the wine—the lowest duty being 1s. per gallon; the charge on French articles liable to excise duty in England to be the same as the English duty. The treaty was to be in force for ten years. Mr. Gladstone denied the charge of subserviency to France brought against the treaty, and said that he was aware it would be held to bear a political character. He

thus eloquently enlarged upon the real friendship which the treaty would inaugurate between the two countries:—

'I do not forget, sir, that there was once a time when close relations of amity were established between the Governments of England and France. It was in the reign of the later Stuarts; it marks a dark spot in our annals; but the spot is dark because the union was an union formed in a spirit of domineering ambition on the one side, and of base and most corrupt servility on the other. But that, sir, was not an union of the nations; it was an union of the Governments. This is not to be an union of the Governments apart from the countries; it is, as we hope, to be an union of the nations themselves; and I confidently say again, as I have already ventured to say in this House, that there never can be any union between the nations of England and France, except an union beneficial to the world, because directly that either the one or the other of the two begins to harbour schemes of selfish aggrandisement, that moment the jealousy of its neighbour will be aroused, and will beget a powerful reaction; and the very fact of their being in harmony will of itself at all times be the most conclusive proof that neither of them can be engaged in meditating anything which is dangerous to Europe.'

Mr. Gladstone next combated the objection that a commercial treaty is an abandonment of the principles of Free Trade. That would be so in one sense if it involved the recognition of exclusive privileges. This particular treaty was an abandonment of the principle of Protection. He was not aware of any entangling engagement which it contained; and it certainly contained no exclusive privilege. 'It is a means, I hope,' the right hon. gentleman added, 'tolerably complete and efficacious, of sweeping from the statute book the chief among such relics of that miscalled system of Protection as still remain upon it. The fact is—and you will presently see how truly it is so—that our old friend Protection, who used formerly to dwell in the palaces and the high places of the land, and who was dislodged from them some ten or fifteen years ago, has, since that period, still found pretty comfortable shelter and good living in holes and corners; and you are now invited, if you will have the goodness to concur in the operation, to see whether you cannot likewise eject him from those holes and corners.' Dwelling upon the effects of the treaty, Mr. Gladstone said that the reduction on wine would cause a loss in revenue of £515,000, on brandy of £225,000, on manufactured goods of £440,000—making a total of £1,180,000. He maintained that these were not revenue duties, but were all protective duties. Statistics were quoted to show that it was desirable to make such a bargain with France as would allow of the interchange of manufactures and commodities, which was already important, and which must largely increase when France was induced to break down her prohibitory system. That which had been done would have been good for this country if France had done nothing; it was better for us in proportion as France did something. One result of the high duty on French brandy, for example, was the manufacture of an unhappy production in

the shape of a spirit called British brandy. As to wine, it was said to be the rich man's luxury, and tea the poor man's luxury; but in 1760 tea was the rich man's luxury, and sold at 20s. a pound; and by reducing the duty you might make wine the poor man's luxury. In fact, the existing duties were not merely protective but prohibitory, and there was a pressure with regard to that article which, apart from any treaty with France, would compel a dealing with the wine duties. The consumption of foreign wines in this country had greatly increased—by at least 168,000 gallons in the last year; and concurrent with that there had been a large consumption of colonial wines and even of British wines. This showed a great demand for wine, and there was reason to believe that a greater production of wines, fitted for the English market and middle and lower classes of this country, could be effected. The idea that under no possible circumstances could Englishmen like French wines ought to be exploded, there being, in fact, a great taste in England for those wines; but it was stifled by prohibitory duties, which generated a mass of evils in the shape of fraud and adulteration. The alteration in the tariff with France would tend greatly to facilitate personal intercourse with the Continent, by enabling the Customs authorities to withdraw the greater part of the annoying restraints now existing on the rapid transit of passengers and their baggage.

No passage of Mr. Gladstone's speech was more warmly applauded than the following, with its especially glowing and generous tribute to Mr. Cobden:—'Sir, I cannot pass from the subject of the French Treaty without paying a tribute of respect to two persons, at least, who have been the main authors of it. I am bound to bear this witness, at any rate, with regard to the Emperor of the French: that he has given the most unequivocal proofs of sincerity and earnestness in the progress of this great work, a work which he has prosecuted with clear-sighted resolution, not, doubtless, for British purposes, but in the spirit of enlightened patriotism, with a view to commercial reforms at home, and to the advantage and happiness of his own people by means of those reforms. With regard to Mr. Cobden, speaking as I do at a time when every angry passion has passed away, I cannot help expressing our obligations to him for the labour he has, at no small personal sacrifice, bestowed upon a measure which he—not the least among the apostles of Free Trade—believes to be one of the most memorable triumphs Free Trade has ever achieved. Rare is the privilege of any man who, having fourteen years ago rendered to his country one signal and splendid service, now again, within the same brief span of life, decorated neither

by rank nor title, bearing no mark to distinguish him from the people whom he loves, has been permitted again to perform a great and memorable service to his Sovereign and to his country.'

When the cheers evoked by this eulogium—alike honourable to the speaker and its subject—had subsided, Mr. Gladstone proceeded to unfold his supplemental measure of customs reform. It was proposed to reduce customs duties, in addition to those named, to the extent of £910,100, but to supply that sum by other impositions on trade. The duties to be abolished were those on butter, tallow, cheese, oranges and lemons, eggs, &c., which amounted to £380,000 a-year. There were to be reductions of duties on timber, currants, raisins, figs, and hops, making together £658,000; the total reduction being £1,039,000. An extension of penny taxation would be resorted to, in order to compensate this loss, and by this means £982,000 would be restored to the general revenue. The loss to the revenue by the French Treaty and reduction of duties he estimated at £2,146,000, but of this sum half was redeemed by the imposts specified.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer next announced that he proposed the abolition of the excise duty on paper. Some of the reasons advanced for this step were not very dissimilar to those which, as we have already seen, he once adduced for the retention of the duty; but the press had shown a capacity to wield its enormous power with (speaking, of course, generally) justice and purity; and Mr. Gladstone now augured the happiest results from a spread of cheap literature. Besides, not only had the duty been condemned by the Commons' House of Parliament, but it was a bad and untenable one. It operated most oppressively on the common sorts of paper, and tended to restrict the circulation of cheap literature. The materials which the duty affected were of boundless scope, as everything fibrous could be converted into paper, which was an article extensively used in sixty-nine trades. The duty on paper had closed all the small mills, and the manufacture of paper was monopolised by two or three makers. By taking off the duty it was contended that the House would promote rural labour, and so produce a beneficial effect on the poor-rates of the various districts. Mr. Gladstone mentioned in proof of this the case of a gentleman, 'second to no man in England for his enterprise,'* who a few years before had established a

* Mr. Herbert Ingram, then M.P. for Boston, and proprietor of the *Illustrated London News*. Besides its effects upon the newspaper branch of literature, it would be impossible to exaggerate the beneficial results of the repeal of the paper duty upon literature generally, through the operations of the great publishing houses of the metropolis; and amongst these the author cannot reconcile himself to omit mention of the firm through whose instrumentality this work is presented to the public. Did space permit, startling statistics could be adduced in proof of the wisdom and foresight of Mr. Gladstone's policy.

paper manufactory at Rickmansworth, with the result that within three or four years after its establishment the poor-rates were diminished in that parish by one-half. This was an argument of a nature to be readily appreciated and understood. He therefore proposed that the paper duty should be abolished from the 1st of July, allowing the usual drawback to those who had stocks on hand. It was also proposed to abolish the impressed stamp on newspapers. With this announcement he had reached the end of the remissions it was proposed to make.

It was still necessary, however, to refer to some articles which were connected with the departments of excise and taxes. With regard to hops, the system of credits would be altered. It was proposed to remove the prohibition on malt, and to fix a duty on it of 3s. a bushel. The alterations and reductions he had proposed would give a total relief to the consumer of £3,931,000, and cause a net loss to the revenue of £2,108,000, a sum about equivalent to the amount falling in from the cessation of Government annuities that year. The number of articles which would remain on the customs' tariff would be forty-eight, and next year forty-four—spirits, tea, tobacco, sugar, wine, coffee, corn, currants, and timber being the principal—only fifteen of the whole being retained for purposes of revenue. He expected to obtain £1,400,000 by taking up the malt and hop duties within the year. Mr. Gladstone then came to the last of the chief points of his budget. There was no liberty of choice but to retain the income-tax. He consequently proposed that, in order to supply the remainder of the deficit of £9,400,000, the tax should be renewed at the rate of 10d. in the pound on incomes of upwards of £150 a-year, and at 7d. below that sum; the tax to be taken for one year only, three-quarters of the year's rate to be collected within the year, which would give a sum of £8,472,000. This would bring the total income up to £70,564,000. The total charge was £70,100,000; and thus they remained with an apparent or estimated surplus of £464,000. The Chancellor of the Exchequer concluded this important and elaborate financial statement with the following peroration:—

'Our proposals involve a great reform in our tariff; they involve a large remission of taxation, and last of all, though not least, they include that commercial treaty with France which, though we have to apprehend that objections in some quarters will be taken to it, we confidently recommend, not only on moral, and social, and political, but also, and with equal confidence, on economical and fiscal grounds. . . . There were times, now long by, when Sovereigns made progress through the land, and when, at the proclamation of their heralds, they caused to be scattered whole showers of coin among the people who thronged upon their steps. That may have been a goodly spectacle; but it is also a goodly spectacle, and one adapted to the altered spirit and circumstances of our times, when our Sovereign is enabled, through the wisdom of her great Council, assembled in Parliament around her, again to scatter blessings among her subjects by means of wise

and prudent laws; of laws which do not sap in any respect the foundations of duty or of manhood, but which strike away the shackles from the arm of industry, which give new incentives and new rewards to toil, and which win more and more for the Throne and for the institutions of the country the gratitude, the confidence and the love of an united people. Let me say, even to those who are anxious, and justly anxious, on the subject of our national defences, that that which stirs the flame of patriotism in men, that which binds them in one heart and soul, that which gives them increased confidence in their rulers, that which makes them feel and know that they are treated with justice, and that we who represent them are labouring incessantly and earnestly for their good—is in itself no small, no feeble, and no transitory part of national defence. We recommend these proposals to your impartial and searching inquiry. We do not presume, indeed, to make a claim on your acknowledgments; but neither do we desire to draw on your unrequited confidence, nor to lodge an appeal to your compassion. We ask for nothing more than your dispassionate judgment, and for nothing less; we know that our plan will receive that justice at your hands; and we confidently anticipate on its behalf the approval alike of the Parliament and the nation.'

This speech occupied four hours in delivery, but it was listened to without the least sign of weariness—a result to which the character of the speaker's oratory in no small degree contributed. It was one of the peculiarities of Mr. Gladstone's budget addresses that they roused curiosity in the outset, and, being delivered in a musical, sonorous, and perfectly modulated voice, kept the listeners interested to the very close. This financial statement of 1860 was 'admirably arranged for the purpose of awaking and keeping attention, piquing and teasing curiosity, and sustaining desire to hear from the first sentence to the last. It was not a speech, it was an oration in the form of a great State paper made eloquent, in which there was a proper restraint over the crowding ideas, the most exact accuracy in the sentences, and even in the very words chosen; the most perfect balancing of parts, and, more than all, there were no errors of omission; nothing was put wrongly, and nothing was overlooked.' With a House crowded in every corner, with the strain upon his own mental faculties, and the great physical tax implied in the management of the voice, and the necessity for remaining upon his feet during this long period, 'the observed of all observers,' Mr. Gladstone took all as quietly, we are told, as if he had just risen to address a few observations to Mr. Speaker. Indeed it was laughingly said that he could address a House for a whole week, and on the Friday evening have taken a new departure, beginning with the observation, 'After these preliminary remarks, I will now proceed to deal with the subject matter of my financial plan.'

The Chancellor of the Exchequer's great scheme was not to pass unchallenged. He had brought forward proposals conceived in a large and liberal spirit—proposals in which neither the rich nor the poor were forgotten; proposals which provided for a remission of taxes upon the simple necessaries of life, and which gave a large stimulus to trade and industry. But no budget yet

produced ever gave satisfaction, in all points, to every class of the community: the shoe necessarily pinches somewhere. The budget of 1860 accordingly had its opponents. The shipowners condemned it because it failed to place the shipping of both countries on the same footing; the licensed victuallers organised a movement for opposing the licences for eating-houses; and several minor details were objected to; but on the whole the scheme was favourably viewed by the country. The Manchester Chamber of Commerce, followed by other Chambers, petitioned the House of Commons to pass the budget with all convenient speed; and at a meeting of the Lancashire Reformers' Union Mr. Bright warmly expressed his approval of it.

The Opposition made one strong formal attack upon the budget and the treaty. Mr. Du Cane, who had given notice of a motion impeaching the principle of the budget, was induced to postpone it; and Mr. Disraeli brought forward a resolution to the effect that 'this House does not think fit to go into committee on the Customs Acts, with a view to the reduction or repeal of the duties referred to in the treaty of commerce between her Majesty and the Emperor of the French, until it shall have considered and assented to the engagements in that treaty.' The right hon. gentleman attacked the treaty, attacked the Government, and attacked Mr. Cobden. 'The treaty bears marks,' he said, 'of the idiosyncrasy of the negotiator.'

Mr. Gladstone retorted that he did not know what the resolution meant, and he did not believe Mr. Disraeli himself knew what it meant. He ridiculed the latter's attributing to the Government a course which had caused the Queen to commit an illegal act, and to make an attack on the constitutional privileges of the House of Commons. He repudiated the charitable protection of inadvertence offered to him by the leader of the Opposition, and rejected his proposition. The precedent of Mr. Pitt had been followed in every respect, and Mr. Disraeli was wrong both in his facts and his arguments with regard to the course taken by Mr. Pitt in 1786. At the conclusion of the debate there appeared—For Mr. Disraeli's motion, 230; against, 293—majority for the Government, 63. Mr. Gladstone was exceedingly buoyant, and even triumphant, in his speech in answer to Mr. Disraeli; he had the advantage of a strong case. One of the journals at the time remarked that the Chancellor of the Exchequer 'won his Magenta gallantly, and with extraordinary damage to the enemy. The battle has been renewed, and is raging while we write, but the Opposition army is dispirited and charges languidly, and all seems tending towards a Ministerial Solferino. Mr. Gladstone distinguished himself in the first

engagement by a feat of arms of the most brilliant character, and none of his own Homeric heroes could have more terribly "poured in thunder on the foe." Dropping martial metaphor, it may be said that the best debater in the House of Commons delivered, in answer to Mr. Disraeli—no unworthy antagonist—a speech in which the lucidity of the argument was worthy of the powerful declamation of the orator. When Mr. Gladstone addresses himself in his best manner to his work, as he did upon the occasion in question, the House of Commons is justly proud of its illustrious member. Sometimes, like Burke,

> "He goes on refining,
> And thinks of convincing while they think of dining"

(or rather of dividing, for he seldom throws himself away upon the *Impransi*); but there was no such waste of thought upon this occasion, when he closed with his adversary like a man who meant mischief;—and he did it. Mr. Disraeli knows best whether it was wise to get his forces so exceedingly well beaten at the beginning of the financial campaign; but that is his affair and Prince Rupert's.'

Mr. Du Cane subsequently brought forward his motion, affirming the inexpediency of any remission of duties, and the disappointment which would be caused throughout the country by the reimposition of the income-tax at an unnecessarily high rate. The debate was continued through three sittings, and towards its close Mr. Gladstone replied to the principal arguments urged against his financial scheme. With considerable power and vivacity, he vindicated the policy of the treaty with France, which he considered would do more to unite the two countries in the bonds of amity than any measure that could be adopted. The division showed an increased majority for the Government, the numbers being—For Mr. Du Cane's amendment, 223; against, 339—majority for the Ministry, 116. A futile attempt was afterwards made to retain the paper duty.

The budget, nevertheless, was not safe yet. Several of its leading provisions were repeatedly attacked—as, for example, the remission of wine duties and the reimposition of the income-tax—and on the order for the third reading of the Paper Duty Repeal Bill, Sir S. Northcote moved that the existing state of the finances of the country rendered it undesirable to proceed further with the measure. The Opposition mustered strongly, but the supporters of the Government, probably thinking the bill safe, did not attend to vote in large numbers, the figures being—For the third reading, 219; against, 210.

As this budget of 1860 is the most important with which Mr.

Gladstone's name is associated, some reference must be made to the opposition which arose out of doors to one of its most important provisions, before the scheme finally passed the House of Commons. The turning point of the Chancellor of the Exchequer's success in the matter of the paper duty was the provision to repeal not only the paper duty at home, but the duty upon foreign paper coming in; which was the provision practically settling the matter, inasmuch as the large paper-makers at home could not compete with the foreign manufacturers, who would not allow their rags to come into the English market. This provision, whilst it served to turn the flank of the opposition, did not immediately disarm the hostility of the small section of protective paper-makers in this country, and a paper warfare ensued.* The real state of the case, however, was well exposed in one of the daily journals. The Government, in abolishing the excise duty on paper, proposed (as above stated) also to abolish the import duty of 1½d. per lb. hitherto charged on paper brought into the United Kingdom from abroad, and to establish, so far as England was concerned, entire free trade in that commodity. The effect of this undoubtedly was to expose our own paper-manufacturers to foreign competition. But paper of the highest class had hitherto been made chiefly from rags, which thus became an important article of commerce; and the French Government, while doing away with the prohibition which had so far prevented our getting any rags at all from France, intended to levy a tax on their exportation. The effect of this would be to make rags cheaper in France than in England, and consequently the manufacture of paper cheaper; and as French paper was to be admitted without duty, our manufacturers complained that they would be exposed to an unfair and ruinous competition. Such was the nature of the arguments advanced by the protectionist section on this question. In reply, it was asked, looking at the question from a consumer's point of view, whether we were to allow French blunders of a protective character to control British legislation? Mr. Gladstone was asked to lay an import duty on French paper, in order to make English paper dearer than it otherwise would be, and enable English paper-makers to get a higher price than they would have to pay if we allowed the free importation of paper from France. This would have been an abandonment of the principles of Free Trade, of which we had hitherto boasted. In fact, as the French Treaty reserved to us the right of laying an

* The literature upon this subject was most voluminous; but the arguments of the Protectionist minority were fully and effectively answered by some of the leading publishers, as well as by the daily journals, which almost unanimously supported the budget propositions.

import duty on French goods sufficient to counterbalance any excise duty which might be levied in England on the same articles, consequently the abolition of the excise duty on paper required us to admit French paper duty free. If the counter-proposition had been adopted, it would have upset the treaty. It was merely a desire on the part of the few leading paper-makers who were foremost in the powerful phalanx of resistance to be saved from the proposed effects of foreign competition. Immediately Mr. Gladstone perceived the full bearing of the question, and the effect his measure must produce on this opposition, he resolved upon pushing forward his comprehensive propositions; and we have seen that, after considerable opposition, his financial scheme passed the Commons in its entirety.

But the question now arose, What will the Lords do? will they consent to the repeal of the paper duty? Unfortunately, they resolved upon the rejection of the measure. Lord Monteagle gave notice of a hostile motion to this effect, and Lord Derby stated his intention of supporting it. Immediately upon the announcement of this resolution by the Conservative chief, an influential deputation waited upon his lordship to procure a reconsideration of his decision. Lord Derby himself was surprised at the numbers and importance of those forming the deputation, which included representatives of literature and journalism, as well as some of the leading publishing houses in the metropolis.* A memorial, adopted at a public meeting held at St. Martin's Hall, was presented to his lordship, protesting against the course he had intimated it to be his intention to take. In reply, Lord Derby made a remarkable statement. He said that in 1858 and 1859, as he had been reminded, he had expressed his own opinion that the tax was objectionable, and that it was desirable it should be repealed as soon as the state of the revenue would permit it; and the question between himself and the deputation was whether the present state of the revenue and the financial prospects of the country admitted of the Legislature taking a step which he would assume, for the sake of argument, to be beneficial in itself.

This admission was a virtual condemnation of Lord Derby's own course; for Mr. Gladstone, as the administrator of the national finances, was certainly best able to judge whether those finances would stand the strain of repeal. Lord Derby made the

* It may be stated that amongst those comprising the deputation were Mr. Ewart, M.P., Mr. Ingram, M.P., Mr. Crawford, M.P., and Mr. Serjeant Parry. The last-named gentleman presented the memorial, adding some remarks, and the case for repeal was forcibly and exhaustively placed before Lord Derby by Mr. Ewart, Mr. G. William Petter, Mr. F. Evans, and some other speakers.

further acknowledgment that not only must the House of Commons originate all taxes that are to be imposed, but that the House of Lords had no right to modify a tax in the slightest degree. The proposed rejection of the Paper Duty scheme was therefore diametrically opposed to Parliamentary usage and practice, and to the rights of the people. Lord Derby could not defend the tax on its intrinsic merits; and, moreover, while its abolition was a positive and undeniable good, its retention under any circumstances could not be very long.

Before the division in the Upper House was taken, Mr. Bright attended a great public meeting, held to protest against 'the usurpation, proposed by Lord Derby to the House of Lords, in the retention of the tax upon paper, independent of the House of Commons and the Crown.' The hon. member for Birmingham denied the right of the House of Lords to supersede a vote of the Commons, who had the right—the sole right—of voting money for the service of the Crown. The step was an attack upon liberty, upon the dignity and rights of the House of Commons. If the Government tamely submitted they would lose the confidence of the country. 'And who would come in?—the old thing over again: Derby in one House, Disraeli in the other—men who appear to have no principle. Wherever you see them travelling, if you study with the minutest investigation their political Bradshaw, you will find that every line converges to one point, which is Downing Street.' The constitutional question he declared to be worth a hundred times the excise duty upon paper.

When the bill came on for second reading in the House of Lords, notwithstanding, evil counsels prevailed, and it was rejected by the large majority of 89. Mr. Gladstone was now face to face with the gravest constitutional crisis in his career—not excepting, perhaps, that which subsequently arose respecting the abolition of Purchase in the Army.

It was held by many—and those unquestionably the great majority in the country—that the rejection of the bill by the Lords, if sustained, would establish a marked precedent for the future. The minority again, looking at the question in what they deemed to be a practical light, regarded the decision of the Lords as wise and prudent. Eventually, the House of Commons appointed a committee to draw up a report on historical precedents in the matter; and on the 5th of July Lord Palmerston moved the following resolutions:—'1. That the right of granting aids and supplies to the Crown is in the Commons alone, as an essential part of their constitution, and the limitation of all such grants as to matter, manner, measure, and time

is only in them. 2. That although the Lords have exercised the power of rejecting bills of several descriptions relating to taxation by negativing the whole, yet the exercise of that power by them has not been frequent, and is justly regarded by this House with peculiar jealousy as affecting the right of the Commons to grant the supplies, and to provide the Ways and Means for the service of the year. 3. That to guard for the future against an undue exercise of that power by the Lords, and to secure to the Commons their rightful control over taxation and supply, this House has in its own hands the power so to impose and remit taxes and to frame bills of supply that the right of the Commons as to the matter, manner, measure, and time may be maintained inviolate.' His lordship said that as the House of Lords had been encouraged by the diminution of the majority in the Lower House—which had fallen from 53 on the second to 9 on the third reading—it would be better for the Commons to satisfy themselves with a mere declaration of their constitutional privileges. The resolutions were carried.

Mr. Gladstone, in speaking upon them, said that while the resolutions did all that language could do to defend the honour of that House, he was prepared to go further, and to reserve to himself the right of acting. The precedents quoted had not touched in the slightest degree the case under consideration; for there was a great difference between the House of Lords advising an alteration in a money bill and rejecting the repeal of a tax. The House of Commons had declared that they could spare from the revenue of the country £1,125,000 of the taxation, and having an option between the tea and the paper duties as to which they should remit, they chose that which they believed would prove more beneficial to the country, though, perhaps, not the most popular. The result had been that the House of Lords had chosen to assume to themselves the power of dictating to the House of Commons, and of saying that the country could not spare such a remission of taxation. Mr. Gladstone maintained that the House had the undoubted right to select the manner in which the people should be taxed, and they were bound to preserve intact that precious deposit. He reserved to himself the privilege of submitting such practical measures as would give effect to the resolutions.

In the closing days of the session this important financial question was once more discussed in a House which (owing to the strenuous exertions of the Whips) numbered exactly five hundred members, including the Speaker. This was an unusual spectacle in a session already almost moribund. Mr. Gladstone moved his resolutions for the reduction of the duty on foreign

paper. The question, he said, was great in connection with important commercial principles, and obligations of honour and policy, as it related to a contract with France. Reducing the customs duty on paper to that of the excise was clearly within the sense and meaning of the treaty with France. On the ground of humanity towards the papermakers, it would be desirable to settle the question then. The obligation of the treaty was, in the opinion of the law officers of the Crown, undoubted; and in that opinion the legal authorities of France concurred. The question was also one of policy, and a touchstone was now to be applied to old and new friends of Free Trade, and that was, this very last article which claimed protection. He could not doubt that the sense of honour of the House, as well as its sense of policy, would dictate to them the acceptance of a resolution which for the last time would deal with Protection.

The first resolution was carried by a majority of 33, the numbers being—For the resolution, 266; against, 233. The cheers which followed the announcement of these figures were loud and prolonged; and when Mr. Gladstone rose to read his second resolution he was kept standing for five or six minutes, in consequence of the continued applause from the Liberal benches. With the passing of these resolutions, the constitutional question, which had given rise to so much acrimonious debate, remained in abeyance for the time, but only to be re-opened in the following session.*

In the course of this session Mr. Gladstone addressed the House on the subject of Lord John Russell's Reform Bill. This measure proposed to add to the £10 occupation franchise in counties a security that would make it a *bonâ fide* franchise, and to introduce a £6 franchise in towns, which would add (said Mr. Disraeli) about 200,000 to the borough constituency. There were also some redistribution changes in the bill, and the payment of poor-rates only was to be the condition of the vote. In the debate on the second reading, Mr. Gladstone vindicated the conduct and consistency of the introducer of the bill, as well as of the Government, upon the Reform question. The bill was brought forward in obedience to frequent pledges, and after these pledges and the expectations which had been raised, he must warn hon. gentlemen opposite of the danger of further and unnecessary delay. He ridiculed the fears of those who thought that the proposed franchise would have the effect of deteriorating the constituencies

* It was pointed out by Lord Brougham and others how great would have been the injustice and loss inflicted upon the whole body of publishers if the tax had been retained. Engagements entailing enormous expenditure had been entered upon, on the faith of the determination of the House of Commons—expressed in the outset of the struggle—to abolish the tax.

of the country; and contended, on the contrary, that the class of voters created by the bill were, by their position and intelligence, fully as capable of exercising the franchise as independently as many of the shopkeeping electors in our boroughs. The apprehensions of the £6 electors becoming so numerous as to swamp the representation of property and station in that House were, he maintained, utterly unfounded and delusive.

The bill was read a second time without a division; but finding it impossible to carry it through both Houses this session, Lord J. Russell withdrew it.

It is refreshing, for the moment, to turn from the arena of politics, and to regard Mr. Gladstone in another capacity, and one in which he has appeared on several occasions during his lengthened career. On the 16th of April, 1860, he was installed as Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, receiving previous to the installation the degree of LL.D. Having been formally introduced as Rector of the University by Sir David Brewster, Mr. Gladstone delivered the customary address. The right hon. gentleman began by stating that he intended to speak to the assembled students of the work of the University as a great organ of preparation for after life, with the view of assisting them in arming themselves for the efforts and trials of their career. Every generation of men, it was said, as it traversed the vale of life, laboured under that which succeeded it, and accumulated new treasures for the race. No small part of that treasure was stored, and no small part of that part was performed by universities, which had been entitled to rank among the greater lights and glories of Christendom. Mr. Gladstone then described the work of the University as covering the whole field of knowledge, human and divine; the whole field of nature; the whole field of time, in binding together successive generations as they passed in the prosecution of their common destiny; aiding each to sow its proper seed and to reap its proper harvest from what had been sown before; storing up into its own treasure house the spoils of every new venture in the domain of mental enterprise; and ever binding the present to pay over to the future, at least, an acknowledgment of the debt it owed to the past. In the olden history of the universities, they were to knowledge and mental freedom what the castle was to the feudal baron—what the guild was to the infant middle classes. The universities were a great mediating power between the high and the low—the old and the new; between the speculative and the active; between authority and freedom. In countries which enjoyed political liberty, the universities were usually firm supporters of the established order of things; but in countries under

absolute government they required a bias towards innovation. After some remarks on the proper work of universities, Mr. Gladstone noticed the difficulties attending the question, how far endowments for education were desirable, urging upon students and teachers the duty of bestirring themselves in their own persons to refute the charge that endowments of universities gravitated towards torpor as their natural termination. The new Lord Rector finally impressed upon the students the importance of the acquisition of those particular forms of knowledge which would be directly serviceable to them in their several professions, and the value of the study of ancient literature, as affording the most effective intellectual training.

Thus closed an address whose special characteristic was its great practical value.

CHAPTER XV.

FINANCIAL STATEMENTS OF 1861-63.

The Results of Free Trade—England's Foreign Relations—Mr. Gladstone's Post Office Savings Bank Bill—Church Rates—The Affairs of Italy—Speech of Mr. Gladstone—The Budget of 1861—Effects of the French Treaty—Character of the Financial Statement—The Paper Duty—Its Repeal Opposed—Attacks on the Chancellor of the Exchequer—The Bill passed—Mr. Gladstone's Mission to the Ionian Islands—Financial measures of 1862—Their Scope and Character—Another Debate on the Affairs of Italy—Mr. Gladstone's reply to Sir George Bowyer—The Confederate States of America—Indiscreet Utterance of the Chancellor of the Exchequer—Presentation to Mr. Charles Kean—The Budget of 1863—Application of the Surplus—Proposed Taxation of Charities—The Scheme abandoned—Debate on the Income-tax—Dissenters' Burials Bill—The International Exhibition Building.

THE sagacity of the statesmen who, through evil report and good report, had remained the steadfast friends of the principles of Free Trade, was strongly attested in the year 1861. The harvest of the preceding year had failed, and the most lugubrious vaticinations of poverty and distress were indulged in by those who had alike opposed the great measure of Sir Robert Peel and the Commercial Treaty with France. These prognostications were defeated, and England discovered that Free Trade, which had been described as the parent of innumerable evils, was her saviour in the period of national crisis. The removal of the restrictions which had hitherto impeded the free interchange of commodities with other countries, now operated in a most salutary manner, when the country was driven, by her enlarged necessities, to the resources of a foreign supply; and Free Trade exercised a healthful influence in many other respects upon English industry. Under other circumstances, the scarcity of the harvest and the fetters upon trade would have seriously crippled the country at this juncture; but the working classes especially now experienced the most beneficial results from the removal, by the Legislature, of a pressure that must long otherwise have retarded the internal progress of the Empire.

When the session opened, the relations of England with foreign Powers were friendly and satisfactory; and though events of great importance were transpiring in Italy, it was hoped that the

moderation of the Powers of Europe would prevent any interruption of the general peace. The Speech from the Throne announced that the operations of the allied forces in China had been attended with complete success. With the occupation of Pekin, an honourable and a satisfactory settlement of all the matters in dispute had been procured. Serious differences had arisen amongst the States of the North American Union, but it was hoped that these differences might still prove susceptible of a pacific adjustment.

In the House of Lords, the Earl of Derby strongly condemned the policy of the Government with regard to France and Italy—a policy which he described as placing on the shoulders of the people 'an amount of taxation absolutely unprecedented in time of peace, and only made more intolerable by the financial freaks of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.' To this attack upon Mr. Gladstone, the records of the session of 1861 furnish the best of all possible answers—an eminently practical one. The Chancellor of the Exchequer again proceeded with his legislation on behalf of the people, and only three days after the speech of Lord Derby in the Upper House, he brought forward in the House of Commons the preliminary resolutions on which he designed to found his new Post Office Savings Bank Bill. The object of this measure was to give increased facilities for the deposit of small savings to those who now only possessed imperfect ones, through the medium of the savings-banks. Whereas, up to that time, the savings-banks could only afford limited accommodation for small depositors, there being only 600 in England and Wales—which opened only on two days in the week—the post-offices, of which he proposed now to avail himself, numbered 2,000 or 3,000, and were open every day in the week, and for ten hours each day. The plan would be worked through the Postmaster-General, and the functions of the commissioners would be simply to receive the deposits. The Government proposed to offer the working classes £2 10s. per cent. interest on their deposits, without any expense to the public. The system was intended to be self-supporting. There was nothing in the project to give it the character of a national bank. Mr. Gladstone then moved a resolution to provide for the payment out of the Consolidated Fund of any deficiency which might arise from the establishment of Post Office Savings Banks. It would be impossible to overestimate the advantages which have accrued to certain classes of the community from the legislation thus initiated.

Taking the most important occasions upon which Mr. Gladstone addressed the House during this session in their natural order, we find that, before the close of February, he took part in the

discussion on the vexed question of Church rates. Sir John Trelawny had once more introduced his Church Rates Abolition Bill, and on a proposition to defer the bill for six months, or virtually to reject it, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said there was a growing persuasion that it would be for the credit of the legislature to bring this contentious matter to an end. He did not regard the present bill as one calculated to effect a settlement. The people of England were not prepared to part with the union of Church and State, which was one of the avowed objects of the abolition of Church rates. Abolish Church rates, and the support of the fabric of the Church in the rural districts would be at an end. Dissenters in the main were congregated in the populous parishes, and the offer was made to them to exempt themselves from the rate if they pleased; but they did not please. Accepting Church rates as the means of providing religious worship for the great majority of the poor, were they to be abolished for the sake of a minority who declared they had a grievance from which they would not accept exemption? Mr. Gladstone concluded by suggesting that an arrangement might be made to accept the power of a majority of a parish to reject or agree to Church rates as a right, at the same time allowing a parish also to tax itself by the will of the majority. He should deeply regret if no agreement could be arrived at; but he thought that the House of Lords, in rejecting these bills from time to time, occupied a strong, and perhaps impregnable position, and he felt it his bounden duty to vote against the second reading of the bill then before the House.

Mr. Bright complained that in effect Mr. Gladstone's proposition was no more than what the existing law amounted to, viz., that where you could not get Church rates you were to let them alone, and where a majority was in favour of them they were to prevail. The bill was carried by 281 to 266. In the majority were Lords Palmerston and Russell, and other members of the Government, but Mr. Gladstone voted in the minority.

The debates which arose in both Houses on the progress of events in Italy demand some notice. The cause of the ex-King of Naples had certain defenders in England, who likewise scouted the notion of a united Italy. Victor Emmanuel was strongly condemned for supporting Garibaldi in Sicily, and approving the invasion of Naples. Mr. Roebuck predicted that if Garibaldi attempted to do in Venetia what he had done in Sicily and Naples, he would be hanged within a week. In the House of Commons, upon the motion for going into committee of Supply on the 4th of March, Mr. Pope Hennessy rose to call attention to the 'active interference of the Secretary of State for

Foreign Affairs, in promoting Piedmontese policy,' and to the effect of that policy in increasing the national burdens in Piedmont, in the decline of its trade and commerce, the waste of the population in predatory war, and the consequent decay of agriculture. The speaker contrasted this state of things with the alleged flourishing condition of the Papal dominions in these several respects.

Mr. Hennessy's resolution gave rise to the most exciting debate of the session. Mr. Layard maintained that the policy of her Majesty's Government in regard to the affairs of Italy was in accordance with the sentiments of the large mass of the English people. He entirely sympathised with the Italian people. Sir George Bowyer took the opposite view, alleging that by our support of the ambitious designs of the Emperor of the French we were paralysing all our European Allies. The Government policy had destroyed that prestige of honour and justice which used to attend the British flag. That flag now inspired distrust and apprehension in the minds of sovereigns and nations, and encouraged none but the revolutionary party in Europe, who were the unprincipled tools of the unbounded ambition of the French Emperor.

These speeches drew forth some impassioned replies on the second night of the debate. The eloquence of Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone especially roused the feelings of the majority of the House to a high pitch of enthusiasm. The picture of Venice drawn by the former was very graphic. 'Venice,' he said, 'is not Austrian; it is certainly Italian; but it is trampled under foot by Austria, and held in subjection by 10,000 bayonets, by a race foreign to Italy in language, sympathies, and feelings. Do not tell me that this state of things can last. Venice may be trodden down and ground into the dust, but they cannot destroy her nature, nor change her from what she is. Venice is Italian!

> "States fall, arts fade, but Nature doth not die,
> Nor yet forget how Venice once was dear,
> The pleasant place of all festivity,
> The revel of the earth, the masque of Italy!"

That is what Venice was. What is she now? See her "in her voiceless woe;" see her palaces crumbling into ruin!'

But the most crushing retort to Sir George Bowyer and his friends came from the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He began his speech by saying that if the debate had been confined to criticisms of the King of Sardinia, or if it concerned only the policy of the English Foreign Minister, he should have remained silent, because that policy was one which commanded approval far beyond the limits of party connection, far beyond the walls

of that House, far beyond class or interest. He believed it to be stamped with approval throughout the body of the people of England, from the greatest to the least. But Sir George Bowyer and Mr. Hennessy had extended the subject of debate, and raised a great issue. They had called upon the House to lament the foreign policy of the Government, which they alleged was founded on injustice and could not prosper; and they also said that the cause which we favoured in Italy was the persecution of righteous governments. The member for Dundalk had asserted that a revolution which the people of England looked upon with wonder was the result of a wicked conspiracy carried on by an unprincipled king and a cunning Minister; and that the people of Naples, governed by benignant laws wisely administered, were devoted to their sovereign. Mr. Gladstone then went on to show how the Constitution of Naples had been trodden under foot, and detailed the melancholy history of the sufferings of the people since the late king had so shamelessly set aside and violated the constitution he had sworn to maintain. Referring to 'that miserable monarch' Francis II., and the courage he was said to have manifested during the siege of Gaeta, the right hon. gentleman remarked, 'It is all very well to claim consideration for him on account of his courage, but I confess I feel much more admiration for the courage of the hon. member for Dundalk (Sir G. Bowyer) and the hon. member for King's County (Mr. Pope Hennessy); for I think I would rather live in a stout and well-built casemate listening to the whizzing of bullets and the bursting of shells, than come before a free assembly to vindicate,'—here Mr. Gladstone was interrupted by the loud cheering of members, and for some time he was unable to complete the sentence. When allowed to proceed, he added, 'than to vindicate such a cause as that which those hon. gentlemen have espoused.' Francis II. had ascended the throne under circumstances unusually favourable, but he had added to the long roll of crimes for which the day of retribution was at hand.

Adverting to the government of the States of the Church, Mr. Gladstone detailed various cases of outrage and executions in the Romagna, long before the late revolution—acts which, whether perpetrated by their own Government or by a foreign soldiery, would naturally and justly exasperate the most patient people. Wanton and deliberate murders at Perugia the speaker established by documentary proofs, and he supplemented these with details of particular instances of illegal executions in Modena, the favourite and pet state of Austria, under the late 'paternal' government. Italy owed much to England, and a heavy debt of gratitude to France; but neither of these countries,

nor even Victor Emmanuel, had created Italian unity: it was the policy which had been pursued by Austria towards Italy that was responsible for this consummation. Mr. Gladstone closed with this felicitous reference to the manner in which the revolution in Italy had been accomplished:—'Never were changes so great and important effected with so little to raise a blush on the cheeks of those who promoted them. They recall to my mind the words with which Mr. Fox greeted the first appearance of the French Revolution, when he said that it was the most stupendous fabric that had ever been erected on the basis of human integrity in any age or country of the world. Sadly indeed was that prophecy falsified by subsequent events from causes which were not then suspected; but I believe the words were not far from the truth at the time when they were spoken, and whether they were or not, they are the simple and solid truth in their application to Italy. For long years have we been compelled to reckon Italy, in its divided state—Italy under the friends of the Austrians, Italy the victim of legitimacy, Italy with a spiritual sovereignty as its centre—to reckon it as one of the chief sources of difficulty and disturbance in European politics. We are now coming to another time. The miseries of Italy have been the danger of Europe. The consolidation of Italy—her restoration to national life (if it be the will of God to grant her that boon)—will be, I believe, a blessing as great to Europe as it is to all the people of the Peninsula. It will add to the general peace and welfare of the civilised world a new and solid guarantee.'

The debate was continued by Mr. Maguire and Mr. Roebuck, and concluded by Lord John Russell, who vindicated his policy, claiming that it was a national one, and that the country approved it. The discussion terminated without a division. Towards the close of the session Italian affairs were once more discussed, when Mr. Gladstone strongly denied the charge of promoting revolutionary movements in Italy, which had been brought against the Ministry. He also adduced facts and circumstances in justification of his previous indictment against the Duke of Modena, as to the administration of criminal justice in his dominions.

The annual financial statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer was produced on the 15th of April. Not only was the budget awaited with great interest by the House, but an extraordinary desire was manifested by strangers to be present at its delivery. At half-past eight in the morning the doors of St. Stephen's were opened, and in less than an hour the waiting-room appropriated to those who had tickets for the Strangers' Gallery was crowded, while a long stream of persons lined both sides of

St. Stephen's Hall, in the hope that unforeseen circumstances would arise by which they could procure seats in the gallery.

At half-past four o'clock Mr. Gladstone rose in a densely crowded House. Commencing with the prefatory intimation that the retrospective portion of the statement he had to submit to the House was most unfavourable, the Chancellor of the Exchequer observed that in the previous session questions of no ordinary moment had been discussed. 'In the beautiful tragedy of Schiller, Mary Queen of Scots is made to say of herself, "I have been much hated, but I have also been much beloved;" and I think I may say with equal truth that the financial legislation of last year, while I do not mean to contend that it was not unacceptable to many, met, as a whole, with signal support from a great body of public opinion in this country.' The past year had been signalised by the commercial treaty with France, by the removal of great national burdens, and by the abolition of the last protective duty from our system; it was a year of the largest expenditure that had occurred in time of peace, while it was characterised by an unparalleled severity of the seasons. The estimate for the year 1860, excluding the charge for fortifications, was £73,664,000, while the actual expenditure was £72,842,000, leaving a balance of £822,000. In 1859 the revenue amounted to £71,089,000, and in 1860 it was only £70,283,000, making a decrease of £806,000. The actual expenditure of the year 1859-60, as stated, was £72,842,000, which, as compared with the revenue received of £70,283,000, left an apparent deficiency of £2,559,000, but with certain deductions this was reduced to an actual deficiency of £221,000. The estimate of revenue from customs, post-office, &c., was £27,457,000, and the yield was £27,522,000. Whatever might be the loss of excise in a bad year, it was gained by customs; and this was the case last year with regard to corn, which, imported under a nominal duty, produced £866,000; while the deficiency in the barley crop caused an increase of customs in the article of sugar for breweries of £54,000, and the duty on imported hops was £47,000. Tea, sugar, and tobacco had been almost stationary. Touching articles on which duty had been reduced, such as timber, &c., the reduction had been estimated to amount to £663,000, while the loss had actually been only £529,000. An abolition of the differential duties as affecting spirits, made a reduction on brandy of £446,000; but in July an additional duty had been placed on foreign spirits, which was estimated to yield £400,000, so that the reduction was to be only £46,000; and the result had been altogether a gain on spirits of £79,000. The loss anticipated by the reduction in the duty on wine was £830,000, and the actual loss had been £493,000

only. There had been a great increase in the importation of wines, including French wines; though, with regard to the latter, Mr. Gladstone argued that it was necessary for the national taste to undergo some change before the full effect of the reduction of the duty on French wines could be felt. Dealing next with the revenue from excise, he stated that it was estimated at £21,361,000, while it had yielded £19,435,000 only. The deficit arose on three articles—hops, malt, and spirits—which together represented the real sources and points of the failure of the revenue of the year.

In considering the financial condition of the country, it was necessary to advert to the growing expenditure. In 1858 the sum voted was under £64,000,000, while in 1861 it was nearly £74,000,000—an increase of £10,000,000 in three years; £9,000,000 of taxes being imposed to meet those requirements, while of temporary resources only £2,700,000 had been called in aid for that purpose. The balances in the Exchequer in March, 1861, were £6,522,000. As regarded the National Debt, £1,000,000 of Exchequer bonds had been paid off, but replaced by a new set to the same amount. The addition to the debt, exclusive of money for fortifications, was £460,000. As compared with 1853, there had been large remissions of taxation, and unfavourable seasons; but although 1860 was far worse in this latter respect, it would be found that the immediate and palpable effect of remissions of taxation presented a remarkable contrast. In 1853 there were remitted £1,500,000 of customs duties, which loss was made up, and more, by the end of that year. The gain on the year in excise duties was £900,000. In 1860 the excise ought to have produced a gain of £1,945,000, but it had only produced a gain of £265,000. But the expenditure of 1854 was, of imperial expenditure, £56,000,000; and local expenditure, £16,000,000: total, £72,000,000. In 1860 the imperial expenditure was £73,000,000, the local charge £18,000,000: total, £91,000,000, or an increase of £20,00,0000 in seven years; and he believed that there must be some reference to this cause in considering the falling off in the elasticity of the revenue.

Mr. Gladstone next dealt with the question of trade as affected by the French treaty. He was prepared to show that if the employment of the people, and other circumstances, had not been such as to yield an adequate revenue in the year, as it had actually proved to be, the condition of affairs would have been far less satisfactory but for the wise and provident legislation of Parliament. Once more he referred to the signal services rendered by Mr. Cobden, and observed, with regard to the part

taken by the French Government, 'Looking at the whole course of proceedings, from first to last, no one can conceive a more loyal, thorough, intelligent, unflinching determination than has been exhibited by the Ministers of France, under the animating spirit and guidance of the Emperor, to give full effect alike to the terms and to the principles and spirit of the treaty, not for the sake of British interest, nor with any mere wish to conciliating England, but for the sake of the interests of France.' With regard to the effect of the measures of 1860, the right hon. gentleman went on to state that the export trade of the previous year was £136,000,000 of declared value (as against £130,000,000 in 1859), and this the largest ever known. There had been an increase in several imported articles: butter, cheese, eggs, and rice gave an increase of £7,000,000 in 1860, as compared with £4,000,000 in 1859; and these were articles on which small customs duties had been abolished. The importation of corn had risen from some £17,000,000 in 1859 to £38,154,000 in 1860—a fearful proof of the failure of production in this country, but an equally cogent proof of the value of that legislation which had removed all obstruction to the importation of that article of necessity. Articles of import on which the duties still remained had been about the same. The articles on which there had been a reduction of duty last year were, in value, in 1859, £11,346,000, and in 1860, £13,323,000; while those on which the duty was abolished last year were, in 1859, in value, £15,735,000, and in 1860, £22,630,000, an increase of nearly six millions and a half.

Arriving at the estimated expenditure of the coming year, Mr. Gladstone stated its total to be £69,900,000. The revenue, assuming the continuance of the tea and sugar duties, and an income-tax, he calculated at £71,823,000, thus leaving a surplus of £1,923,000 over the estimated expenditure. The Government had come to the conclusion that it would not be justified in keeping so large a balance in hand, and it was proposed to apply it to the diminution of taxation. There were four articles which would at once present themselves for notice, namely, the tea and sugar duties, the tenth penny of the income-tax, and the paper duty. Mr. Gladstone announced, amid loud cheers, that it was proposed to remit the penny on the income-tax, which had been imposed in the preceding year. 'I think that it would be a most enviable lot,' he said, 'for any Chancellor of the Exchequer —I certainly do not entertain any hope that it will be mine— but I think that some better Chancellor of the Exchequer, in some happier time, may achieve that great accomplishment, and that some future poet may be able to sing of him as Mr. Tenny-

son has sung of Godiva—although I do not suppose the means employed will be the same—

"He took away the tax,
And built himself an everlasting name."

But the business we have before us is of a much humbler order.' The remission of the penny in the income-tax, continued the right hon. gentleman, would cause a loss in the current financial year of £850,000. Renewed plaudits greeted the announcement that it was proposed to repeal the duty on paper on the 1st of October, making a loss of revenue in the year of about £665,000. There would thus be left a surplus of £408,000. No case had been made out against the minor charges on commercial operations, and it was not proposed to remit them. The portions of the reduced income-tax, and the duty on paper, would be provided for by the China indemnity, and reductions in military estimates. It was only proposed to re-enact the income-tax and tea and sugar duties for one year. The Chancellor of the Exchequer thus concluded his statement:—

'We have seen this country during the last few years without European war, but under a burden of taxation, such as, out of a European war, it never was called upon to bear; we have also seen it last year under the pressure of a season of blight, such as hardly any living man can recollect; yet, on looking abroad over the face of England, no one is sensible of any signs of decay, least of all can such an apprehension be felt with regard to those attributes which are perhaps the highest of all, and on which most of all depends our national existence—the spirit and courage of the country. It is needless to say that neither the Sovereign on the Throne, nor the nobles and the gentry that fill the place of the gallant chieftains of the Middle Age, nor the citizens who represent the invincible soldiery of Cromwell, nor the peasantry who are the children of those sturdy archers that drew the cross-bows of England in the fields of France—none of these betray either inclination or tendency to depart from the tradition of their forefathers. If there be any danger which has recently in an especial manner beset us, I confess that, though it may be owing to some peculiarity in my position, or some weakness in my vision, it has seemed to me to be during recent years chiefly, in our proneness to constant, and apparently almost boundless, augmentations of expenditure, and in the consequences that are associated with them. . . . Sir, I do trust that the day has come when a check has began to be put to the movement in this direction; and I think, as far as I have been able to trace the sentiments of the House, and the indications of general opinion during the present session, that the tendency to which I have adverted is at least partially on the decline. I trust it will altogether subside and disappear. . . . The spirit of the people is excellent. There never was a nation in the whole history of the world more willing to bear the heavy burdens under which it lies—more generously disposed to overlook the errors of those who have the direction of its affairs. For my own part, I hold that, if this country can steadily and constantly remain as wise in the use of her treasure as she is unrivalled in its production, and as moderate in the exercise of her strength as she is rich in its possession, then we may well cherish the hope that there is yet reserved for England a great work to do on her own part and on the part of others, and that for many a generation yet to come she will continue to hold a foremost place among the nations of the world.'

Had not his budgets of 1853 and 1860 already lifted Mr. Gladstone to an equality with the great Finance Ministers of the past, his statement of 1861 would have entitled him to take this

distinguished rank. The House vibrated to his 'touch' like an instrument of music to the 'touch of genius.' As a writer in the *Daily News* observed, 'The audacious shrewdness of Lancashire married to the polished grace of Oxford is a felicitous union of the strength and culture of Liberal and Conservative England, and no party in the House, whatever may be its likings or antipathies, can sit under the spell of Mr. Gladstone's rounded and shining eloquence without a conviction that the man who can talk "shop" like a tenth-muse, is, after all, a true representative man of the market of the world.' Another writer, in the *Illustrated London News*, sketching the scene on the production of the budget, said, 'Among those who ought to be judges there is an almost unanimous opinion that, take it for all in all, this was the very best speech Mr. Gladstone ever made. As we now know, he was conscious that he had a pleasant surprise in store for those hearers who had come to listen to a woful palinode, and there was a lurking sense of triumph over his avowed opponents, and still more over his skin-deep friends, which gave a lightness and a buoyancy to his demeanour which of course spread to his audience. It even gave a raciness to his occasional flights of humour. His quotations were happy and neatly introduced, and that in Latin was loudly cheered by the gentlemen below the gangway, probably because, they not understanding it, it had a great effect upon them. But the chief merit of the speech, in reference to its object, was the remarkable dexterity with which it appealed to the tastes, feelings, and opinions of both sides of the House. At one sentence, delivered with his face half turned to the benches behind, Mr. Bright would break out into an involuntary cheer, at once both natural and hearty; while the very next moment the orator would lean, with a fascinating smile on his countenance, over the table towards gentlemen opposite, and minister to their weaknesses or prejudices with equal power and success. Indeed, at times one could not but be reminded of Sir Joshua's famous picture of Garrick between tragedy and comedy, the attitude and expression of face possessing that duality which the great limner has so marvellously pourtrayed in the picture in question. In every possible respect it was a masterpiece of oratory; and as it in the result actually led to something tangible—that is to say, to a surplus and a reduction of taxation—it was in every sense triumphant.'

Yet there was a fly (if a small one) in the pot of ointment. Although the budget was regarded generally in a very favourable light, Mr. Bentinck made a fierce personal attack on Mr. Gladstone, alleging that his policy had long been one of antagonism to British agriculture. The task of demolishing the Chancellor

of the Exchequer was, indeed, undertaken at various times during the session, both by Mr. Bentinck and Lord Robert Montagu, but the records of the House show what chance 'Thersites had in a tongue-contest with Ulysses.'

The repeal of the paper duty continued to be viewed with great disfavour by the Conservatives, and on the motion for going into committee upon the propositions of the budget on the 22nd of April, this and other parts of the financial scheme were strongly attacked. The debate lasted for four nights. It was opened by Mr. T. Baring, who urged the House to pause in the removal of any duty which would not give an impetus to the revenue, unless there was a great reduction of expenditure. Several members disputed the existence of Mr. Gladstone's surplus, and Sir S. Northcote urged that that was not a time to propose the surrender of a large amount of revenue.

Mr. Gladstone replied generally to the criticisms which had been passed upon his scheme. It had been objected that there was no surplus, and that it was the interest of a Government to make out a surplus: but there were others who had an interest in showing there was none; there were prophets last year as much pledged to a negative as he was to an affirmative. Examining in detail the calculations upon which the arguments against a surplus were founded, he pointed out their inaccuracies, and justified his own calculations. The estimate of the amount to be received from China was a perfectly sound one, and he demurred to the doctrine that the merchants were to be paid first. The inland revenue estimates had been framed with the concurrence of able and experienced officers, and he demonstrated the cautious manner in which the produce of the income-tax had been computed. The estimates were based upon the expectation of an ordinary season and ordinary circumstances, and he never had a stronger conviction than that there was likely to be an excess over the estimated revenue. As to the disposal of the surplus, he balanced the claims of tea and sugar on the one hand and paper on the other. The reduction of the duties upon articles of popular consumption was not the first object kept in view by Sir Robert Peel in 1842, but the liberation and extension of trade; this principle lay at the root of our reformed financial policy, and had governed almost every budget. He urged that the course he had taken in comprising the repeal of the paper duty with other items of the budget in one bill, seemed to him a fair and legitimate mode of meeting the difficulty which had occurred with the House of Lords, while the remission of the duty was accompanied by a reduction of the income-tax. Mr. Gladstone concluded by demanding that if his

financial scheme was opposed to the real opinion of the House, it should be declared by the test of a division, instead of being dallied with in long-drawn out and aimless debates.

The opposition did not assume the definite form of a division, but Mr. Disraeli announced that in committee he should ask the House whether any remission of indirect taxation should not take place on the duties on tea, and take the sense of the House thereon. The resolution imposing the income-tax was agreed to without a division. After an abortive amendment by Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Gladstone moved a resolution to continue until the 1st of July, 1862, certain duties on tea, sugar, and other articles of the same class as sugar, which had been popularly, though not accurately, described as war duties. He recapitulated his arguments that since 1846 remissions of duty had been proposed less for the benefit of the consumer than for the abolition of Protection and the liberation of trade. He also showed that the motion of which Mr. Horsfall had given notice—for the reduction of the duty on tea to 1s. per lb—would have a destructive effect upon the surplus by the loss of £950,000; and he referred to examples to prove the influence of postponing duties in paralysing the revenue and diminishing consumption, the consumer having to wait long before he derived benefit from the remission. The reduction might be desirable, but absurd and inflated representations had been indulged in as to the effects of the change. He maintained that the remission of duties, although non-recuperative, was in perfect harmony with the views of the late Sir Robert Peel, who desired to augment the means of employing labour. The reduction of the duty on tea would only give an impulse to foreign labour, whereas the remission of the paper duties would stimulate British labour in the manufacture of paper and the produce of agricultural fibre, while the removal of the excise regulations would relieve the trade from restrictions that operated as a check upon it by stinting and repressing enterprise. Mr. Horsfall's amendment was supported by Sir S. Northcote and Mr. Disraeli, but on a division there was a majority of 18 in favour of the Government, the numbers being —For the amendment, 281; against, 299.

The Palmerston Government undoubtedly adopted a bold course in supporting Mr Gladstone in his determination to include all the chief financial propositions of the budget in one bill, instead of dividing them into several distinct bills. This was an effectual, and, under the circumstances, a legitimate circumvention of the House of Lords in its hostility to the proposal for the repeal of the paper duty. The attitude of the Opposition in the Commons showed their chagrin over this

potent means which had been devised by the Chancellor of the Exchequer for the settlement of a vexed question. When the budget as a whole came on for second reading on the 13th of May, it was objected that such a procedure was contrary to precedent and constitutional usage, that it was intended to limit the power which the House of Lords possessed and were accustomed to exercise with respect to each bill individually of adopting or rejecting it *in toto*, and that it left them no alternative but to accept any obnoxious clause that might be inserted in the bill, or to throw the country into confusion by rejecting the entire financial proposals of the Government. Sir James Graham made a powerful defence of the Government. While admitting that the Lords had exercised an undoubted privilege in rejecting the Paper Duty Bill, he as decidedly questioned the policy of their course in refusing assent to a bill relating to finance on financial grounds. This was such an innovation on established formula from the Revolution down, that he thought the equally constituted right of the Commons to include impositions and remissions of taxation in one bill should be adopted, with a view to check any attempt at invading their independence.

Mr. Gladstone was subjected to several violent personal attacks at this juncture, and of these none was more bitter or more violent than that of Lord Robert Cecil (Marquis of Salisbury) in the House of Commons. His lordship, who could with difficulty obtain a hearing from the House, described the budget as a personal budget. 'They had no guarantee for it but the promises of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and experience had taught them that he was not a financier who was always to be relied upon.' Amid loud cries of 'Oh! Oh!' the noble Lord proceeded to say that on a former occasion he had described the policy of the Government as one only worthy of a country attorney; but he was now bound to say that he had done injustice to the attorneys. The attorneys were very humble men, but he believed they would have scorned such a course as that of her Majesty's Ministers. Here the interruptions and cries of 'Oh!' were so continuous that for some time Lord Robert Cecil was unable to continue his speech. He declared that the course which Ministers had adopted was one distinguished by all the ingenuity of legal chicane. In any other place it would be called a 'dodge.' Americanised finance was to be a consequence of Americanised institutions. He thought the House of Commons ought to mark its peculiar indignation at the way in which it had ben treated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. So long as he held the seals of office there was neither regularity in the House of Commons nor confidence in the country.

To this intemperate attack Mr. Gladstone condescended no reply; but in defending his policy a few days later, the right hon. gentleman said there had been personal matters introduced in the course of the debate which he thought it best to pass by, but legitimate criticisms upon his proposed plan with regard to the tax bills before the House he should endeavour to meet. Proceeding to discuss the constitutional question, he adduced a great variety of precedents, showing the power of combination of different provisions in the same financial measure exercised by the House of Commons to a wider extent than in the present bill. He observed that the practice was not only justified by precedent, but by reason and convenience, the several matters in the bill, essentially homogeneous, being items of one and the same account. It was the doctrine of the Constitution that to originate matters of finance was the exclusive right and duty and burden of the House of Commons, and to divide this function between two distinct and independent bodies would lead to utter confusion. Referring to Mr. Horsman's objection that the budget gave a mortal stab to the Constitution, he asked, 'I want to know what constitution it gives a mortal stab to. In my opinion it gives no stab at all; but, as far as it alters, it alters so as to revive and restore the good old constitution which took its root in Saxon times, which groaned under the Plantagenets, which endured the hard rule of the Tudors, which resisted the Stuarts, and which had now come to maturity under the House of Brunswick. I think that constitution will be all the better for the operation. As to the constitution laid down by my right hon. friend, under which there is to be a division of function and office between the House of Commons and the House of Lords—with regard to fixing the income and charge of the country from year to year, both of them being equally responsible for it, which means that neither would be responsible—as far as that constitution is concerned I cannot help saying, that in my humble opinion the sooner it receives a mortal stab the better.'

Mr. Gladstone's course was approved as constitutional by Sir William Heathcote, his colleague in the representation of the University of Oxford, and also by Mr. Walpole, chairman of the Committee of Precedents in the preceding year. The influence of these eminent Conservative members had great weight, and although Mr. Disraeli—in condemning the financial policy of the Government—said Ministers had created an artificial surplus in order that they might perpetrate a financial caprice, this protracted debate ended without a division, and the bill was read a second time. The House subsequently went into committee, after an abortive motion by Mr. Newdegate, but upon

arriving at the clause repealing the paper duty, another long discussion arose, and all the arguments before advanced against the repeal were once more repeated.

This proved to be the most critical and formidable stage at which the bill had yet arrived, and in some quarters the fall of the Government was confidently predicted. Able speeches were made from different points of view by Mr. Disraeli, Lord John Russell, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Baring, Lord Palmerston, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The last-named speaker, alluding to a conflict of opinion between Mr. Baring and Mr. Cobden, said that it was necessary to weigh the value of their comparative authority; and he contended that the latter had done more than any man living or dead to promote the principles which had brought about a state of things that had made the country as Conservative as it was said to be, while on every occasion the former had opposed those principles; therefore Mr. Cobden was best qualified to advise the House at that moment. The repeal of the paper duty was just and to be expected; it had been demanded both out of doors and in the House. Mr. Gladstone replied to the arguments advanced by his opponents, and combated the assertions which had been made, that all his principles of finance and politics were identical with those attributed to Mr. Bright, with some of which he did not sympathise. He fully sympathised with him, however, in the great commercial doctrines which had conferred such blessings on the community; and as regarded the legislation founded on those doctrines, it was not now at its initiation, but its conclusion. He anticipated and expected from the House that its decision would not only be faithful to its own former acts, but that it would contribute to the future and permanent welfare of the country.

The result of the division was awaited with great anxiety; and when the position of the tellers revealed the fact of the majority being for the Government, the announcement of the numbers was delayed for some time by the vigorous cheers of the Ministerialists. Order having been restored, the figures were found to be as follows:—Ayes, 296; Noes, 281—majority for the Government, 15. The bill passed the Commons, and was sent up to the Lords. The Duke of Rutland moved its rejection, but the Earl of Derby, under a due sense of the gravity of the position, advised that the motion should not be pressed. In doing so, notwithstanding, he indulged in a severe attack upon Mr. Gladstone. The amendment was withdrawn, and the bill eventually became law. By this means was averted one of those constitutional conflicts between the two Houses of Parliament, which are fortunately of rare occurrence in our Parliamentary history.

A discussion arose during this session respecting the results of Mr. Gladstone's mission to the Ionian Islands. Mr. Maguire moved for papers and correspondence relative to the mission, and others in continuation, affecting the subsequent administration of Sir Henry Storks as Lord High Commissioner. He alleged that the people of the Ionian Islands were not contented with the rule of England, and that information on the subject ought not to be withheld. The whole course of events up to the present time proved that annexation to Greece and the establishment of their nationality was the wish of the Ionians. He contended that England should obtain the concurrence of the other Powers to her giving up this protectorate and the annexation of the Ionian Islands to Greece. Replying to this speech, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said the Government had no desire to withhold information, but for the sake of the peace of the Islands it was not deemed advisable to produce the papers. He had not repented having undertaken his mission to the Ionian Islands, his object being to place their relations with this country on a more satisfactory footing, by the offer of institutions founded on the highest principles of constitutional liberty. The people set a high value on nationality, and he protested against that sentiment being treated with ridicule; but it had been traded in by selfish demagogues. The best classes, although desiring to hail the coming of Hellenic nationality, distinctly declared that the time had not yet arrived for its attainment; while the feeling of the great body of the people was that of kindness and even gratitude to England, and they certainly preferred her rule to that of any other foreign Power. England had no selfish interest or advantage in the retention of these Islands, but was bound to retain them in the interest of Europe. There was no evidence that Greece desired this union, even if she were herself in a different political and social position from that which she actually held. He admitted that the Government of the Islands was not free in the sense in which that word was understood in England, and there was an incongruous mixture of free and despotic institutions, which could only be remedied by reconstruction. He had offered the Ionian Islands an entirely free constitution, which had not been accepted. With the offer of the Government to produce such papers as they thought proper, the motion was withdrawn.

We have seen, in a previous chapter, that the Ionian Islands were ultimately ceded to Greece.

Mr. Gladstone's financial measures for 1862, while not involving such momentous issues as those of the preceding year, nevertheless encountered considerable opposition. Though the budget

speech of the 3rd of April proved to be another tribute to his capacity as a Finance Minister, and though it excited considerable interest, it contained no passages of special rhetorical excellence. It was a business-like statement of the monetary position of the country, with philosophical diversions upon the subject of national finance. When there are no striking novelties expected or assured, it would require more than the genius of a Pitt to make a budget enthralling. Prefacing his address by the remark that the statement he had to submit was of a simpler character than its immediate predecessors, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that the real expenditure of the past year was much greater than the estimate by means of supplementary grants in 1861 and 1862, principally in reference to the despatch of troops to Canada and a small amount to China; so that the actual expenditure of the past year was £70,878,000. The total expenditure of the year 1860-61 was £72,504,000. The revenue last year was £69,670,000. This was a decrease, taking into account circumstances connected with the financial year, of £809,000. This must be considered satisfactory, when it was remembered that in 1861-62 they had parted with three items of revenue—by reducing the income-tax 1d. in the pound, making £850,000; the paper duty, involving a loss on the last six months of the financial year of £665,000; while no malt credit had been taken up, as was the case in 1860-61, to the extent of £1,122,000. In the face of a diminished trade with America, which amounted to £12,609,000, our exports having sunk from £21,667,000 to £9,058,000—the depression arising from want of cotton—and after a harvest which, though good in quality, was deficient in quantity, there had been an increase in our sources of revenue to the extent of £1,828,000. It was not a fact that the revenue was declining. In the customs, on the first three quarters of last year there was an increase of £468,000, but in the last quarter there had been a decrease of £100,000. Yet although the gross revenue had fallen off by £609,000, the customs had exceeded the estimate by £464,000, the stamps by £130,000, taxes by £10,000, the income-tax by £15,000, and the miscellaneous by £81,000. In the excise there had been a falling off amounting to £456,000; there had been a loss on spirits, hops, and paper. With regard to the estimates, that of the China indemnity, which had been placed at £750,000, had only realised £478,000 up to September, but when the two quarters due in March were paid there would be a gross receipt of £658,000. There were other deductions which would make the whole sum actually received this year from this source only £266,000. Mr. Gladstone then stated that he estimated the

expenditure for the coming year as follows:—For the interest of the public debt, £26,280,000; the consolidated fund, £1,900,000; the army, £15,300,000; and the militia, £700,000. The navy was estimated at £11,800,000. The miscellaneous estimates were £7,819,000. The revenue departments were estimated at £4,750,000; the packet service, £916,000; and a vote for China would be asked of £500,000. The total estimate was £70,040,000 —an announcement of expenditure which created considerable surprise in the House. The estimate of total revenue would be £70,190,000, which would leave a balance of £150,000 compared with the expenditure. The question arose whether new taxes were to be imposed. He (Mr. Gladstone) had entertained not long before the hope of being able to remit taxes, but subsequently there appeared a probability of heavy expenditure, and there was now the prospect of additional taxation.

Looking to our resources, everything was favourable except as regarded our relations with America. There had been a great improvement in our exports to the United States, but it was in reference to cotton that anxiety must be felt, and the prospect in that respect was not improving. But examining the results of our trade with France since the treaty had come into operation, there had been in 1861-62 a real increase, as compared with the previous year, of £3,039,000. There had also been an increase of foreign and colonial exports in connection with the treaty, amounting to £4,572,000. The total result of the operation of the treaty for 1861-62 was over £10,000,000. It was unnecessary again to congratulate the author of the treaty, whose services would become matter of history. The Government had come to the conclusion to do without a surplus, and to impose no new taxes, reserving to themselves the privilege of taking the necessary steps to meet any contingency which might arise. There could be no remission of taxes after the figures which he had brought forward. The burdens of the country, however, would be lighter by £600,000 or £700,000. After alluding to the demands which had been made upon the Government by various interests, Mr. Gladstone indicated certain minor changes he proposed to make in the inventory duty in Scotland, a moderate charge of an eighth per cent. upon all loans raised in this country, and upon supplementary licences to publicans to supply fairs; and he then touched upon the spirit duties. There had been a falling off last year below the estimate; but as it was proved not to have arisen from an increase of illicit distillation, but from a diminished power of consumption combined with the increased sobriety of the people, it was not proposed to deal with the spirit duties. The sugar duties, being classified duties, were

unequal in their pressure; but the difficulties of removing this classification were so great that no change could be effected without a complete inquiry into the subject, and he would consequently be prepared to assent to a committee for the purpose. With regard to the malt credits, no case for a change had been made out, and an alteration would deprive the revenue of £1,300,000 a-year. The minor duties on exports and imports, while entailing an amount of labour in collection which gave them a claim to repeal, yet amounted to £182,000; and with a surplus of £150,000, it was not possible to deal with them, besides which they afforded a means to the Board of Trade of obtaining valuable statistical information. But he was willing to grant an inquiry into the subject. With regard to the wine duties, there was a favourable increase in the trade; but on the whole, it was determined to retain what was called the alcoholic test, but altering and modifying it by reducing the four scales to two, admitting all wines from 18 to 26 degrees of alcohol at a duty of 1s., while from 26 to 42 the scale would be raised from 2s. 5d. to 2s. 6d., and above 45 an additional duty of 3d. on every additional rise of strength. This would yield a net gain of £15,000 a-year to the revenue. Coming to the hop duties, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced that it was not possible to surrender duties which yielded £300,000 a-year on the average. He proposed, however, to do something in the way of commutation, by re-adjusting the system of brewers' licences and including in them a charge for the hop duty; while, at the same time, relief would be given to smaller brewers in respect of the charge for their licences. The result of this plan would be to secure to the revenue nearly as much duty as now, while it would cause a complete free trade in home and foreign hops. The customs and excise duty on hops would be repealed from next September; and it was also proposed, as regarded private brewers, to exempt from licence all brewing carried on by the labouring classes. By this financial operation, there would be a loss to the revenue of £45,000.

Having announced that the House was now in possession of the proposals of the Government, Mr. Gladstone reviewed the financial results of the past three years. He corrected an erroneous impression that the public expenditure was still growing, for that of 1861 was less than that of 1860, while in the year ensuing there was a decrease in the estimates of over £700,000. Indeed, putting aside new items of expenditure which had never been included in the estimates before, the actual diminution was £1,700,000. But the level of our expenditure still demanded attention, for it was a higher level than

could be borne with comfort and satisfaction by the people, or than was compatible with a sound condition of finance. The growth of expenditure was partly owing to the growing wants of the country; then to a sense of insecurity which had prevailed in the country; next to the influence of the establishments and expenditure of other nations; and lastly, to special demands which had arisen out of exigencies which had sprung up,—demands which were in substance, and in everything except the name, war demands. 'With respect to the state of establishments and expenditure abroad,' said Mr. Gladstone, 'I do not know whether hon. members, in their perusal of the journals and in their observation of the condition of other countries, have fully comprehended what a race the Governments of the world are running, and at what a fearful pace outside of England national obligations are now in course of accumulation.' Nearly all countries were in the same predicament, and the only flourishing budget he had seen was that of the Ottoman Empire. During the last twenty years France had added 250 millions to her debt, of which 180 millions was not attributable to war expenditure. Austria and Russia had added to their debts, and the financial year of 1861 alone had added to the State debts of all the great countries 200 millions of money. England had not added to her debt, but among extraordinary expenses there was the cost of the war with China, which had been £7,054,000. In the last three years, what might be called war expenditure, including China, New Zealand, and the despatch of troops to North America, was £8,600,000. To meet this extraordinary expenditure the income-tax had risen since 1859 by three millions, and, including the spirit duties and other imposts, there had been taxes imposed exceeding five millions. The taxes reduced or abolished amounted to over four millions. Their extraordinary resources were now at an end; and if they looked into the future, and asked themselves how provision was to be made for it, they must make their reckoning without these resources. About eleven millions had been devoted in the last three years to extraordinary expenditure, of which six millions had been met by extraordinary resources, and five millions by taxes drawn from the people. As regarded the revenue, it had increased since 1858-59 by upwards of four millions in 1861-62. We had passed through exceptional years without going into the market for loans, but—as he had remarked—all other extraordinary resources were now exhausted, and to meet casualties which might occur, it was only to ordinary sources of revenue we had to look, and any difficulty which might be anticipated was only to be met by the application of the principles of true and strict economy.

This budget was described as a strictly stationary one; the existing amount of taxation being neither increased nor diminished. Its introduction was followed by a long discussion, in which various points of the scheme were objected to; but it was not until the motion for going into committee some days afterwards that the objections assumed a tangible shape. Mr. Disraeli, as the representative of those who distrusted the financial measures of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, opened the debate by expressing his regret that the financial year should commence with only a nominal surplus. Why was there not a surplus? If the paper duty had been retained, instead of a loss of £850,000, there would have been a surplus of £1,400,000. In the years 1860-61, and 1861-62, there had been a total deficiency of £4,000,000; and in addition to this Mr. Gladstone had anticipated the resources of the country to the extent of £3,500,000. But even this was not the full extent of his prodigality, for it was done at a period when the national debt had been reduced by £2,000,000, the amount of the terminable annuities. All the rhetorical arts of the Chancellor of the Exchequer could not disguise the critical position of our finances. He maintained that the excuses offered to calm the public mind were utterly fallacious.

Mr. Gladstone, having replied to certain questions of Mr. Bass upon the new brewing licences, applied himself to the 'historical survey' of the finances of recent years by the leader of the Opposition. With regard to the protest that the mode of conducting the finances of the country was derogatory to the character of public men, the Chancellor of the Exchequer sarcastically observed, 'I will deal strictly with the speech of the right hon. gentleman, and I will endeavour to show how far he, forsooth! is trustworthy when he enters on these surveys. He does not resort to rhetorical artifices! Who ever heard him dealing in figures or sarcasms? It is plain and prosaic information which he delights to lay before the House.' The fallacy of his speech, continued Mr. Gladstone, was that which ran through his policy and that of his party—a want of dependence on the principles of Free Trade, which had given such elasticity to the resources of the country. Mr. Disraeli had erred in charging him with exhausting by anticipation the ordinary revenue, and with respect to the failure of the China receipts he met him with a positive contradiction. He had given no personal guarantee of the amount, but he had founded his estimate upon the safest authorities. He reasserted that the past two years were exceptional years. As to Mr. Disraeli's own financial calculations, in the only two cases in which he had prepared estimates, not for China, but for England

—the tax on checks and the duty on Irish spirits—he had egregiously erred; they had not realised one-third of the sums calculated upon. The repeal of the paper duty was said to be an improvident proposal; yet the opponents of that measure proposed to part with £950,000 of tea duty, which would have been so much addition to the alleged deficiency. He was well content to be called by Mr. Disraeli the most profuse Chancellor of the Exchequer on record. He was satisfied to bear any epithets of vituperation he had already produced or might produce on a future occasion. It was not difficult to bear the abuse of the right hon. gentleman, when he remembered that far better men than himself had had to suffer it. But he should be still more content if the effect of his opponent's speech was to bring the House and the country to a due sense of the gravity of the financial situation, and the necessity for a reduction of expenditure. With regard to the income-tax, he did not desire that it should be permanent; and if the country could be governed by something about £60,000,000, it could be done without —but it could not be abolished with an expenditure of £70,000,000. He did not yet despair of reduction and retrenchment, though he did not look forward to sweeping reductions.

The budget was subjected to a second close examination by Sir S. Northcote, but eventually the House went into committee. On the motion for the second reading of the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill (embodying several of the budget resolutions), Sir S. Northcote again reviewed the financial condition of the country, and referred to a speech delivered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer at Manchester, in which the latter admitted that the national finances were not in a healthy state, because the public expenditure was too large. But Mr. Gladstone had added that it would not be difficult to restore our affairs to a sound condition by a reduction of expenditure, if that step should be urged upon Parliament by pressure from without. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, repudiating the construction which Sir S. Northcote had put upon his words, and denying that he had asserted the doctrines imputed to him, replied to the following charges; which he understood were brought against him:— First, that he had disclaimed responsibility for the estimates laid before Parliament; secondly, that he had not provided a proper surplus of revenue; and, thirdly, that he had taken away supplies by which a surplus would have been provided. Notwithstanding the exceptional circumstances of the time, the Government had reduced the amount of the expenditure by £800,000 to £1,000,000 a year, and would continue the same course year by

year. Sir S. Northcote must have been taken in by some vendor of scandalous stories.

The Inland Revenue Bill, after another lengthy discussion, was allowed to pass its final stage. The Lords subsequently indulged their right of criticism very fully, but the financial schemes of the Government ultimately received the sanction of Parliament.

Sir G. Bowyer once more furnished Mr. Gladstone with an opportunity of vindicating the Government and people of Italy from the charges brought against them; and this the right hon. gentleman accomplished, as stated in the journals of the day, with remarkable and convincing eloquence. On the 11th of April, on the motion for adjournment for the Easter holidays, the member for Dundalk, the ardent defender of the temporal power of the Pope, rose to call attention to the state of affairs in Italy. Sir George Bowyer had already expressed himself on this subject quite fully enough, as the House thought, judging from its attitude of mingled amusement and impatience on this occasion. The hon. member repeated his stock arguments against the recognition of the kingdom of Italy, and again informed the House that the British flag was regarded as the harbinger of revolution. Sir G. Bowyer's unrivalled capacity for ignoring the march of events was undeniable, and was generally conceded by the House and the country; and Mr. Layard had the former with him when he said that he had never heard any speech in that House which had met with so little sympathy. Mr. Layard further put the question into a nutshell, when he observed that in three short years a people previously down-trodden and humbled had raised themselves up almost to the enjoyment of full and entire liberty, and were using that liberty with wonderful moderation. This was a change as great as though the sun should beam forth at midnight. Mr. Pope Hennessy—who on these occasions was always the Pythias to Sir G. Bowyer's Damon—outdid even his friend in his prognostications. He expressed his conviction that before another debate took place on this subject in the House, the bubble of Italian unity would have burst.

Remembering now how nobly the Italian struggle ended, the most unpleasant and inconvenient reading which could be recommended to these political Cassandras is their unfulfilled prophecies of a past generation.

Mr. Gladstone began his masterly speech by observing that there was a great deal of force in the objection to a discussion in that House on the internal affairs of Italy, an act which was scarcely consistent with the respect due to a friendly power

provided with an arena of its own for such a discussion. He did not wish to use unparliamentary language, but if the words paradox and credulity were not unparliamentary, he desired to appeal to the House whether an extraordinary power of paradox and a marvellous capacity of credulity had not distinguished the whole of the address of his hon. and learned friend, Sir George Bowyer. This was shown by his statement as to the wonders which Piedmont had effected. 'But to take a particular instance,' continued the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'there is the downfall of the late kingdom of the two Sicilies. My hon. and learned friend was so kind as to ascribe to me some infinitesimal share in removing from the world the sorrow and iniquity which once oppressed that unhappy country. I should take it as a favour if the charge were made truly, but I claim or assume no such office. Here is a country which my hon. and learned friend says is, with a few miserable exceptions amongst the middle classes, fondly attached to the expelled dynasty—and what happened there? An adventurer, Garibaldi, clothed in a red shirt, and some volunteers also clothed in red shirts, land at a point in the peninsula, march through Calabria, face a sovereign with a well-disciplined army of 80,000 men, and a fleet probably the best in Italy, and that sovereign disappears before them like a mockery king of snow! And yet such is the power of paradox that my hon. and learned friend still argues for the affectionate loyalty of the Neapolitans, as if such results could have been achieved anywhere, save where the people were alienated from the throne.' It had been maintained that the kingdom of Italy was non-existent, because it had not been recognized by any European power, save England and France. Amidst the cheers and laughter of the House, Mr. Gladstone said that he would not inquire into the literal accuracy of that statement, but so far as the existence of a kingdom depended upon the recognition of European Powers, when it had got the recognition of England and France it had already made very considerable progress. Although only two years had elapsed since the revolution, such had been the progress of events, that Sir George Bowyer had practically abandoned his case as regarded two-thirds of the Italian kingdom, whilst as to the other third, Mr. Layard had shown that things were improving. He (Mr. Gladstone) regretted the continuance of the occupation of Rome; and he most earnestly hoped, for the sake of the name and fame of France, for the sake of humanity and the peace of Europe, that that occupation might soon cease. After a strong condemnation of the impolicy and injustice of prolonging the temporal power of the Pope, and a statement as to the improved prospects of

Italy, the right hon. gentleman thus concluded, by remarking upon the responsibility of the English Government:—'I do not hesitate to say that I believe a special part of the duty, I may say of the mission, of the Administration of which my noble friend (Lord Palmerston) is at the head, is to be the true expositor of the sense of the people of England on a question so vitally important as the Italian question is, both to the maintenance of every high and sacred principle, and likewise to the future tranquillity of Europe. I believe, too, so far as the judgment of England is concerned, never was that judgment pronounced on any public question at home or abroad with greater unanimity or clearness; and that there will not be any chapter of the life of my noble friend on which Englishmen will probably dwell with greater satisfaction than that in which it shall be recorded that, not now alone, but for many years past, before the question had arisen to the magnitude of its present position, through evil report and through good report, he sustained and supported the cause of Italy.'

The debate was continued by Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Maguire, and other members, and concluded by Lord Palmerston, who said that posterity would judge between the English Government and those who had been the champions and advocates of everything that was corrupt, tyrannical, and oppressive in the former institutions of Italy. To that tribunal they would fearlessly appeal for a decision in their favour.

Towards the close of 1862 Mr. Gladstone delivered a speech at Newcastle, in which he expressed his conviction that Mr. Jefferson Davis had already succeeded in making the Southern States of America, which were in revolt, an independent nation. This opinion, coming from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, caused great sensation, and pained many of Mr. Gladstone's warmest political supporters, who were staunch defenders of the North in a struggle which they regarded as virtually turning upon the Slavery question. Only a few weeks before Mr. Gladstone thus expressed himself, Earl Russell had written as follows to Mr. Mason, in reply to his claim to have the Confederate States recognised as a separate and independent Power:—'In order to be entitled to a place among the independent nations of the earth, a State ought not only to have strength and resources for a time, but afford promise of stability and permanence. Should the Confederate States of America win that place among nations, it might be right for other nations justly to acknowledge an independence achieved by victory, and maintained by a successful resistance to all attempts to overthrow it. That time, however, has not, in the judgment of her Majesty's Government,

arrived. Her Majesty's Government, therefore, can only hope that a peaceful termination of the present bloody and destructive contest may not be far distant.' Looking at the question apart from all feeling for or against the North or the South, and remembering Mr. Gladstone's position in the Ministry of the day, as well as the fact that the policy of the Government was one of neutrality, his utterance was unquestionably indiscreet. Having been interrogated on the subject on behalf of the cotton shippers, the right hon. gentleman said that his words were no more than the expression, in rather more pointed terms, of an opinion which he had long ago stated in public, that the effort of the Northern States to subjugate the Southern ones was hopeless by reason of the resistance of the latter.

Mr. Gladstone, however, not only discovered that his remarks had offended a large body of the people of this country, but lived to see that his opinion was premature and misjudged. This he fully and frankly acknowledged in August, 1867, in a letter to a correspondent in New York. 'I must confess,' he wrote, 'that I was wrong; that I took too much upon myself in expressing such an opinion. Yet the motive was not bad. My sympathies were then—where they had long before been, where they are now—with the whole American people. I probably, like many Europeans, did not understand the nature and working of the American Union. I had imbibed conscientiously, if erroneously, an opinion that twenty or twenty-four millions of the North would be happier and would be stronger (of course assuming that they would hold together) without the South than with it, and also that the negroes would be much nearer to emancipation under a Southern Government than under the old system of the Union, which had not at that date (August, 1862) been abandoned, and which always appeared to me to place the whole power of the North at the command of the slave-holding interests of the South. As far as regards the special or separate interest of England in the matter, I, differing from many others, had always contended that it was best for our interest that the Union should be kept entire.' Mr. Gladstone had committed an error of judgment, and was by no means measured in his confession of the fact.

An interesting extra-parliamentary utterance by the Chancellor of the Exchequer is recorded in March, 1862, when he acted as spokesman for the donors of a magnificent testimonial to Mr. Charles Kean. This gift to the popular actor and his wife, who had just retired from the stage, was subscribed for by Etonians, who 'desired to express their appreciation of their eminent school-fellow'—Mr. Kean having been educated at Eton.

The testimonial, which consisted of a variety of articles in silver, was presented to Mr. Kean in the great room of St. James's Hall. The Duke of Newcastle, who was to have acted as chairman, had been summoned to attend her Majesty at Windsor, and his Grace's place was supplied by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as stated. Mr. Gladstone regretted that he had rarely the opportunity of witnessing the talent of Mr. Kean or others, as his own pursuits, they were aware, were not of so agreeable a character. His time was engaged at that part of the day when such talents were exhibited; in fact, he had to 'appear' in another place at the time when Mr. Kean was to be seen pursuing his own professional duties. Referring to the question of the drama generally, and the revival of Shakespeare, the right hon. gentleman said they must look to the fact that Mr. Kean was one who had laboured in the noble and holy cause of endeavouring to dissociate the elements of the drama from all moral and social contamination. That was the work to which Mr. Kean had given many anxious years and all the best energies of his mind; and there were few who could be compared with him for pursuing the profession with all the understanding and the heart. He hoped that others would follow him in endeavouring to improve the tone and elevate the character of the English stage.

The session of 1863 promising to be barren in great legislative enactments, public interest naturally centred in the budget. A considerable surplus of income over expenditure having become a certainty, speculation was rife as to the manner in which it would be employed. The income-tax and the tea duties were the chief topics of discussion, and the enemies of both looked confidently for relief. The public mind had decreed, without Ministerial warrant, that the income-tax should be reduced to 7d., and that the 'war duties' on tea and sugar should be abolished. Outside opinion did not prove to be far wrong, and on the 16th of April Mr. Gladstone once more appeared in the character of a financial benefactor. Prefacing his statement by the observation that the causes which had given peculiar interest to the financial statements of the last few years were not such as it was desirable should be permanent, he reminded the House that a resolution had been passed to the effect, that while it was necessary to provide for the defences of the country, the burden of taxation should be dealt with by the Executive. The Government would now put in their answer to that resolution. From 1858 to 1860-61 there had been an increase of over £8,000,000 in the expenditure. The average annual expenditure from 1859 to 1863, including the charge for fortifications, was £71,195,000. Excluding

certain items which in their nature did not increase, viz., the interest of the national debt and the charge for the collection of the revenue, he found that the charge for the year 1858-59 was £31,621,000; but in 1860-61 it had risen to £42,125,000—or an increase of ten millions and a half in two years. Since 1853, that is, previous to the Russian war, the charge had increased by something like £18,000,000. This increase was called for by the public desire to strengthen the defences of the country. As regarded the Government, all he had to say for it was, that, in making the increase in the expenditure, it certainly did not outrun but rather fell short of public opinion. It was true that the state of tension in which the finances of the country had been kept for the last four years was occasioned by the policy of the Government. The estimates he had to make for the present year were hopeful, but they must be considered with regard to special circumstances, such as the condition of Lancashire. Here Mr. Gladstone interposed this just and warmly-applauded tribute to the great northern county. Towards that Lancashire, to which up to this time every Englishman has referred, if not with pride, yet with satisfaction and thankfulness, as among the most remarkable or perhaps the most remarkable of all the symbols that could be presented of the power, the progress, and the prosperity of England—towards that Lancashire we feel now more warmly and more thankfully than ever in regard to every moral aspect of its condition. The lessons which within the last twelve months have been conveyed, if in one aspect they have been painful and even bitter, yet in other aspects, and in those, too, which more intimately and permanently relate to the condition and prospects of the country, have been lessons such as I will venture to say none of us could have hoped to learn. For however sanguine may have been the anticipations entertained as to the enduring power and pluck of the English people, I do not think that anyone could have estimated that power of endurance, that patience, that true magnanimity in humble life, at a point as high as we now see that it has actually reached.' But the tale he had to tell of the material condition of Lancashire was a melancholy one. The price of cotton, which at the beginning of the previous year was 8d. per lb., had now reached 2s. per lb., so that the distress in Lancashire had reached a condition of the utmost stringency. It was with reference to this portion of the community that the balance-sheet of the year had been prepared. But there was also another cause of depression, viz., the distress in Ireland, of which the people of England had formed no adequate idea. Comparing the agricultural produce of Ireland of the various years from 1856 to 1862-63, he found that in

the last-named year it amounted to £27,327,000, being an increase of twelve millions on the figures for the previous period—equal to one-third of the whole agricultural products of the country.

These circumstances had necessarily diminished the general revenue. Coming next to the estimates for the ensuing year, Mr. Gladstone said that of expenditure amounted in the whole to £67,749,000. This, however, did not include fortifications, for which Parliament had made other provision. The estimate of the revenue for the year was taken at £71,490,000. There was an increase in the excise. There was a difference between revenue and expenditure, in favour of the former, of £3,741,000. As to the application of this surplus, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said it would probably be thought the Government ought to proceed to the reduction of taxation, and not speak of augmentation; but there were certain anomalies to rectify. It was proposed to raise the duty on chicory, so as to equalise it with that on coffee. He further announced, amid some murmurs, that clubs should henceforth pay the same duty on liquors as the keepers of hotels and coffee-houses. A person having obtained a beer licence through the medium of having first taken a spirit licence, should now pay the same duty as one who obtained it without that process. Wholesale beer merchants might, in future, under a £1 licence, sell quantities under two dozen bottles. Carriers would be subjected to one-half the duty now paid by stage-carriage proprietors. Railway companies now paid a duty of 5 per cent. on ordinary traffic, but nothing on excursion trains; there would be a general charge in future upon the whole of 3½ per cent. The duty on charitable legacies in Ireland would be assimilated to that in England. He proposed to do away with the exemption from income-tax of endowed charities, though it would be continued as far as buildings and sites were concerned. This change would produce £75,000 on the revenue of the present year, which, with other items, would be added to the surplus.

Arriving at the question of the disposition of the surplus, Mr. Gladstone said that the charge of one penny on packages of goods inwards would be dispensed with, and the charge of 1s. 6d. on bills of lading outwards would also cease at the same time. With regard to the income-tax, it was proposed to make the sum of £100 the point at which a man was taxable, and to fix that of £200 as the point at which he should come under the full force of the tax; to remove the rate of £150 altogether, and to allow the man in receipt of an income of between £100 and £200 to deduct £60 from his taxable income, which would largely reduce the

amount of the tax on a *pro ratâ* scale. After considering the various arguments in favour of a reduction, both of the tea and sugar duties, he had come to the conclusion to choose one rather than divide the reduction between them. The duty on tea would accordingly be reduced to 1s. per lb., making a diminution of revenue estimated at £1,300,000. The loss consequent on the reduction of the income-tax from 9d. and 7d. in the pound to 7d. and 6d., would be £2,350,000 per annum, while a loss would be sustained by the relief to minor incomes of £1,300,000 on the present year. There would be a reduction of 2d. in the pound on the general rate, and thus the whole remission of taxation on the year would be £3,340,000, or, reckoning the total remission, present and prospective, of £4,601,000. After these remissions, there would be left an actual surplus of some £400,000, but with that he did not propose to meddle.

Mr. Gladstone then entered into an elaborate review of the income and expenditure of the country during the preceding four years. In those years eight millions had been paid for war expenditure in China, and the charge for the reconstruction of the navy had been met, and these out of the ordinary resources of the country. Adducing statistics in reference to the trade of the country, he showed that there had been an enormous advance in the consumption of paper, fed by larger imports and a greater manufacture at home. Our trade with America exhibited a decrease of £6,000,000, but in the case of France there had been an increase of over £12,000,000. In nineteen years, during which the income-tax was imposed for the purpose of assisting the development of the resources of the country by means of the remission of taxes on its industry, there had been an extension of the wealth of the country amounting to £65,000,000 of annual income. Having instituted a comparison between the progress of Great Britain and the condition of other countries, Mr. Gladstone observed finally, 'In framing the estimates of public charge for the year, it has of course been the duty of her Majesty's Government, first and most of all, to keep in view the honour, the interests, and the security of the country; and next to that honour, those interests, and that security, the deliberate judgment given by the House of Commons in the last session of Parliament. But, subject to these considerations, as I trust I may also say, both on my own behalf and on that of my colleagues, it is to us matter of additional satisfaction, after reading the eloquent denunciation of the Finance Minister of France, if, while we submit a plan which offers no inconsiderable diminution of the burdens of the people, we can also minister ever so remotely to the adoption of like measures in other

lands; if we may hope that a diminished expenditure for England will be construed across the Channel as the friendly acceptance of a friendly challenge, and that what we propose, and what Parliament may be pleased to accept, may act as an indirect, yet powerful, provocative to similar proceedings abroad. Gratifying it must ever be to the advisers of the British Crown that the British people should enjoy an alleviation of their burdens; but, over and above the benefit to them, and the satisfaction to us, there will be a further benefit, and a further pleasure, if we may hope that we are allying ourselves with, and confirming such tendencies as may exist elsewhere on behalf of peace, of order, and of civilisation, and that we are assisting, in however humble a degree, to allay unhappy jealousies, to strengthen the sentiments of goodwill, and to bring about a better and more solid harmony among the greatest of the civilised nations of the world.'

Mr. Gladstone spoke for three hours, and for the first time one of the Queen's sons—Prince Alfred, accompanied by Prince Louis of Hesse—attended the delivery of a budget speech. Upon its conclusion, Mr. Disraeli had nothing to urge against his rival's scheme. Indeed, as soon as the Chancellor of the Exchequer arrived at his survey of the trade and resources of the country, the leader of the Opposition left the House.

The two leading features of the budget—the remissions on the tea duty and the income-tax—were very popular with the country. Minor details were of course objected to by those classes whom the changes directly affected, the proposed extension to clubs of the licence duties paid by hotel and coffee-house proprietors offending an influential class, whose opposition eventually resulted in the proposal being withdrawn. But the proposition in the budget which excited the greatest hostility was that removing the exemption of charities from the income-tax. On the 4th of May, one of the largest and most influential deputations which have ever waited upon a Minister of State had an interview with Mr. Gladstone, to urge upon the right hon. gentleman the injustice and the impolicy of extending the property-tax to the funded property of charitable institutions. The Duke of Cambridge, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and others, having expressed their views as to the injurious consequences of the proposed measure, the Chancellor of the Exchequer replied that it would be his duty to state to the House of Commons the reasons upon which the motion of her Majesty's Government was founded. They would leave it to the opinion of the House whether their proposal should receive its free sanction.

The same evening, from his place in the House of Commons,

Mr. Gladstone made a powerful defence of his proposition. While he did not affect to disguise his knowledge of the opposition which had been raised against his scheme, and while expressing his opinion that the course he had taken was a wise and prudent one, he admitted that it ought not to be adopted without the full concurrence of the House. The question was not understood, and he desired to call attention to the nature of the exemptions it was proposed to remove. As to the character of the charities sought to be dealt with, nineteen-twentieths of them were death-bed bequests; a species of bequest which the law did not favour, and which were essentially different from charities, properly so-called, which were subject to taxation. He objected to immunities which encouraged men to immortalise themselves as founders. The loss to the State, of the exemptions in question, was £216,000 a-year; while there was a large and growing charge upon the public funds connected with the administration of charities, amounting to about £45,000 a-year; and with other items, the whole loss to the State was nearly half-a-million per annum. He then analysed the charities in three groups—small, middle, and large—affirming that amongst the small there was hardly one which, in itself, was deserving of the toleration of the House, and which had not been condemned by three separate commissions of inquiry, as tending to pauperise people who seek them, and to compromise their independence and self-respect. The middle charities, which were distributed in money only, were in the main not charities in the strict sense of the term; while as regarded the larger charities, they were full of abuses, and often mere vehicles for patronage, and were not fit subjects for exemptions, which, in fact, amounted to grants of public money. 'We propose this measure,' said Mr. Gladstone, 'not as one of financial necessity, but as a just measure. I shall not revert to the hard words which have been applied, but of this I am sure, that no person would have given it a more cordial and conscientious support than the colleague whom we all on this bench so deeply lament;* and of whom it may be said, as it was said of one of old—

"Justissimus unus
Qui fuit in Teucris et servantissimus æqui."

We propose this as a just, as a politic measure. We do not presume as a Government, by any means which a Government might dream of, to press it on an adverse House. The House is responsible; we do not wish to show undue obstinacy; we defer to its opinions; but we reserve to ourselves the power of deciding

* Sir George Cornewall Lewis, who (as we have already seen) had filled the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

upon the way in which this question is at a future time to be considered. We have proposed this measure to the House as consistent with every principle which has governed administration for the last twenty years; as being just to the taxed community, and fair to the labouring poor; favourable to the great object of elevating their character, as well as of improving their condition. In proposing this measure we feel ourselves impregnable and invulnerable to all rude reproaches, and we recommend it to the courage, the wisdom, and the justice of the House of Commons.'

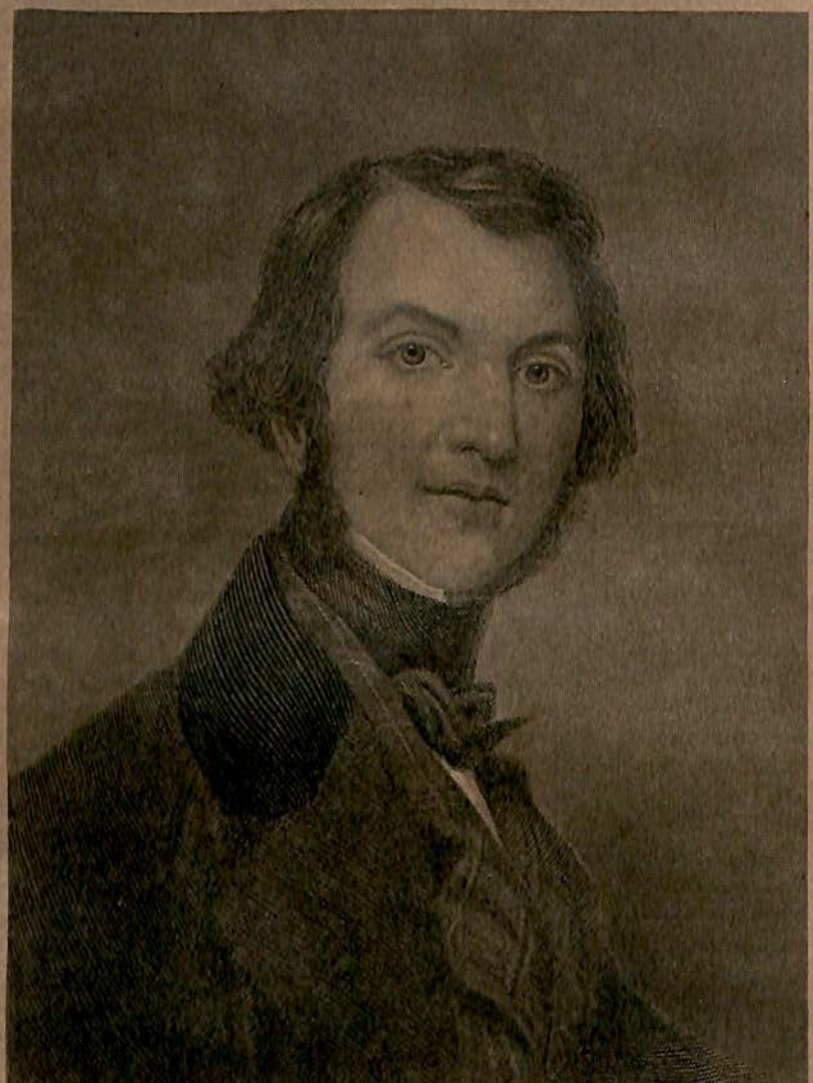
Mr. Gladstone had financial and substantial justice on his side in making this proposal, and Lord Palmerston stated that it received the support of all his colleagues; but as the sense of the House appeared to be opposed to the scheme, it was withdrawn by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. His arguments, however, were endorsed by a very large and intelligent body of the community, who were strongly opposed to the indiscriminate and mistaken beneficence which was so prevalent.

With the withdrawal of this much-combated proposition, the success of the budget, as a whole, was virtually secured. At a later period, nevertheless, Mr. Hubbard, who had already provoked several contests with the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the subject of the income-tax, moved the following resolution: —'That the incidence of an income-tax touching the products of invested property should fall upon net income, and that the net amounts of industrial earnings should, previous to assessment, be subject to such an abatement as may equitably adjust the burden thrown upon intelligence and skill as compared with property.' This was not the first occasion upon which this particular modification had been raised, and Mr. Gladstone again remarked that the plan proposed by Mr. Hubbard would only shift the tax from one set of anomalies to another, and for one class of evils substitute a greater. The plan had not only been rejected by Mr. Hubbard's own committee, but his motion had been negatived last session by a large majority. Those whom he desired to relieve were the class whose fortunes were in the most rapid state of progress and increase. Those who were needy in proportion to the station they occupied were left untouched, or rather they were subjected to additional burdens in order to give a great relief to those who were in more fortunate circumstances. He (Mr. Gladstone) did not deny that there was a natural feeling in the direction of the motion which had been made, but there were great dangers in agitating subjects like this, which could not be realised except on the adoption of judicious economy and the consequent application

of sound principles to the relief of the public. Mr. Hubbard's resolution was negatived by 118 to 70.

During this session, Sir Morton Peto introduced his Dissenters' Burials Bill, the object of which was to enable Nonconformists to have their funerals celebrated with their own religious rites and services, and by their own ministers, in the graveyards of the Established Church. The bill was strongly opposed on its second reading by Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Gathorne Hardy. Mr. Gladstone said that he could not refuse his assent to the second reading of the measure, though some portions of it were open to objection. 'But,' he continued, 'I do not see that there is sufficient reason, or indeed any reason at all, why, after having granted, and most properly granted, to the entire community the power of professing and practising what form of religion they please during life, you should say to themselves or their relatives when dead, "We will at the last lay our hands upon you, and not permit you to enjoy the privilege of being buried in the churchyard, where, perhaps, the ashes of your ancestors repose, or, at any rate, in the place of which you are parishioners, unless you appear there as members of the Church of England, and, as members of that Church, have her service read over your remains." That appears to me an inconsistency and an anomaly in the present state of the law, and is in the nature of a grievance.' Mr. Gladstone at a later period discovered that his progress in ecclesiastical and political questions was creating a breach between himself and his constituents. The bill which he now supported was rejected by 221 to 96.

Amongst a variety of questions on which the Chancellor of the Exchequer addressed the House in the course of this session, one calls for brief notice. Few debates in Parliament were more animated than those which arose in connection with the International Exhibition Building at South Kensington. On the 15th of June, the House of Commons voted, by a majority of 267 to 135, a sum of £123,000 for the purchase of the seventeen acres of land which formed the site of the Exhibition building. It was not, however, until a fortnight later that the actual contest for the purchase and retention of the building came on. Lord Palmerston being unable to propose the vote by reason of indisposition, Mr. Gladstone accepted the duty. Whether it was, however, that this duty took him somewhat by surprise, does not appear from the debate, but the Government sustained a severe defeat. Mr. Gladstone proposed a vote of £105,000 for the purchase of the buildings at Kensington Gore, and for repairing, altering, and completing them. He invited the House to look at the question as a dry matter of business.



William Ewart Gladstone

ÆTAT 31

from a Portrait by Joseph Severn

CHAPTER XVI.

ADVANCING OPINIONS AND FISCAL REFORMS.

Mr. Gladstone and Parliamentary Reform—Financial Statement of 1864—Growth of the Revenue—Decrease in the National Debt—Imports and Exports—Further Relief of Taxation—Favourable Reception of the Budget—Government Annuities and Life Insurances—Mr Gladstone on the Working Classes and the Franchise—Important Declaration—Hostility to the Palmerston Government—Mr. Disraeli's 'No Confidence' Motion—Speech by Mr. Gladstone—Mr. Bernal Osborne on the Ministry—Mr. Disraeli's Motion rejected—The Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Irish Church—Budget for 1865—Prosperous Condition of the Country—A large Surplus—Great Reduction in Taxation.

THE period of three years with which the two ensuing chapters are concerned, viz., that extending from 1864 to 1866 inclusive, is remarkable as showing the rapid development of Mr. Gladstone's views on the subject of Parliamentary Reform. In the first-named year he delivered a speech upon the franchise which filled the Conservative party with alarm, but correspondingly elevated the hopes of the Reform party. It was the first note sounded in a conflict which, twelve months later, was to lose Mr. Gladstone his seat for Oxford University, and finally to culminate in the disruption of the Liberal Government. With the exception of this speech and of the budget, there was nothing to distinguish the session of 1864, or to give it a conspicuous place in the annals of legislation. The year was comparatively uneventful, and the country was at peace. Concurrently with a tranquil condition of public opinion was witnessed a striking advance in the material prosperity and general welfare of the people. The trade of Great Britain, as the official periodical reports demonstrated, continued to advance by those extraordinary 'leaps and bounds' which had marked its course since the first onslaught made upon the commercial restrictions in force twenty years before.

The financial statement for the year was brought forward on the 7th of April; and it was widely anticipated before its delivery that Mr. Gladstone would be able to announce further reductions in taxation. It was not until a later stage in our history that the results of Free Trade were seriously called in

question by its strongest opponents. At the period of which we write, 'the effect of twenty years of Free Trade legislation, inaugurated by Sir Robert Peel in 1842, and carried on by his successors in office, had been such that, concurrently with the repeal of a long catalogue of duties and imposts which had previously fettered manufacturers, and excluded most valuable foreign products, the finances of the country presented an aspect of abundance and stability almost without precedent in our history, and to which no foreign country could offer a comparison. In point of wealth and national credit, indeed, England stood almost alone at this time amongst the nations of the world.' Under the old system of Protection, this magnificent exhibition of strength, stability, and progress in the trade of the United Kingdom would have been an absolute impossibility.

Great solicitude was exhibited as to the distribution of the large surplus which was known to exist, and when the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose, it was in a House closely packed in every part—peers, foreign Ministers, and other distinguished visitors crowding the places assigned to them, while in Westminster Hall there was an assembly which would have filled the Strangers' Gallery three times over. Often as Mr. Gladstone had performed this annual financial feat, there appeared to be no diminution in the interest with which the budget oration was regarded by the public. The Chancellor of the Exchequer began by referring to the condition of the country in 1862-3, when there was a deficient harvest, and when Ireland and Lancashire were suffering from unusual pressure and distress; circumstances had improved somewhat in 1863-4, but still not to such a degree as to make the financial year completely favourable. The actual expenditure that year was £67,056,000, being a million and a quarter less—spread over the different departments—than had been authorised by Parliament. The revenue of the year was £70,003,561, showing a surplus of nearly £3,000,000; but from this was to be taken the expenditure on fortifications, viz., £800,000. Deducting this from the surplus, it still stood at a large figure. The real diminution of taxes in the three last years had been £6,638,000. The revenue had decreased by only £1,760,000, so that, taking reduction of taxation into consideration, it had actually increased, in round numbers, by £5,000,000. The revenue had grown since the year 1859 at the rate of £1,200,000, and since 1853 still over the rate of a million per annum. With regard to the liquidation of debt over the last year, Mr. Gladstone stated that a million of Exchequer bonds had been paid off, and other liquidations of the capital of the debt had been effected, which amounted to upwards of three millions.

The sum paid for terminable annuities in liquidation of debt was £1,400,000. The decrease in the National Debt since 1855 was £69,000,000, and the charge for interest had now decreased by about six millions a-year. Dealing next with our imports and exports, he showed how within three years they had enormously increased. The total exports last year, including foreign and colonial exports, were £195,000,000, while the exports and imports together for last year were £444,905,000. This enormous movement of British trade represented nearly a million and a half of money for every working day of the year, and the great increase had taken place since that period when the removal of trammels on trade had been the policy of Parliament. These facts not only demonstrated the vigorous prosperity of the country, but were a pledge that England was to be the champion of peace and justice against all the world. There had undoubtedly been other elements working towards the attainment of this great end, but it was a remarkable fact that at those times, when the Legislature acted in the direction towards the liberation of commerce, the greatest results had followed. In 1853 and 1860, for example, when this policy was pursued, the exports had risen enormously as compared with the respective years preceding. Mr. Gladstone admitted, with respect to the effect of the paper duty, that there had been a great increase in the import of paper, but there were no means of ascertaining that there had been a proportionate decrease in the product of the British manufacture. Still, there had been an immense increase in the demand for the materials for paper-making, while there had been a considerable increase in the export of British-made paper; the price had been reduced beyond the amount indicated by the duty; the diminution in the number of paper-makers, which had been going on until the repeal of the duty, had absolutely stopped; the expense of manufacture had greatly decreased, and all these facts must be taken as proofs that the trade had not suffered to the extent predicted and asserted. An arrangement for a reduction of the duty on rags was in progress by France. Considering next the spirit duties, he found that there had been an increase in the receipts of above £800,000. The export trade in spirits had increased. There was a change taking place in the national taste for milder liquors. As compared with 1859, there had been an increase of about 55 per cent. in the consumption of wine; the same thing occurred with regard to tobacco. Our total imports from France had more than doubled since 1859, while the exports from England thither had risen from about £9,000,000 to about £22,000,000. Another favourable point in the condition of

the country was that, excluding Lancashire, pauperism, if not decreasing, was at least stationary.

Dealing with the estimates for 1864-65, Mr. Gladstone stated that the total calculated revenue was £69,460,000, and the total expenditure £66,890,000—yielding a surplus of £2,570,000. A sum of £10,000, however, would be required for various minor changes and modifications which he enumerated; and the surplus left to dispose of would be £2,560,000. There were, of course, many strong claims for the application of this surplus. First and foremost, the largest and most important reduction he proposed was in the article of sugar, which he held to have the greatest claim to the consideration of the House. At present there was a classified scale of duty on sugar, and opinion and authority were in favour of such a duty in preference to a uniform charge. After detailing plans of classification which had been mooted, he said he desired that that form of duty should be adopted which should least interfere with the natural course of trade. Mr. Gladstone then stated the various reductions that would be made, the effect of which would be to place the sugar duty at 1s. per cwt. lower than it had ever been. This alteration would cause a diminution of revenue at once of £1,701,900, but the net actual loss for the coming year would be £1,330,000. The surplus would thus be reduced to £1,230,000. There was no intention of proposing a reduction in the malt duty. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then took up the subject of the income-tax, and once more stated his belief that the existence of the tax as a permanent duty was inconsistent with the achievement of a judicious public economy—an object towards which, despite the great and growing prosperity of the country, considering the co-existence of large pauperism with that prosperity, it was the duty of Parliament carefully to direct its attention and its efforts. He did not then ask the House to remodel or to abolish the income-tax, but he proposed to make a reduction of one penny in the amount. The immediate loss by this reduction would be £800,000, and the ultimate loss £1,200,000. This would leave a surplus of £130,000. It was proposed to reduce the duty on fire insurances from 3s. to 1s. 6d., so far as stock-in-trade was concerned; and with a view to test the principle of recovery of the revenue after reduction of duty, which had been so strenuously asserted, the reduction would take place from 1st July. The financial result of this would not be a very heavy loss. The surplus ultimately remaining after the various reductions he had specified would be only £238,000. Such were the Government proposals. He trusted they would meet with acceptance, and that the House would receive them as

pledges, on the part of the Ministry, of an earnest desire to co-operate with the Legislature in carrying yet further forward those purposes, the steady prosecution of which had already done so much for the strength and security of England, for the comfort and happiness of the people, for the honour of the age in which they lived, and for the hopes they entertained on behalf of the times that were to come.

The budget—which was equivalent to a declaration of policy on behalf of the Government, a policy in which peace, progress, and economy were the watch-words—was most favourably received. Notices of opposition on minor points were given, but Mr. Gladstone's resolutions were ultimately adopted without a division. Notwithstanding the continuous assaults which had been made upon the fiscal policy of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, its success could not be denied, and the author of it was now the chief mainstay of the Government. From whatever quarter of the House criticism arose, Mr. Gladstone met it readily and successfully, showing an unprecedented familiarity with all branches of the public industry and the public revenue.

A motion still further to reduce the fire insurance duty was negatived. On the order of the day for going into consideration of the proposed reduction in the sugar duties, Colonel Barttelot moved an amendment, 'That the consideration of these duties be postponed until the House has had an opportunity of considering the expediency of the reduction of the duty upon malt.' During the discussion on this amendment, a member of the Opposition advocated the re-imposition of the paper duty, upon which the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose and protested against all such idea, referring in most laudatory terms to the establishment of a cheap press, and hailing the benefits it had conferred on the community. The surplus was totally inadequate to a substantial reduction of the malt-tax, and if that subject were approached at all it ought not to be in a petty and inadequate manner, or without considering the relation of the tax to the whole system of taxation on the other beverages of the country. Colonel Barttelot's motion was rejected by 247 votes to 99. A subsequent motion by Mr. Morritt, 'That in case of any modification of the indirect taxation of the country the excise on malt requires consideration,' was lost by 166 to 118. Mr. Gladstone, however brought forward a proposal by way of concession to the agriculturists, for the remission of so much of the duty as had been hitherto levied upon malt used for the consumption of cattle. The bill was variously viewed by Conservative members, but after considerable debate it ultimately passed both Houses. Two amendments were proposed to Mr. Gladstone's

proposed re-arrangement of the sugar duties, but both were defeated.

Early in this session the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced a bill for amending the law relating to the purchase of Government annuities through the medium of savings banks, and to enable the granting of life insurances by the Government. It was explained that, up to the introduction of the Bill, sums could be received for deferred annuities only in large amounts, and the objects of the measure were to enable them to take smaller amounts through the medium of the post-office savings-banks. No hostility was at first shown to the bill, but subsequently it was violently opposed. On moving the committal of the measure, Mr. Gladstone demonstrated the groundlessness of the fears which had arisen respecting it. The bill prohibited nothing: it simply offered certain facilities for self-help to the poorer classes of the community. The plan was both safe and just. The Friendly Societies, however, raised a strong opposition to the scheme, and their supporters in the House inveighed against what they termed a 'paternal Government.' The author of the proposal had the effective retort that during his long public life he had never received so many letters as he had upon this measure, from various classes of the community, all expressing approval of, and gratitude for, the bill. After the rejection of an amendment directed against the whole scheme, the bill was referred to a select committee, which, while recommending slight modifications, reported favourably to the House. The Opposition collapsed, and the bill passed the Lower House amid warm approval on both sides. In the House of Lords, also, it was regarded as a measure 'conceived in the true interest of the working classes.' It became law, and it has since been generally acknowledged as one of the most valuable products of a session not very prolific in legislative reforms. Its singularly successful operation may readily be traced from year to year by all who are interested in the welfare and progress of the working classes.

It was during the debate on Mr. Baines's bill for lowering the borough franchise that the Chancellor of the Exchequer startled the House by his declaration upon the question of Reform. Mr. Baines's resolution was defeated by 272 against 216, but it was generally admitted that Mr. Gladstone's speech had given a great impetus to the movement. The right hon. gentleman, at the outset, signified cordial concurrence in the proposition that there ought to be, not a wholesale, but a sensible and considerable addition to that portion of the working classes—in present almost infinitesimal—which was in possession of the

franchise. 'We are told,' he continued, 'that the working classes don't agitate; but is it desirable that we should wait until they do agitate? In my opinion, agitation by the working classes upon any political subject whatever is a thing not to be waited for, not to be made a condition previous to any Parliamentary movement, but, on the contrary, is to be deprecated, and, if possible, prevented by wise and provident measures. An agitation by the working classes is not like an agitation by the classes above them having leisure. The agitation of the classes having leisure is easily conducted. Every hour of their time has not a money value; their wives and children are not dependent on the application of those hours of labour. When a working man finds himself in such a condition that he must abandon that daily labour on which he is strictly dependent for his daily bread, it is only because then, in railway language, the danger signal is turned on, and because he feels a strong necessity for action, and a distrust of the rulers who have driven him to that necessity. The present state of things, I rejoice to say, does not indicate that distrust; but if we admit that, we must not allege the absence of agitation on the part of the working classes as a reason why the Parliament of England and the public mind of England should be indisposed to entertain the discussion of this question.' He denied that there was that special virtue in the nature of the middle classes which justified them in drawing a marked distinction between them and a select portion of the working classes, so far as related to the exercise of the franchise. He advocated the extension of the franchise, on the ground that it would tend to advance that unity of classes which was now in happy progress throughout the country.

The general feeling in connection with this speech was that if the Liberal party had failed in its duty on the subject of Reform in the existing Parliament, after the utterances of Mr. Gladstone that state of things must undergo a change. Mr. Gladstone's declaration had naturally a great effect upon the country.

On the 4th of July the hostility to the Palmerston Government, chiefly on the ground of its foreign policy, reached its full height in a formal encounter between the Ministry and the Opposition. Mr. Disraeli brought forward on the day named his 'no confidence' motion as follows:—'To thank her Majesty for having directed the correspondence on Denmark and Germany, and the protocol of the Conference recently assembled in London, to be laid before Parliament; to assure her Majesty that we have heard with deep concern that the sittings of the Conference have been brought to a close without accomplishing the important

purpose for which it was convened; and to express to her Majesty our great regret that, while the course pursued by her Majesty's Government has failed to maintain their avowed policy of upholding the integrity and independence of Denmark, it has lowered the just influence of this country in the capitals of Europe, and thereby diminished the securities for peace.' Mr. Kinglake proposed to substitute the following words as an amendment to the last sentence of the resolution:—'To express the satisfaction with which we have learned that at this conjuncture her Majesty has been advised to abstain from armed interference in the war now going on between Denmark and the German Powers.' Mr. Disraeli, in a speech which was loudly cheered by his supporters, maintained that the time had come when Ministers should no longer be allowed to escape their responsibility.

Mr. Gladstone at once accepted the responsibility cast upon the Government, and proceeded to rebut the accusations made by the leader of the Opposition. It was the very first occasion, he said, on which the British House of Commons had been called upon for the sake of displacing a Government to record the degradation of the country. Why could not the right hon. gentleman speak plainly in his motion? The terms of the resolution were nothing better than an echo of the almost ribald language of a few obscure journals of Germany. It was from that source that this intended Minister derived his inspiration. The Chancellor of the Exchequer thus concluded his stirring reply:—

'Why does not the right hon. gentleman adopt the language of our forefathers, who, when they were dissatisfied with a Government, addressed the Crown, and prayed that the Government might be dismissed? They said boldly that the conduct of the Government was open to such and such charges, and they prayed that other men might be put in their places. But the right hon. gentleman was afraid to raise that issue. He has, indeed, plucked up courage to propose this motion; but why has he not done it in the proper constitutional form in which votes of want of confidence have hitherto been drawn? Never before, as far as I know, has party-spirit led gentlemen in this country to frame a motion which places on record that which must be regarded as dishonourable to the nation. I go back to the time of Sir R. Walpole, of Lord North, and Mr Fox, but nowhere do we find such a sterile and jejune affair as this resolution. Those charges were written in legible and plain terms; but the right hon. gentleman substitutes language which might indeed be sufficient for the purpose of rendering it impossible for the Government to continue in office, but which cannot transfix them without its sting first passing through the honour of England. For the reasons I have stated I look forward with cheerfulness to the issue which has been raised with regard to our conduct. Nay, more, I feel the most confident anticipation that both the House and the country will approve of the course taken in this difficult negotiation by her Majesty's Government, and that they will reject a motion which both prudence and patriotism must alike emphatically condemn.'

In the course of the debate, which was very protracted, Mr. Bernal Osborne grew amusingly sarcastic at the expense of the

Government, though he paid at the same time a great compliment to Mr. Gladstone. He likened the Cabinet to a museum of curiosities, in which there were some birds of rare and noble plumage, both alive and stuffed. There had been a difficulty, unfortunately, in keeping up the breed, and it was found necessary to cross it with the famous Peelites. 'I will do them the justice to say that they have a very great and able Minister among them in the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and it is to his measures alone that they owe the little popularity and the little support they get from this Liberal party.' Describing Mr. Milner Gibson, the hon. gentleman said he was like some 'fly in amber,' and the wonder was 'how the devil he got there.' Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright must have been disappointed in this 'young man from the country.' He had become insolent and almost quarrelsome under the guidance of the noble lord. Should that Parliament decide on terminating its own and their existence, they would find consolation that the funeral oration would be pronounced by Mr. Newdegate, and that some friendly hand would inscribe on their mausoleum, 'Rest and be thankful.' The Government having accepted Mr. Kinglake's amendment, a division was taken with the following result:—For Mr. Disraeli's motion, 295; for the amendment, 313—majority for Ministers, 18.

In the House of Commons, during a debate which occurred at the close of March, 1865, Mr. Gladstone delivered an important speech in connection with the Irish Church. Mr. Dillwyn having proposed a motion, 'That the present position of the Irish Church Establishment is unsatisfactory, and calls for the early attention of her Majesty's Government,' Mr. Gladstone rose and said that, although the Government were unable to agree to the resolution, they were not prepared to deny the abstract truth of the former part of it. They could not assert that the present position of the Establishment was satisfactory. At the close of a lengthy speech, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that he could come to no other conclusion than that the Irish Church, as she then stood, was in a false position. It was much more difficult, however, to decide upon the practical aspect of the question, and no one had ventured to propose the remedy required for the existing state of things. This question raised a whole nest of political problems; for while the vast majority of the Irish people were opposed to the maintenance of large and liberal endowments for a fragment of the population, they repudiated any desire to appropriate these endowments, and firmly rejected all idea of receiving a State provision for themselves. How could the Government, in view of these facts, substitute a satis-

factory for an admittedly unsatisfactory state of things? They were unable to do so. Consequently, 'we feel that we ought to decline to follow the hon. gentleman into the lobby, and declare that it is the duty of the Government to give their early attention to the subject; because if we gave a vote to that effect we should be committing one of the gravest offences of which a Government could be guilty—namely, giving a deliberate and solemn promise to the country, which promise it would be out of our power to fulfil.' The debate was adjourned, but was not resumed during the session. Some months later, in a letter to Dr. Hannah, Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, Mr. Gladstone gave his reasons for declining at that time to entertain the question of the Disestablishment of the Irish Church.

'First, because the question is remote, and apparently out of all bearing on the practical politics of the day, I think it would be for me worse than superfluous to determine upon any scheme, or basis of a scheme, with respect to it. Secondly, because it is difficult; even if I anticipated any likelihood of being called upon to deal with it, I should think it right to take no decision beforehand on the mode of dealing with the difficulties. But the first reason is that which chiefly weighs. . . . I think I have stated strongly my sense of the responsibility attaching to the opening of such a question, except in a state of things which gave promise of satisfactorily closing it. For this reason it is that I have been so silent about the matter, and may probably be so again; but I could not, as a Minister and as member for Oxford University, allow it to be debated an indefinite number of times and remain silent. One thing, however, I may add, because I think it a clear landmark. In any measure dealing with the Irish Church, I think (though I scarcely expect ever to be called on to share in such a measure) the act of Union must be recognised, and must have important consequences, especially with reference to the position of the hierarchy.'

This question, however, was already rapidly pressing forward for settlement—how rapidly Mr. Gladstone himself seemed not to be aware of. Yet the act of Disestablishment was to proceed from his own hand within a very brief period.

The budget this year was brought forward on the 27th of April, and the prosperous condition of the finances of the country again justified the hopes of a reduction of taxation. The Chancellor of the Exchequer began his statement by remarking upon the contrast between the opening and closing circumstances of the existing Parliament.

'When the Parliament met, we had been involved—although we did not know it at the time—in a costly and difficult war with China. The harvest of the year which succeeded was the worst that had been known for half a century. The recent experience of war had led to costly, extensive, and somewhat uncertain reconstructions; and clouds hung over the Continent of Europe, while the Italian war had terminated in such a manner as to occasion vague but serious alarms in the public mind. Since that period those clouds have moved Westward across the Atlantic, and have burst in a tempest, perhaps the wildest that ever devastated a civilised country—a tempest of war, distinguished, indeed, by the exhibition of many of the most marvellous and extraordinary qualities of valour, heroism, and perseverance; and on the whole, perhaps, no scenes have been so entirely painful as that of which the intelligence has last reached us, which now causes one thrill

of horror throughout Europe.* But, so far as this country is concerned, we have been mercifully spared. We see the state of the public mind tranquil and reassured, and the condition of the country generally prosperous and satisfactory. The financial history of the Parliament has been a remarkable one. It has raised a larger revenue than I believe, at any period, whether of peace or war, was ever raised by taxation. After taking into account the changes in the value of money within an equal time, the expenditure of the Parliament has been upon a scale that has never before been reached in time of peace. The amount and variety of the changes introduced into our financial legislation have been greater than within a like number of years at any former time. And I may say, lastly, that it has enjoyed the distinction that, although no Parliament ever completes the full term of its legal existence, yet this is the seventh time on which you have been called upon to make provision for the financial exigencies of the country.'

Mr. Gladstone then proceeded with the details of his statement. The actual expenditure for 1864-65 had been less than the estimate by about £611,000. The estimate of the revenue for the year 1864 was £67,128,000, while the amount received was £70,313,000, showing an increase of £3,185,000. The actual expenditure of the past year had been £66,461,000, and the revenue being £70,313,000, there was thus a surplus of £3,852,000, or, subjecting it to all deductions, of £3,200,000. The debt paid off in the year had amounted to £5,240,000, while, deducting the charge for fortifications, the real diminution was over £4,000,000. Since 1859 the National Debt had diminished by three millions per annum, and there was a total reduction of nearly eighteen millions during the present Parliament. Dealing with the trade of the country, he observed that the paper trade was in a satisfactory condition, and that our commerce with France continued to increase, both in exports and imports. Although nominally the trade of France had increased in greater proportion than that of this country, yet relatively, and looking to the steady progress of the latter, that had not been the case; while in comparison with Belgium and Holland it had considerably increased. He came to the conclusion that immense advantage had resulted to our trade in the removal of bars, fetters, and impediments from the path of human industry in this empire, as well as in the union of class with class and, he hoped, of nation with nation. Not for the first time, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said that in such a retrospect he could not forbear rendering a tribute to the character and ability of the man who was the main instrument of these great commercial changes—Mr. Cobden. With regard to the charges for 1865-66, Mr. Gladstone stated that the total expenditure was estimated at £66,139,000, being considerably less than for 1864-65. The total estimated revenue was £70,170,000, and there was thus left a surplus of £4,031,000. Coming to the question of the disposal of this surplus, after enumerating various minor reductions, there

* The assassination of President Lincoln.

remained, said the right hon. gentleman, the question of the malt-tax. The total abolition of the duty would be the death-warrant of our whole system of indirect taxation, and the practical question was, what reduction could be made? He allowed that the tax upon beer from the malt duty was 20 per cent. How much of the malt duty must be taken off to reduce the price of beer one farthing a quart? A little less than one-half. The loss to the Exchequer by such a reduction would be in the first year £2,489,000; in the second year, £3,360,000. Now, looking at the relative taxation of malt, as compared with other potable articles, he found that while beer was taxed 20 per cent., the common wines which entered into competition with beer were taxed 50 per cent. There was no argument in favour of the repeal to be derived from any languor in the consumption of beer; on the contrary, there had been an increase in the use of this national drink as compared with spirits. But if beer ought to be taxed more lightly than wines or spirits, he confidently asserted that tea ought to be more heavily taxed than beer. The tax on a barrel of beer was 20 per cent., that on a chest of tea was not less than 40 per cent., and tea was entitled to a preference in the reduction of duty. He would, however, give the maltster the option of having the duty charged by weight instead of by measure, which would operate as a relief to the growers of medium and lower qualities of barley. He did not say that he looked forward to an indefinite imposition of the malt-tax, but at the present time a large portion of the surplus could not be applied to the reduction of the malt-tax, especially as the incidence of the income-tax remained to be finally settled. The diminution of the duty on tea by 6d. a pound would reduce the price to the consumer by 20 per cent.; the loss to the revenue would be upwards of £2,375,000, but looking to recuperation by consumption, in the present year it would only be £1,808,000. Touching upon the income-tax, he observed that it was now at the lowest point which it had ever reached; but it was proposed to reduce the existing charge of 6d. in the pound by one-third of that amount. The effect would be to reduce the tax to a total of £5,200,000. Its final adjustment might be dealt with by the new Parliament, but if it was thought desirable to retain the income-tax, 4d. in the pound was the rate at which it might well be kept in time of peace. The reduction of £3,518,000 on tea and income-tax left a margin of the surplus, enabling it to be applied to the duty on fire insurance, and a reduction in conformity with a resolution already passed by the House upon the subject, would be made to 1s. 6d. from the 25th of June; while a reduction

would be made in the shilling duty on the policy to a penny stamp. There would be a relief on fire insurance of £520,000. The total reduction of taxation amounted to £5,420,000. The loss in the year 1865-6 would be £3,778,000, and in the following year £1,417,000, making a total for the two years of £5,195,000. There would be an ultimate surplus this year of £253,000, and any invasion of this he earnestly deprecated. There were several claims for a reduction of duty, but he trusted that the House would agree that that of tea was paramount, and he hoped generally that the measures of the Government, in dealing with the financial situation, would be acceptable to the House and the nation.

The budget met with less opposition than had been encountered by any of its predecessors, and gained the warm approval of the country, notwithstanding the inevitable demonstration made in connection with the malt-tax. The Chancellor of the Exchequer's fiscal proposals were embodied in a bill, which passed through the House with scarcely any delay. The decreasing expenditure on the army and navy estimates was viewed with general and very lively satisfaction. Notwithstanding that the House and the country at large had become accustomed to Mr. Gladstone's masterly manipulation of the national finances, the magnitude of the remissions of taxation in the budget of 1865 excited feelings of pleasant and universal surprise. These financial proposals demonstrated not only the soundness of the calculations made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but also the continued prosperity of the country.

CHAPTER XVII.

MR. GLADSTONE'S REJECTION AT OXFORD—THE REFORM BILL OF 1866.

Dissolution of Parliament—Oxford University Election—Defeat of Mr. Gladstone—Character of the Election—Public Opinion thereon—The Election in South Lancashire—The Chancellor of the Exchequer at Manchester and Liverpool—Return of Mr. Gladstone—Death of Lord Palmerston—Reconstruction of the Ministry—The New Leader in the Commons—The Budget of 1866—Scheme for the Reduction of the National Debt—Disaffection in Ireland—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Church Rates—Debate on Continental Affairs—Mr. Gladstone introduces the Government Reform Bill—Digest of the Measure—it is attacked by Mr. Lowe and others—Mr. Bright's Rebuke of Mr. Horsman—The Adullamites—The Chancellor of the Exchequer at Liverpool—The Reform Struggle continued—Amendments to the Ministerial Scheme—Eloquent Speech by Mr. Gladstone—His Relations with the Liberal Party—Government Victory—Exciting Scene in the House—Redistribution of Seats Bill—Further Reform Debates—The Government Defeated on Lord Dunkellin's Amendment—Resignation of the Ministry—A Derby Administration formed.

ON the 6th of July, 1865, Parliament—having, in a constitutional sense, reached its full term—was prorogued, with a view to an immediate dissolution. The Prime Minister had announced some time previously that this day had been selected for remitting to the constituencies their legislative trust; and many members had issued their addresses for re-election in anticipation of the issue of the new writs. Yet there was no 'burning' question upon which the Palmerston Government appealed to the country for a continuance of its confidence. Parliament had expired in a natural manner, and there were few contests looked forward to with any extraordinary degree of interest. With the exception of the elections for the Metropolitan constituencies, there was, indeed, but one electoral struggle which the country watched with peculiar solicitude, viz., that in which Mr. Gladstone's seat for Oxford University was threatened. It was not a little singular that, while the great body of the people—Liberal and Conservative alike—admitted that the stability of the Ministry was in great part due to the sagacious and statesmanlike measures of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, his re-election was widely felt to be most uncertain. As a natural consequence, the eyes of the whole country were turned in the direction of Oxford. By the irony of fate, a Liberal measure

was destined to operate most injuriously against Mr. Gladstone. Only in the previous Parliament an Act was passed on the instigation of a well-known member of the Liberal party, by which the election for the Universities was authorised to be made by means of voting papers, transmitted through the post or otherwise to the Vice-Chancellors, and a period of five days was allowed for keeping open the poll. An uncompromising Conservative candidate was found at Oxford, in the person of Mr. Gathorne Hardy, to oppose Mr. Gladstone, and the friends of both candidates agreed to give their second vote to Sir W. Heathcote, whose return was not opposed. The nomination took place on the 13th of July, the proceedings being conducted in Latin. Mr. Gladstone was proposed by Dr. Liddell, the Dean of Christ Church; the Warden of All Souls, in an oration of some length, proposed Sir William Heathcote; and the Public Orator, in the absence of the President of St. John's, proposed Mr. Gathorne Hardy. At the close of the first day's poll Mr. Gladstone was in a minority of six as compared with his opponent, Mr. Hardy. The last vote registered for Gladstone on the first day caused some amount of commotion. The *Standard* of the following morning stated that the Vice-Chancellor was in 'the act of receiving a long string of proxies for Gladstone when a voter appeared to give his vote in person. On being asked his name he gave that of "Samuel Wilberforce," on which one of the gentlemen appointed to watch the proceedings on the Conservative side, inquired, with all due courtesy, if his lordship was aware that the House of Commons had passed a resolution to the effect that peers of Parliament could not vote in the election of members of the Lower House. The Bishop replied that he was perfectly aware of the resolution in question, and again tendered his vote, which (the objection not being pressed) was received and duly registered.' Several other peers recorded their votes at an early stage for Mr. Gladstone, including the Bishop of Durham and Earl Cowper. On the third day Mr. Gladstone's minority had increased to 74, and on the fourth to 230. A circular was now issued by Sir J. T. Coleridge, chairman of the right hon. gentleman's committee, intimating to the electors still unpledged that there was reason to fear the seat was in danger, and pressing upon them the duty of recording their votes in favour of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. 'The Committee do not scruple to advocate his cause on grounds above the common level of politics. They claim for him the gratitude due to one whose public life has for eighteen years reflected a lustre on the University herself. They confidently invite you to consider whether his pure and exalted character, his splendid abilities, and his

eminent services to Church and State, do not constitute the highest of all qualifications for an academical seat, and entitle him to be judged by his constituents as he will assuredly be judged by posterity.' On the last day of the contest the excitement waned, as it was found that Mr. Gladstone had little chance of success. He lessened the majority against him, however, and the numbers were finally declared as follows:—Heathcote, 3,236; Hardy, 1,904; Gladstone, 1,724—majority of Hardy over Gladstone, 180. The total number of votes recorded was 3,850, being nearly double that at any former election. While Mr. Gladstone received 415 plumpers, only 43 were registered for Sir W. Heathcote, and but 16 for Mr. Hardy.*

Mr. Gladstone's defeat was shown to be due to the non-residents. The resident body consisted of some 250 persons, and of these 155 voted or paired for the right hon. gentleman, while only 89 voted or paired against him. Mr. Hardy had a majority in three colleges only—St. John's, Magdalen, and Lincoln—all the important colleges being strongly on Mr. Gladstone's side. The heads of houses were nearly equally divided, 12 voting for Mr. Gladstone and 11 for Mr. Hardy; but the professors were strongly for the former, 24 giving him their support, while only 10 voted for his opponent. Three-fourths of the tutors and lecturers were also on the side of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, so that in this celebrated contest it was not really *Academic* Oxford which rejected him. He lost his seat through that great body of voters who had little sympathy with the Oxford of 1865, as a writer at the time pointed out. The Rector of Lincoln (the Rev. Mark Pattison) stated that of the ten Fellows of that college seven polled for Mr. Gladstone, and two only for Mr. Hardy. Half the total number of members of Convocation on the college books voted for the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

While the rejection of Mr. Gladstone by the University of Oxford was regarded in some quarters as a signal triumph of Conservative reaction, in other respects it was felt that the opposition offered to him was a most mistaken stroke of Tory policy. Though he always courageously acted upon his convictions, so long as he retained his seat for Oxford University he must have remained to some extent fettered—he could not

* Amongst the distinguished voters who supported the Chancellor of the Exchequer were the following:—the Bishops of Durham, Oxford, and Chester, Earl Cowper, the Dean of Westminster, the Dean of Christchurch, Professors Farrar, Rolleston, and Max Müller, the Dean of Lichfield, Sir J. T. Coleridge, Sir Henry Thompson, the Rev. Dr. Jelf, the Bodleian Librarian, Sir F. T. Palgrave, the Right Hon. S. Lushington, the Dean of St. Paul's, the Rev. John Keble, the Principal of Brasenose, the Dean of Peterborough, Prof. Conington, the Rev. J. B. Mozley, Mr E. A. Freeman, Chief Justice Erle, Dr. Pusey, Professor Jowett, Mr. Cardwell, the Marquis of Kildare, and the Rector of Lincoln.

altogether shake off the silent but deep and unmistakable influence which such a connection must necessarily exercise. Once the ties had been broken which bound him to his *Alma Mater*, and Mr. Gladstone felt like a man who breathes the fresh mountain air after a close confinement in the crowded city. There were now many questions whose consideration he could approach without the sense of an invisible but restraining influence. By the whole Liberal party throughout the country his rejection was immediately regarded with feelings of exultation —much as (for some reasons) they had desired his return for that distinguished seat of learning which he had represented so long and so well. By a large class of non-resident voters Mr. Gladstone was viewed as too clever to be a safe man, and it was not anticipated that Mr. Gathorne Hardy would forfeit the confidence of this body by any eccentricities of genius. The result of this election had another important effect. 'The enemies of the University,' observed the *Times*, 'will make the most of her disgrace. It has hitherto been supposed that a learned constituency was to some extent exempt from the vulgar motives of party spirit, and capable of forming a higher estimate of statesmanship than common tradesmen or tenant-farmers. It will now stand on record that they have deliberately sacrificed a representative who combined the very highest qualifications, moral and intellectual, for an academical seat, to party spirit, and party spirit alone. Mr. Gladstone's brilliant public career, his great academical distinctions and literary attainments, his very subtlety and sympathy with ideas for their own sake, mark him out beyond all living men for such a position. However progressive in purely secular politics, he has ever shown himself a staunch and devoted Churchman wherever Church doctrine or ecclesiastical rights were concerned. . . . Henceforth Mr. Gladstone will belong to the country, but no longer to the University. Those Oxford influences and traditions which have so deeply coloured his views, and so greatly interfered with his better judgment, must gradually lose their hold on him.' A yet more pronounced expression of opinion came from the *Daily News*, the organ of advanced Liberal thought:—'Mr. Gladstone's career as a statesman will certainly not be arrested, nor Mr. Gathorne Hardy's capacity be enlarged by the number of votes which Tory squires or Tory parsons may inflict upon Lord Derby's cheerful and fluent subaltern, or withhold from Lord Palmerston's brilliant colleague. The late Sir Robert Peel was but the chief of a party until, admonished by one ostracism, he became finally emancipated by another. Then, as now, the statesman who was destined to give up to mankind what was never meant for the

barren service of a party, could say to the honest bigots who rejected him—

"I banish you:
There is a world elsewhere."

Mediocrity will not be turned into genius, honest and good-natured insignificance into force, fluency into eloquence, if the resident and non-resident Toryism of the University of Oxford should prefer the safe and sound Mr. Hardy to the illustrious Minister whom all Europe envies us, whose name is a household word in every political assembly in the world.'

Such was the view taken by Liberals generally of Mr. Gladstone's defeat. How it was regarded by one important body in the Church may be gathered from a letter which Dr. Pusey addressed to the Editor of the *Churchman*, a journal which looked with the liveliest satisfaction upon the return of Mr. Hardy. 'You are naturally rejoicing,' wrote the Regius Professor of Hebrew, 'over the rejection of Mr. Gladstone, which I mourn. Some of those who concurred in that election, or who stood aloof, will, I fear, mourn hereafter with a double sorrow because they were the cause of that rejection. I, of course, speak only for myself, with whatever degree of anticipation may be the privilege of years. Yet, on the very ground that I may very probably not live to see the issue of the momentous future now hanging over the Church, let me, through you, express to those friends through whom I have been separated, who love the Church in itself, and not the accident of Establishment, my conviction that we should do ill to identify the interests of the Church with any political party; that we have questions before us, compared with which that of the Establishment (important as it is in respect to the possession of our parish churches) is as nothing. The grounds alleged against Mr. Gladstone bore at the utmost upon the Establishment. The Establishment might perish, and the Church but come forth the purer. If the Church were corrupted, the Establishment would become a curse in proportion to its influence. As that conflict will thicken, Oxford, I think, will learn to regret her rude severance from one so loyal to the Church, to the faith, and to God.' The author of the *Christian Year* also remained firm to the cause of Mr. Gladstone in 1865, as he had done in 1847.

On the close of the poll at Oxford on the 18th of July, Mr. Gladstone wrote the following valedictory address to the members of Convocation:—'After an arduous connection of eighteen years, I bid you, respectfully, farewell. My earnest purpose to serve you, my many faults and shortcomings, the

incidents of the political relation between the University and myself, established in 1847, so often questioned in vain, and now, at length, finally dissolved, I leave to the judgment of the future. It is one imperative duty, and one alone, which induces me to trouble you with these few parting words—the duty of expressing my profound and lasting gratitude for indulgence as generous, and for support as warm and enthusiastic in itself, and as honourable from the character and distinctions of those who have given it, as has, in my belief, ever been accorded by any constituency to any representative.' Like his illustrious leader, Sir Robert Peel, when rejected by the University of Oxford, Mr. Gladstone was now driven to appeal to a different kind of constituency. The election in South Lancashire was still pending, and at the nomination on the preceding day the name of the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been proposed, in view of eventualities at Oxford. Arriving in Manchester on the 18th, Mr. Gladstone had a conference with the Liberal Election Committee, and immediately afterwards issued his address to the electors as follows:—'I appear before you as a candidate for the suffrages of your division of my native county. Time forbids me to enlarge on the numerous topics which justly engage the public interest. I will bring them all to a single head. You are conversant—few so much so—with the legislation of the last thirty-five years. You have seen, you have felt its results. You cannot fail to have observed the verdict which the country generally has, within the last eight days, pronounced upon the relative claims and positions of the two great political Parties with respect to that legislation in the past, and to the prospective administration of public affairs. I humbly, but confidently, without the least disparagement to many excellent persons, from whom I have the misfortune frequently to differ, ask you to give your powerful voice in confirmation of that verdict, and to pronounce with significance as to the direction in which you desire the wheels of the State to move. Before these words can be read, I hope to be among you in the hives of your teeming enterprise.'

Mr. Gladstone first appeared on the Manchester Exchange; and from thence he proceeded to the Free Trade Hall, which, though capable of holding many thousands of persons, was densely packed within a few minutes of the doors being opened. 'At last, my friends,' he began his address, 'I am come among you—and I am come, to use an expression which has become very famous, and is not likely to be forgotten, I am come among you, "unmuzzled."' Here the cheering was so enthusiastic and prolonged that for some time the speaker could not proceed.

Quiet having been restored, the right hon. gentleman continued:—

'After an anxious struggle of eighteen years, during which the unbounded devotion and indulgence of my friends maintained me in the arduous position of representative of the University of Oxford, I have been driven from my seat. . . . I have loved the University with a deep and passionate love, and as long as I breathe, that attachment will continue; if my affection is of the smallest advantage to that great, that ancient, that noble institution, that advantage, such as it is, and it is most insignificant, Oxford will possess as long as I live. But don't mistake the issue which has been raised. The University has at length, after eighteen years of self-denial, been drawn by what I might, perhaps, call an over-weening exercise of power, into the vortex of mere politics. Well, you will readily understand why, as long as I had a hope that the zeal and kindness of my friends might keep me in my place, it was impossible for me to abandon them. Could they have returned me by a majority of one, painful as it is to a man of my time of life, and feeling the weight of public cares, to be incessantly struggling for his seat, nothing could have induced me to quit that University to which I had so long ago devoted my best care and attachment. But by no act of mine I am free to come among you. And having been thus set free, I need hardly tell you that it is with joy, with thankfulness, and enthusiasm, that I now, at this eleventh hour, a candidate without an address, make my appeal to the heart and the mind of South Lancashire, and ask you to pronounce upon that appeal. As I have said, I am aware of no cause for the votes which have given a majority against me in the University of Oxford, except the fact that the strongest conviction that the human mind can receive, that an overpowering sense of the public interests, that the practical teachings of experience, to which from my youth Oxford herself taught me to lay open my mind—all these had shown me the folly, and, I will say, the madness of refusing to join in the generous sympathies of my countrymen, by adopting what I must call an obstructive policy.

The same evening the Chancellor of the Exchequer addressed an immense audience in the Royal Amphitheatre of Liverpool, where he met with a similar ovation. In the opening words of his speech, which had a tone of pathos running through them, Mr. Gladstone again paid a tribute to his University, and then went on to deal with the impending election. 'If I am told that it is only by embracing the narrow interests of a political party that Oxford can discharge her duties to the country, then, gentlemen, I at once say I am not the man for Oxford. We see represented in that ancient institution—represented more nobly, perhaps, and more conspicuously than in any other place, at any rate with more remarkable concentration—the most prominent features that relate to the past of England. I come into South Lancashire, and I find here around me an assemblage of different phenomena. I find development of industry; I find growth of enterprise; I find progress of social philanthropy; I find prevalence of toleration; and I find an ardent desire for freedom. . . . I have honestly, I have earnestly, although I may have feebly, striven to unite in my insignificant person that which is represented by Oxford and that which is represented by Lancashire. My desire is that they should know and love one another. If I have clung to the representation of the University with desperate

fondness, it was because I would not desert that post in which I seem to have been placed. I have not abandoned it. I have been dismissed from it, not by academical, but by political agencies. I don't complain of those political influences by which I have been displaced. The free constitutional spirit of the country requires that the voice of the majority should prevail. I hope the voice of the majority will prevail in South Lancashire. I do not for a moment complain that it should have prevailed in Oxford. But, gentlemen, I come now to ask you a question whether, because I have been declared unfit longer to serve the University on account of my political position, there is anything in that position, there is anything in what I have said and done, in the arduous office which I hold, which is to unfit me for the representation of my native county?' Before concluding his speech, Mr. Gladstone briefly reviewed the course of Liberal legislation during the last Parliament.

The polling for South Lancashire took place on the 20th, with the following result:—Egerton, 9171; Turner, 8806; Gladstone, 8786; Legh, 8476; Thompson, 7703; Heywood, 7653. The Hon. A. Egerton and Mr. Turner, Conservatives, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were accordingly declared elected. Of the defeated candidates, Mr. Legh was a Conservative, and Messrs. Thompson and Heywood were Liberals. Mr. Gladstone was at the head of the poll in Liverpool, Manchester, and all the large towns.

The general election resulted in considerable gains to the Liberal party, but during the autumn that party sustained a severe loss by the death of Lord Palmerston. The late Premier had not only been successful in uniting the various Liberal sections in the House of Commons, but had commanded the esteem and forbearance of his Conservative opponents. The Government was now reconstructed, with Earl Russell as Prime Minister and Mr. Gladstone leader in the Lower House. The earnest temperament of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which led him to regard everything in the most severely conscientious light, with little desire for banter, for trimming, or for compromise, caused some speculation and not a little anxiety as to his management of the House of Commons. To the joviality—in some instances amounting almost to buffoonery—of Lord Palmerston, the new First Minister in the Commons could lay no claim. Politics, with him, ever formed a science of the gravest and deepest moment. The prognostications and complaints of those who declared that he had not the peculiar qualities demanded in a leader must, on the whole, be considered to have failed during the first year of his Parliamentary leadership;

and in our generation there has been no more arduous or critical session witnessed than that of 1866.

Before discussing the great reform measures of the year—which were fraught with the most important consequences—the budget and several questions of moment, in whose discussion Mr. Gladstone took a prominent part, demand attention. Dealing first with the financial statement, it may be remarked (as, indeed, it has been our lot to observe on previous occasions), that the condition of the public revenue was still so flourishing as to afford hopes of a yet further reduction of taxation. On the 3rd of May, the Chancellor of the Exchequer—causing for the moment a suspension of hostilities between the rival political parties on the Franchise question—laid his annual account before the committee. He expressed his own sense of relief in entering upon a question which would involve no party struggle. He had not to announce a surplus of revenue on the scale of the last three years, which had reached an average of three millions and a half; but he should still be able to make reductions not without interest. The estimated expenditure for the past year had been upwards of £66,000,000, but the actual expenditure was only £65,914,000. The revenue was £67,812,000, leaving a surplus of £1,898,000. The revenue had been £1,424,000 more than was calculated. The average increase in revenues since 1864 was about a million and a quarter per year. The loss caused by the reductions of last year had slightly exceeded the estimate. The Exchequer balances had been reduced by unusual liquidations of debt. On the 31st of March, 1865, they were £7,691,000; and on the same date in 1866, they had fallen to £5,851,000. The total estimated expenditure of the coming year was £66,225,000, which, as compared with the expenditure of last year, showed an increase of £78,000. The total estimate of the revenue for the year would be £67,575,000, thus leaving a surplus of £1,350,000, which, but for the charges of last year, would have been quite £2,700,000.

Mr. Gladstone next referred to the commercial treaties into which this country had entered in the most disinterested spirit, with a view of inducing other nations to follow our example. The effect of the treaty with France on the export trade of that country had been such that the total increase on all kinds of goods had been from 58 millions and a half of francs to 141 millions. Treaties had been concluded with Belgium, Italy, the Zollverein, and finally with Austria, on the same standard as that with France—no duty to exceed 25 per cent. *ad valorem* on all British goods. This involved two changes in our own tariff, viz., the repeal of the duty on timber and the equalisation of the

duty on wine in bottle and in wood. The consumption of timber had greatly increased in proportion to the reduction of the impost. The revenue for the year from this source was £307,000, and this would be reckoned as an entire loss for the year—the repeal to be immediate. The loss from the equalisation of the wine duty would be £71,000. It was further proposed to abolish the duty on pepper, which would involve the loss of £112,000 for the year. Turning to the duties on locomotion, he did not propose to interfere with the duty on carriages, horses, railways, &c., but as to the duty on post-horses, which was £266,000, and on public conveyances, especially omnibuses, which was 142,000, he did not propose to deal with them, the question being one of the comfort and convenience of the working classes, as well as of the middle class. The licences would be left as at present, but the mileage duty would be reduced from a penny to a farthing a mile, at a loss for the future of £90,000 a-year. The scale of the licence duty on post-horses would be so reduced as to place the small proprietor on a fair footing with the large, and this would involve a loss of £20,000 a-year. These items disposed of £560,000 out of a surplus of £1,350,000. He should move resolutions renewing the tea duties and the income-tax at 4d. in the pound. With regard to the National Debt, a considerable amount of Exchequer bills had been paid off, and the sum paid in reduction of the debt last year was £5,179,000. The amount of the unfunded debt was now £8,267,000, as compared with over £18,000,000 in 1858.

He was convinced that the time had arrived when Parliament should face the subject of the National Debt. In the ensuing year there would be a large cessation of terminable annuities, not less than £600,000 a-year, which in a degree made the present moment favourable for moving in that direction. Mr. Gladstone then adduced a variety of statistics upon the amount and the fluctuations in the National Debt, which, he said, was exercising an injurious social influence. America was applying her revenue, as far as possible, to the reduction of her debt; and this was an example to Europe, where borrowing was the growing vice of all European states. With regard to our own debt, we were living in a commercial era of extraordinary magnitude and increase; and our commercial undertakings were now as great, with our thirty millions of population, as those of France and America with their seventy millions of people put together. The cause of our pre-eminence was to be found in the possession and the facile use of minerals, especially coal. It was a question whether this store of coal was practically inexhaustible; even if a substitute could be found, it could not be peculiar to England

—therefore, if our coal should become exhausted, the relative pre-eminent commercial position of this country to other nations would be lost. It was calculated that at the end of one hundred years coal would have become exhausted at four thousand feet below the surface. The matter was one worthy of deep consideration. It was idle to think of stopping the supply of coal, to tax it, or to stop its export; and therefore it was obvious that as we could not supply coal at low prices beyond a given time, it was desirable to do something to meet an exigency which must arrive; and this might be done in a manner by relieving the country, as far as possible, of its great mortgage. A good plan of operating on the debt was by the conversion of perpetual into terminable annuities. There was then a sum of twenty-four millions standing on a deposit account of the trustees of savings-banks, the whole of which the State was now bound to pay; and it was proposed to take that sum, which now cost £720,000 a year, and convert it into annuities terminating in 1885, which would raise the annual charge to one million. If this was done in 1866-7 there would be a charge something above £1,200,000. The following year there would be a further charge on this conversion of £502,000; but of this £293,000 would be relieved by the falling in of other annuities. The total additional charges, making all allowances, would be about £409,000 per annum. It was further proposed that so much of the dividends of the fund which it was intended to create, as were found to be to spare, should be re-invested; and the result would be that in 1885 the charge would be £1,440,000, while there would have been cancelled no less than fifty millions of stock—and from year to year the State would be buyers of stock. The surplus dealt with in making the reductions which he had stated would be £1,064,000, leaving an unappropriated balance of £286,000. In concluding his statement, the right hon. gentleman said the Government had thought it well to cast a glance into the future, and to endeavour in some degree to meet its demands, so that those who came after them might have reason to say that, while making provision for their own immediate wants, they had also taken some concern for those which were to succeed.

These proposals excited little opposition. The plan for the conversion of a portion of the National Debt into terminable annuities, with a view to its gradual liquidation, was made the subject of a separate bill, which passed its second reading. Here its progress was arrested. A change of Ministry caused it to be postponed; but later in the session Mr. Gladstone said that he should revive his scheme whenever a favourable opportunity offered.

To commemorate the signal services rendered by Lord Palmerston to his country, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved in the House of Commons an address to the Queen, praying her Majesty to order the erection of a monument to the deceased statesman in Westminster Abbey. In the previous November, when Mr. Gladstone visited Glasgow and was presented with the freedom of the city, he made a touching allusion, in his reply, to the heavy losses which the country had recently sustained in the ranks of official life.

This is no place in which to attempt an estimate of the character of Lord Palmerston. He enjoyed an unusual degree of popularity both in the House of Commons and the country, though the full grounds for this popularity it would be somewhat difficult to define. To a buoyant disposition, however, he united the especially English virtues of manliness, straightforwardness, and courage. His very frankness in diplomacy—a quality supposed to be fatal to diplomacy—ensured him success at many critical moments; but he had few claims to the highest rank of statesmanship. The two leaders of the House of Commons admirably summed up his most prominent characteristics on the occasion above alluded to. 'All who knew Lord Palmerston,' observed Mr. Gladstone, 'knew his genial temper and the courage with which he entered into the debates in this House; his incomparable tact and ingenuity—his command of fence—his delight, his old English delight in a fair stand-up fight. Yet, notwithstanding the possession of these powers, I must say I think there was no man whose inclination and whose habit were more fixed, so far as our discussions were concerned, in avoiding whatever tended to exasperate, and in having recourse to those means by which animosity might be calmed down. He had the power to stir up angry passions, but he chose, like the sea-god in the *Æneid*, rather to pacify.

"Quos ego—sed motos præstat componere fluctus."

That which, in my opinion, distinguished Lord Palmerston's speaking from the oratory of other men, that which was its most remarkable characteristic, was the degree in which he said precisely that which he meant to express.' Mr. Gladstone added that the late Premier had a nature incapable of enduring anger or the sentiment of wrath. This was a noble gift of the original nature, and it was delightful to remember it in connection with him. Mr. Disraeli supplemented these observations by the remark that that statesman was peculiarly to be envied who, when he left his contemporaries, left them not merely the memory of great achievements, but also the wider tradition of personal affection and social charm.

Irish questions occupied much of the attention of the House of Commons this session. The O'Donoghue moved an amendment to the Address, expressing deep regret at the wide-spread disaffection existing in Ireland, and representing to her Majesty that it was the result of grave causes which it was the duty of the Government to examine into and remove. Mr. Gladstone opposed the resolution, and said that the objects of the paragraph in the Address for which it was proposed to substitute it, were threefold —to pronounce a solemn denunciation of Fenianism, to recognise the existence of the public opinion which had enabled the Government to deal firmly and boldly with the conspiracy, and to place on record the impartiality with which the law had been administered. The evils from which Ireland suffered could not be eradicated immediately; the existing dissatisfaction must first be uprooted by the vindication of the law, and that being done, inquiry into the existence of evils became an obligation which no Government could resist. The amendment was rejected by an overwhelming majority.

The condition of Ireland became so grave that the Government were driven to propose a bill suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in that country. Mr. Bright called upon the 'two great and trusted leaders,' Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli, to suspend for a moment their contest for office, and to combine in an effort to ascertain the causes of Irish discontent, and to apply a remedy. He believed there was a mode of making Ireland loyal, and he threw the responsibility of discovering it on the Government and on the Imperial Parliament. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in defending the Ministerial measure, expressed the regret and pain with which he had listened to Mr. Bright's speech, much of which was open to question, and was ill timed. He declined to recognise the voice of Ireland except as conveyed through the mouths of her legally elected representatives, and congratulated the House on the general unanimity with which the Irish members had acquiesced in the bill. The Government were ready at a fitting time to consider any measures which might be proposed for the benefit of Ireland, but it was the single duty of the House that day to strengthen the hands of the Executive in the preservation of law and order. The bill subsequently passed through all its stages. After the Earl of Derby's Administration came into power, Lord Naas brought in a renewal bill for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in lieu of that which was about to expire. Mr. Gladstone said that while the Government were adding to their responsibilities in connection with Ireland by asking for this renewal, yet without considering whether their general policy was such as he could approve, he could not refuse

to strengthen their hands in such a way as they deemed necessary. If the late Ministry had still been in office, it would have been their duty to make a similar application.

This second bill passed through both Houses, and the events of the following autumn—which were the result of an anticipated great Fenian rising under 'Head Centre' Stephens—fully justified the course adopted by the Government.

In the course of this session, during the debate on Mr. Hardcastle's bill for the abolition of Church rates, Mr. Gladstone admitted that the law of Church rates was *primâ facie* open to grave objection; he could not vote for total abolition, however, but he invited Mr. Hardcastle to consider whether, by an equitable compromise, Dissenters might be exempted from paying Church rates, and at the same time be disqualified from interfering with funds to which they had not contributed. This suggested compromise met with considerable favour, and although the second reading of Mr. Hardcastle's bill was carried, before any further proceeding could be taken upon it, the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced his measure for the abolition of compulsory Church rates. When the second reading of this bill came on, Mr. Gladstone was no longer in office; but he pressed forward his measure, which passed its second stage, the bills introduced by Mr. Hardcastle and Mr. Newdegate being withdrawn. The session terminated, nevertheless, as had many sessions before it, without a final decision being arrived at upon this question.

In a debate on Continental affairs, concerned chiefly with the threatened hostilities between the two great rival states of Germany, Mr. Gladstone expressed his approval of the policy of calling a Conference to settle disputes between the European Powers, and he regretted that it had failed in this case. Shortly afterwards Austria and Prussia were at war. In a later debate in the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone said that the struggles of Austria and Prussia for predominance had been an immense injury to Europe and to Germany, and the elevation of one power to position to wield enormous influence would be an unmixed advantage even to the loser. The old position of Austria in Germany and Italy had not been beneficial to her, and though he lamented the attempt to introduce a third party into the strife, by the cession of Venetia to France, the loss of Venetia would be a gain to Austria. 'Even if she were excluded from Germany, she had still a glorious task before her in the cultivation of that vast and fertile territory, and the civilisation of those millions of subjects which would still be left to her.' The right hon. gentleman exhorted Lord Stanley not to forget that the cause of

Italy was dear to the people of England, and warned him that they would never forgive a policy which attacked her unity and independence.

We now come to the great Reform debates of the year 1866. In redeeming the promise made in the Queen's Speech, on the 12th of March, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, before a crowded and deeply interested audience, introduced the Government Reform Bill. In the outset he reviewed the recent history of the question, and announced that in consequence of the limited time at the disposal of Parliament, Government were compelled to restrict their labours to a Franchise Bill alone. With regard to the details of this measure, it was first proposed to create an occupation franchise in counties, including houses at £14 rental, and reaching up to £50, the present occupation franchise. It was calculated that this would add 171,000 persons to the electoral list. Next it was proposed to introduce into counties the provision which copyholders and leaseholders within Parliamentary boroughs now possessed for the purpose of county votes. The third proposition was a savings-bank franchise, which would operate in counties and towns, but which would have a more important operation in the former. All adult males who had deposited £50 in a savings-bank for two years would be entitled to be registered for the place in which they resided. This privilege would add from 10,000 to 15,000 electors to the constituencies of England and Wales. In towns it was proposed to place compound householders on the same footing as ratepayers. It was intended to abolish the ratepaying clauses of the Reform Act, which would admit about 25,000 voters above the line of £10. It was also proposed to introduce a lodger franchise, both for those persons holding part of a house with separate and independent access, and for those who held part of a house as inmates of the family of another person. Then there was the £10 clear annual value of apartments, without reference to furniture. It was further proposed to abolish the necessity in the case of registered voters for residence at the time of voting. Lastly, following the precedent of the Government of Lord Derby, they would introduce a clause disabling from voting persons who were employed in the Government yards. The total number of new voters, of all classes, would be 400,000. With this appeal Mr. Gladstone closed an address which had been looked forward to with great expectation by the country:—

'If issue is taken adversely upon this bill, I hope it will be, above all, a plain and direct issue. I trust it will be taken upon the question, whether there is or is not to be an enfranchisement downwards, if it is to be taken at all. We have felt that to carry enfranchisement above the present line was essential; essential to character, essential to credit, essential to usefulness; essential to the character and credit not

merely of the Government, not merely of the political party by which it has the honour to be represented, but of this House, and of the successive Parliaments and Governments, who all stand pledged with respect to this question of the representation. We cannot consent to look upon this large addition, considerable although it may be, to the political power of the working classes of this country, as if it were an addition fraught with mischief and with danger. We cannot look, and we hope no man will look, upon it as some Trojan horse approaching the walls of the sacred city, and filled with armed men, bent upon ruin, plunder, and conflagration. We cannot join in comparing it with that *monstrum infelix*—we cannot say—

"—Scandit fatalis machina muros,
Fœta armis: mediæque minans illabitur urbi."

I believe that those persons whom we ask you to enfranchise ought rather to be welcomed as you would welcome recruits to your army, or children to your family. We ask you to give within what you consider to be the just limits of prudence and circumspection; but, having once determined those limits, to give with an ungrudging hand. Consider what you can safely and justly afford to do in admitting new subjects and citizens within the pale of the Parliamentary constitution; and, having so considered it, do not, I beseech you, perform the act as if you were compounding with danger and misfortune. Do it as if you were conferring a boon that will be felt and reciprocated in grateful attachment. Give to these persons new interests in the Constitution, new interests which, by the beneficent processes of the law of nature and of Providence, shall beget in them new attachment; for the attachment of the people to the Throne, the institutions, and the laws under which they live is, after all, more than gold and silver, or more than fleets and armies, at once the strength, the glory, and the safety of the land.'

The bill satisfied the majority of the Liberal party, and met with considerable favour in the country; but by the Conservatives it was regarded as a dangerous step in the direction of democracy. In the House of Commons its most brilliant and effective opponent was Mr. Lowe. During these debates, while content to act the part of a prophet of evil, Mr. Lowe developed qualities which raised him into the first rank of Parliamentary debaters. On the evening following Mr. Gladstone's speech, he attacked the Chancellor of the Exchequer—and not unhappily—upon his own classic ground, concluding as follows:—'The intentions and actions of the new Parliament are as yet hidden by the veil of the future. It may be that we are destined to avoid this enormous danger with which we are confronted, and not, to use the language of my right hon. friend, to compound with danger and misfortune. But, sir, it may be otherwise; and all I can say is, that if my right hon. friend does succeed in carrying this measure through Parliament, when the passions and interests of the day are gone by I do not envy him his retrospect. I covet not a single leaf of the laurels that may encircle his brow. I do not envy him his triumph. His be the glory of carrying it; mine of having to the utmost of my poor ability resisted it.'

Amongst other Liberals who deserted the Government on the Reform question were Mr. Laing and Mr. Horsman. The latter described Mr. Gladstone's address as 'another bid for power, another promise made to be broken, another political fraud and

Parliamentary juggle.' This severe diatribe drew a crushing and memorable retort from Mr. Bright. Mr. Horsman, he said, had 'retired into what may be called his political Cave of Adullam, to which he invited every one who was in distress, and every one who was discontented. He has long been anxious to found a party in this House; and there is scarcely a member at this end of the House who is able to address us with effect or to take much part, whom he has not tried to bring over to his party and his cabal. At last he has succeeded in hooking the right hon. gentleman the member for Calne, Mr. Lowe. I know it was the opinion many years ago of a member of the Cabinet that two men could make a party. When a party is formed of two men so amiable and so disinterested as the two right hon. gentlemen, we may hope to see for the first time in Parliament a party perfectly harmonious and distinguished by mutual and unbroken trust. But there is one difficulty which it is impossible to remove. This party of two is like the Scotch terrier that was so covered with hair that you could not tell which was the head and which was the tail.' This sally, which excited immoderate laughter, remains one of the happiest examples of Parliamentary retort and *badinage*. Mr. Bright concluded by giving his support to the Government measure, because so far as it went it was simple and honest, and because he believed if it became law it would give more solidity and duration to everything that was good in the Constitution, and to everything that was noble in the character of these realms.

Leave was given to bring in the bill, but hostile notices of amendment quickly poured in, the most important being one tabled by Earl Grosvenor, an 'Adullamite,' a name which, after Mr. Bright's speech, was generally given to those Liberal members who withheld their support from the Government. Earl Grosvenor's amendment was to the effect that it was inexpedient to consider the bill for the reduction of the franchise until the House had before it the whole scheme of the Government for the amendment of the representation of the people. This amendment, which was hailed with delight by the Opposition, Mr. Gladstone said he should meet with a direct negative. Replying, the same evening, to Lord Robert Montagu, who had referred to Mr. Villiers as the 'pretended friend' of the working classes, the Chancellor of the Exchequer retorted the phrase upon the noble lord himself, and declared that if the working men whom he and others seemed to dread as an invading and destroying army, instead of their own flesh and blood, were introduced into the House, they would set him an example both of courtesy and good breeding.

The second reading of the Franchise Bill was fixed for an early day after the Easter recess. During this recess the Conservative party met at the residence of the Marquis of Salisbury, and decided upon strongly opposing the Government measure. In the country, however, the bill excited different feelings, and in many of the large towns enthusiastic demonstrations were held in its favour. In a letter addressed to his constituents, Mr. Bright said that the bill would pass if Birmingham and other towns did their duty. He referred to the Opposition as 'a dirty conspiracy,' and added, 'The men who, in every speech they utter, insult the working men, describing them as a multitude given up to ignorance and vice, will be the first to yield when the popular will is loudly and resolutely expressed.' The greatest interest was evoked by a demonstration at Liverpool, at which the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Goschen, and other distinguished persons were present. Mr. Gladstone spoke with great power and eloquence. Having expressed his regret that immediate danger to the measure which the Government had introduced should proceed from a name honoured in the ranks of the aristocracy, he made the following declaration, which was received by the vast audience rising in a body and cheering for several minutes:—'Having produced this measure, founded in a spirit of moderation, we hope to support it with decision. It is not in our power to secure the passing of the measure: that rests more with you, and more with those whom you represent, and of whom you are a sample, than it does with us. Still, we have a great responsibility, and are conscious of it; and we do not intend to flinch from it. We stake ourselves—we stake our existence as a Government—and we also stake our political character on the adoption of the bill in its main provisions. You have a right to expect from us that we should tell you what we mean, and that the trumpet which it is our business to blow should give forth no uncertain sound. Its sound has not been, and, I trust, will not be, uncertain. We have passed the Rubicon—we have broken the bridge, and burned the boats behind us. We have advisedly cut off the means of retreat, and having done this, we hope that, as far as time is yet permitted, we have done our duty to the Crown and to the nation.'

This was a note of preparation for the Liberal party in view of the coming struggle. The debate on the second reading of the bill commenced on the 12th of April. On no occasion since, and seldom before, has such a flow of eloquence been heard within the walls of the House of Commons. The debate was continued for eight nights. It was opened by the Chancellor

of the Exchequer, who, in moving the second reading of the Ministerial measure, adverted upon the necessity for legislating on the subject, and showed the propriety of proceeding by well-defined stages. He also warmly defended the working classes from the charges which had been brought against them of ignorance, drunkenness, venality, and violence. He combated the delusion of the Conservative party that the bill was adverse to their interests, regretting that they should have fallen into it, and created much amusement by reading a passage from the current *Quarterly Review*, purporting to give an account of the secret motives of the introduction of this bill, which, by an apt Shakespearian quotation, he characterised as a 'gross and palpable fiction.' Mr. Gladstone then replied in detail to the arguments urged against the bill, and said he calculated that the working classes would only have the command of 120 seats against 538 elected by the other classes in the community. A further reduction of the franchise would not be dangerous. Having announced that the Government would not proceed with any other part of their reform scheme until the fate of the present bill had been determined, the right hon. gentleman replied to the charges of Mr. Lowe, and said there was no hope for England if the picture which he strove to draw with his matchless power were indeed true. 'I thank the House,' said the speaker, in conclusion, 'for the great patience and kindness with which it has heard me on such a subject as this; and, after what has occurred, it can hardly be but that men should become warm. But let us endeavour to keep our balance; let us recollect to look before and after. In this spirit I do earnestly entreat and conjure the House, on whichever side, to remember that it is not enough for us now to say, as we shall soon be asked to say, "We are now ready to entertain the question of reform with a view to its settlement." Enough, and more than enough, there have been already of barren, idle, mocking words. Deeds are what are wanted. I beseech you to be wise, and, above all, to be wise in time.'

Earl Grosvenor then moved his amendment, which was seconded by Lord Stanley. On the second night of the debate Sir E. Bulwer Lytton delivered a powerful speech, and one that threw the Opposition into a frenzy of delight. He turned upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer his phrase that the working classes were our own flesh and blood, and expressed his amazement that he could descend to a species of argument so hollow in itself and so perilous in its logical deductions. 'What has the right hon. gentleman,' demanded the hon. baronet, 'to say to the millions who will ask him one day, "Are we an invading army? Are

we not fellow-Christians? Are we not your own flesh and blood?" Does he think it will be answer enough to give that kind of modified opinion which he put forth last night, and to say, "Well, that is very true. For my own part, in my individual capacity, I cannot see that there is any danger of admitting you; but still, you know, it is wise to proceed gradually. A £7 voter is real flesh and blood. But you are only gradual flesh and blood. Read Darwin on the origin of species, and learn that you are fellow-Christians in an imperfect state of development."' He exhorted Liberal members, in Mr. Gladstone's words, to 'be wise in time,' and to vote for the rejection of the bill.

Mr. J. Stuart Mill welcomed the bill as a valuable gain, and professed himself entirely uninfluenced by any terror of the admission of the working classes. Sir Hugh Cairns contended that the admission of the great body of the working classes would disturb the balance of the Constitution. Mr. Horsman, taking up the Chancellor of the Exchequer's phrase that the Government had broken down their bridges and burnt their boats, said these were the acts of desperate men, and were not calculated to inspire confidence. Mr. Bright spoke at considerable length in favour of the measure. He demonstrated that it would only admit 116,000 real working men, and would give but one-fourth of the electoral power in the boroughs to the class which formed three-quarters of the people, leaving four millions of adult males entirely destitute of political power. The Opposition, in rejecting this moderate scheme, were either misled by their leaders, or else had driven their leaders into a pernicious course. Mr. Lowe made another brilliant attack upon the bill. He ridiculed the 'flesh and blood' argument, pointed out the danger arising from the power of the working classes to combine for the accomplishment of their objects, and prophesied that, if the bill were adopted, there was no saying where they would stop in the downward direction of democracy. Democratise the House of Commons, and the institutions which now stood between it and the Throne would be swept away. In a final appeal to the House, Mr. Lowe said, 'Surely the heroic work of so many centuries, the matchless achievements of so many wise heads and strong hands, deserve a nobler consummation than to be sacrificed at the shrine of revolutionary passion or the maudlin enthusiasm of humanity! But, if we do fall, we shall fall deservedly. Uncoerced by any external force, not borne down by any internal calamity, but in the full plethora of our wealth and the surfeit of our too exuberant prosperity, with our own rash and inconsiderate hands we are about to pluck down on our heads the venerable temple of our liberty and our glory. History may tell of

other acts as signally disastrous, but of none more wanton, none more disgraceful.' Lord Cranborne said that he would not speculate in the dark; and Mr. Disraeli, in a speech of nearly three hours' duration, maintained that it was impossible to fathom the effects of this Franchise Bill till the complete scheme was before them. He defended his party from the charges brought against it of dealing unfairly with this and other questions, and concluded with an attack upon Mr. Gladstone, who, he said, was Americanising our institutions. The House ought to proceed, not upon the principle that it was the House of the people, but that it represented a great political order in the State, and not an indiscriminate multitude.

The most striking of all the incidents of this celebrated debate arose in connection with the closing speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which he made some unpremeditated and pathetic allusions to his relations with the Liberal party. The attack of the leader of the Opposition in great measure led to this remarkable passage in his reply. Rising at one o'clock in the morning to conclude a legislative battle which had begun a fortnight before, Mr. Gladstone—in his best vein, and in a strain of eloquence which even his enemies allowed they had never known surpassed—proceeded to rebut the charges which had been made against the bill. 'At last,' he said, alluding to a statement by Mr. Disraeli, 'we have obtained a declaration from an authoritative source that a bill which, in a country with five millions of adult males, proposes to add to a limited constituency 200,000 of the middle-class and 200,000 of the working-class, is, in the judgment of the leader of the Tory party, a bill to reconstruct the Constitution upon American principles.' Denying Mr. Lowe's inference that in certain observations of his at a public meeting he had meant to disparage the members of that House, Mr. Gladstone said these words referred, 'not to the House of Commons, but to certain depraved and crooked little men.' He frankly owned that he was speaking first and foremost of Mr. Lowe, who was opposed to Reform in any shape. Mr. Gladstone then replied to the various animadversions of Mr. Disraeli to which we have already alluded:—

'The right hon. gentleman, secure in the recollection of his own consistency, has taunted me with the errors of my boyhood. When he addressed the hon. member for Westminster, he showed his magnanimity by declaring that he would not take the philosopher to task for what he wrote twenty-five years ago; but when he caught one who, thirty-six years ago, just emerged from boyhood, and still an undergraduate at Oxford, had expressed an opinion adverse to the Reform Bill of 1832, of which he had so long and bitterly repented, then the right hon. gentleman could not resist the temptation. He, a Parliamentary leader of twenty years' standing, is so ignorant of the House of Commons, that he positively thought he got a Parliamentary advantage by exhibiting me as an opponent of the Reform Bill of 1832. As the right hon. gentleman has exhibited me, let me exhibit myself. It

is true, I deeply regret it, but I was bred under the shadow of the great name of Canning, every influence connected with that name governed the politics of my childhood and of my youth; with Canning I rejoiced in the removal of religious disabilities, and in the character which he gave to our policy abroad; with Canning I rejoiced in the opening which he made towards the establishment of free commercial interchanges between nations; with Canning, and under the shadow of that great name, and under the shadow of that yet more venerable name of Burke, I grant, my youthful mind and imagination were impressed just the same as the mature mind of the right hon. gentleman is now impressed. I had conceived that fear and alarm of the first Reform Bill in the days of my undergraduate career at Oxford which the right hon. gentleman now feels; and the only difference between us is this—I thank him for bringing it out—that, having those views, I moved the Oxford Union Debating Society to express them clearly, plainly, forcibly, in downright English, and that the right hon. gentleman is still obliged to skulk under the cover of the amendment of the noble lord. I envy him not one particle of the polemical advantage which he has gained by his discreet reference to the proceedings of the Oxford Union Debating Society in the year of grace 1831. My position, sir, in regard to the Liberal party is in all points the opposite of Earl Russell's. . . . I have none of the claims he possesses. I came among you an outcast from those with whom I associated, driven from them, I admit, by no arbitrary act, but by the slow and resistless forces of conviction. I came among you to make use of the legal phraseology, *in forma pauperis*. I had nothing to offer you but faithful and honourable service. You received me, as Dido received the shipwrecked Æneas—

> "Ejectum littore, egentem
> Accepi,"

and I only trust you may not hereafter at any time have to complete the sentence in regard to me—

> "Et regni demens, in parte locavi."

You received me with kindness, indulgence, generosity, and I may even say with some measure of confidence. And the relation between us has assumed such a form that you can never be my debtors, but that I must for ever be in your debt. It is not from me, under such circumstances, that any word will proceed that can savour of the character which the right hon. gentleman imputes to the conduct of the Government with respect to the present bill.'

The Chancellor of the Exchequer thus concluded his impassioned speech:—

'Sir, we are assailed; this bill is in a state of crisis and of peril, and the Government along with it. We stand or fall with it, as has been declared by my noble friend Lord Russell. We stand with it now; we may fall with it a short time hence. If we do so fall, we, or others in our places, shall rise with it hereafter. I shall not attempt to measure with precision the forces that are to be arrayed against us in the coming issue. Perhaps the great division of to-night is not the last that must take place in the struggle. At some point of the contest you may possibly succeed. You may drive us from our seats. You may bury the bill that we have introduced, but we will write upon its gravestone for an epitaph this line, with certain confidence in its fulfilment—

> "Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor."

You cannot fight against the future. Time is on our side. The great social forces which move onwards in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb—those great social forces are against you: they are marshalled on our side; and the banner which we now carry in this fight, though perhaps at some moment it may droop over our sinking heads, yet it soon again will float in the eye of Heaven, and it will be borne by the firm hands of the united people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain and to a not far distant victory.'

The division took place under circumstances of the greatest

excitement. The Speaker having put the question, members withdrew. After voting, the 'Ayes' and the 'Noes' gradually found their way to the seats on the floor and in the galleries. A spectator, describing the memorable scene, says that in about twenty minutes a strange electric-like agitation began to manifest itself. Mr. Walpole whispered to Mr. Disraeli the word 'Six.' Shortly afterwards Mr. Brand appeared, and it was known that the strength of the Opposition was larger than the Liberals had feared or the Tories had hoped. Mr. Childers rushed up the floor to the Treasury bench, and, in a tone of disappointment, uttered the word 'Five' to Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Adam, the Government teller, now emerged upon the scene. The House was charged with electricity like a vast thundercloud; and now the spark was about to be applied. Strangers rose in their seats, the crowd at the bar pushed half-way up the House, the Royal Princes leaned forward in their standing places, and all was confusion. The tellers walked up the floor and made due obeisance to the chair. Then, loudly and distinctly, Mr. Brand read out the numbers as follows:—Ayes to the right, 318; Noes to the left, 313. The majority for the Government was accordingly five. What followed is best described in the language of the spectator just mentioned:—

'Hardly had the words left the teller's lips than there arose a wild, raging, mad-brained shout from floor and gallery such as has never been heard in the present House of Commons. Dozens of half-frantic Tories stood up in their seats, madly waved their hats, and hurrahed at the top of their voices. Strangers in both galleries clapped their hands. The Adullamites on the Ministerial benches, carried away by the delirium of the moment, waved their hats in sympathy with the Opposition, and cheered as loudly as any. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, in his speech, had politely performed the operation of holding a candle to—Lucifer (Mr. Lowe); and he, the prince of the revolt, the leader, instigator, and prime mover of the conspiracy, stood up in the excitement of the moment—flushed, triumphant, and avenged. His hair, brighter than silver, shone and glistened in the brilliant light. His complexion had deepened into something like bishop's purple. His small, regular, and almost woman-like features, always instinct with intelligence, now mantled with the liveliest pleasure. He took off his hat, waved it in wide and triumphant circles over the heads of the very men who had just gone into the lobby against him. "Who would have thought there was so much in Bob Lowe?" said one member to another; "why, he was one of the cleverest men in Lord Palmerston's Government!" "All this comes of Lord Russell's sending for Goschen," was the reply. "Disraeli did not half so signally avenge himself against Peel," interposed another; "Lowe has very nearly broken up the Liberal party" These may seem to be exaggerated estimates of the situation; but in that moment of agitation and excitement I dare say a hundred sillier things were said and agreed to. Anyhow, there he stood, that usually cold, undemonstrative, intellectual, white-headed, red-faced, venerable-looking arch-conspirator! shouting himself hoarse, like the ringleader of schoolboys at a successful barring-out, and amply repaid at that moment for all Skye-terrier witticisms and any amount of popular obloquy! But see, the Chancellor of the Exchequer lifts up his hand to bespeak silence, as if he had something to say in regard to the result of the division. But the more the great orator lifts his hand beseechingly, the more the cheers are renewed and the hats waved. At length the noise comes to an end by the process of exhaustion, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer rises. Then there is a universal hush, and you might hear a pin drop. He simply says, "Sir, I propose to fix the committee for Monday, and I will then state the order of

business" It was twilight, brightening into day, when we got out into the welcome fresh air of New Palace Yard. Early as was the hour, about three hundred persons were assembled to see the members come out, and to cheer the friends of the bill. It was a night to be long remembered. The House of Commons had listened to the grandest oration ever yet delivered by the greatest orator of his age; and had then to ask itself how it happened that the Liberal party had been disunited, and a Liberal majority of sixty "muddled away."'

Few could anticipate at this time that there would be a swift and irresistible appeal from 'Philip drunk to Philip sober,' and that in the course of one short year a Conservative Government would find itself compelled to take up that very question of Reform whose virtual defeat its opponents now hailed with such intoxicated expressions of delight. That the Liberal majority on this question had been 'muddled away,' was certainly not Mr. Gladstone's fault, for if matchless eloquence could have retained it, his address was well calculated to achieve this end. He was more than equal to a task that might well have discouraged any Parliamentary leader. 'Those who read his speech,' wrote one who listened to it, 'must be struck with its marvellous power, breadth, and comprehensiveness; its dignity, its spirit, its pathos, its tact, as displayed in his deference to the Opposition as a great party; his touching appeal to the Liberal party to forget the smallness of his claims to be their leader; his confidence that time was with him as the conductor of this great question, conveyed in an ordinary metaphor, made brilliant by the language in which it was expressed, and which formed the last sentence of his speech. But really to appreciate the effect you must, as Æschines said of Demosthenes, have heard him. The sustainment of voice and power were equalled only by the infinite variety of the manner, the fine spirit, and the moral earnestness which pervaded it. It may not be the highest praise, but it must be said that it was a speech which was not Gladstonian proper—that is, it was one that came from Mr. Gladstone purified from his little defects, and elevated by the force of the situation to the very perfection of oratory, and, better still, of Parliamentary management. If ever a speech influenced, in the sense of overwhelming an organised Opposition, this one did just that.' The division list revealed how, and why, the Liberal majority had dwindled away. With the Government there voted only two Conservatives, but against them there were arrayed thirty-one Liberals and 282 Conservatives. The cause of Reform had been deserted by its professed friends. This division was reported as the largest which ever took place in the House of Commons. Six hundred and thirty-one members actually voted, and two paired. This only left twenty-five members, out of the entire number of which the House was composed, to be accounted

for. Eleven seats were vacant, and there were absent—mostly from serious illness—thirteen members, chiefly Liberals. These various classes, with the Speaker, constituted the full House.

When the House met on the 30th of April, the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that the Government saw nothing in the recent division to prevent them from going on with their bill. Both sides had agreed to the principle of a reduction of the franchise. A few days later, Mr. Gladstone introduced the Government measure for the redistribution of seats. It proposed, by grouping together a number of small boroughs, giving one or two representatives only to each group, to gain forty-one seats, and eight others were to be reduced to one representative each, making a total of forty-nine. Where the population of a group was less than 15,000, there would be one member; and where it was above 15,000, there would be two members for the group. The seats thus gained it was proposed to distribute among populous counties to the number of twenty-six; to give an extra representative to Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, and Salford; to divide the Tower Hamlets into two divisions, with two members each; to create seven new electoral boroughs with one member each; and one new borough, Kensington and Chelsea, with two; and to give, moreover, seven seats to Scotland. Leave was also given to bring in the Scotch and Irish Reform Bills.

Mr. Gladstone intimated that the Government would not advise a prorogation of Parliament until both questions, viz., that of the Franchise and that of Redistribution, had been disposed of. The second reading of the Redistribution Bill was carried on the 14th of May without a division, but Mr. Disraeli took the opportunity of severely criticising the course of the Government. The House and the country, he said, were in ignorance how to proceed, and ignorance could never settle anything. The House must come forward and help the Government, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer must recross the Rubicon, build up his bridges, and reconstruct his boats. After the Whitsun holidays the debates were renewed with vigour. Sir R. Knightley moved, 'That it be an instruction to the Committee on the Franchise Bill to make provision for the prevention of corruption and bribery at elections.' The motion was carried by a majority of ten against the Government, whereupon Mr. Gladstone somewhat unnerved Sir R. Knightley by saying they would wait for the production of his scheme. Those who had anticipated that the result of this division would wreck the Ministerial scheme were disappointed. A more formidable issue was raised by Captain Hayter's resolution, that in the opinion of the House the system

of grouping proposed by the Government was neither convenient nor equitable, nor sufficiently matured to form the basis of a satisfactory measure. A long debate ensued, in the course of which Mr. John Stuart Mill said, with reference to an allegation that he had called the Conservatives the stupidest of parties, 'I never meant to say that the Conservatives are generally stupid. I meant to say that stupid persons are generally Conservative.' This amended phrase, conveying no more grateful compliment than its predecessor, was, of course, strongly resented by the Opposition.

Mr. Lowe made another vigorous and clever onslaught upon the bill. After criticising its provisions and also the system of 'grouping' in the Redistribution Bill, he came to more personal matters. Mr. Bright standing upon the Constitution, he remarked, put him in mind of an American squib:

> 'Here we stand upon the Constitution, by thunder,
> It's a fact of which there are bushels of proofs;
> For how could we trample upon it, I wonder,
> If it wasn't continually under our hoofs?'

After 1860, the honour of the Government on the question of Reform went to sleep for five years. 'Session after session it never so much as winked. As long as Lord Palmerston lived honour slept soundly; but when Lord Palmerston died, and Lord Russell succeeded by seniority to his place, the "sleeping beauty" woke up.' It became necessary to have a Reform Bill. Mr. Lowe closed with another prediction of ruin to the Constitution. 'To precipitate a decision in the case of a single human life would be cruel. It is more than cruel, it is parricide in the case of the Constitution, which is the life and soul of this great nation. If it is to perish, as all human things must perish, give it at any rate time to gather its robe about it, and to fall with decency and deliberation—

> "To-morrow! O that's sudden! spare it! spare it
> It ought not so to die!"'

Earl Grosvenor made an appeal to Captain Hayter to withdraw his motion, on the ground that its success might lead to the breaking-up of the Government, which in the present state of European politics would be a great misfortune to the country, as it would involve the loss of Lord Clarendon's services. This drew from Mr. Disraeli a severe attack upon the policy of Lord Clarendon. Mr. Gladstone said that not a single objection had been made which went to the root of the bill, or which could not be dealt with in committee. The bill was only the application of the principles of 1832, and he warned the Opposition that any

triumph which they might gain now would recoil with tenfold force on themselves. Much to the annoyance of the Opposition, but greatly to the satisfaction of the supporters of the Government, Captain Hayter withdrew his resolution. A strange scene thereupon occurred. The bulk of the Opposition hurried out of the House to avoid a division, when the Speaker put the usual question. The amendment was then negatived without a dissentient voice.

But more serious peril still awaited the measure. After several abortive resolutions an amendment was proposed by Lord Dunkellin, which proved fatal to the existence of the bill, and led to the resignation of the Government. His lordship proposed that the borough franchise should be based on rating instead of rental, as being a more convenient and constitutional principle. The Chancellor of the Exchequer strongly opposed the motion on the grounds, first, that it involved a limitation of the franchise, and, secondly, that there were grave practical difficulties in the way of the operation of the principle.

The discussion upon this amendment had an unlooked-for result. The Government were placed in a minority of 11, the numbers being—For the amendment, 315; against, 304. The Opposition were in a paroxysm of delight, and the scene almost equalled in excitement that which occurred after the division upon the second reading of the bill. The Adullamites and a large number of the Conservatives were irrepressible in their enthusiasm. The clerk having handed the paper to Lord Dunkellin, it was obvious which way the division had gone; but a storm of cheers from the Conservative benches prevented the numbers from being read out for a minute or two. When the majority of eleven against the Government became known, there was witnessed an unparliamentary scene, viz., waving of hats, clapping of hands, and other demonstrations both by the Opposition and strangers who sympathised with them.

The Opposition had at length succeeded in their hostility to Reform and to the Ministry. On the following day, the 19th of June, Earl Russell in the Lords and Mr. Gladstone in the Commons announced that, in consequence of their late defeat, the Government had felt it to be their duty to make a communication to her Majesty. On the 26th fuller explanations were furnished in both Houses. In the Lords, Earl Russell stated that Ministers had tendered their resignations, to which they had adhered notwithstanding an appeal from the Queen to reconsider their determination. In the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone defended the Government for their resolve to stand or fall by the bill, and explained at length the circumstances which led to

that declaration. Such a pledge, he admitted, was one which a Government should rarely give. 'It was the last weapon in the armoury of the Government: it should not be lightly taken down from the walls; and if it is taken down, it should not be lightly replaced, nor till it has served the purposes it was meant to fulfil. The pledge had been given, however, under the deepest conviction of public duty, and had the effect of making them use every effort in their power to avoid offence, to conciliate, support, and unite, instead of distracting.'

Earl Russell thus ceased to be First Lord of the Treasury, and the Earl of Derby reigned in his stead. The Conservative leader endeavoured unsuccessfully to obtain the active support of the Adullamites, and a purely Conservative Government consequently came into office, under difficulties which would have daunted almost any political chief save 'the Rupert of debate.'

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE REFORM AND IRISH CHURCH QUESTIONS.

The Reform Agitation—Statement by the Premier—Demonstration in Hyde Park—Meetings in the Provinces—Mr. Gladstone and the Liberal Party—The Ministerial Reform Scheme—Debate on the Second Reading—Mr. Gladstone's Nine Points—The Bill transformed—Protest by Lord Cranborne—His attack on Mr. Disraeli—Speech of Mr. Lowe—Mr. Disraeli 'educates' his Party—Becomes Prime Minister—The Abyssinian Expedition—Scotch and Irish Reform Bills—Mr. Gladstone's Compulsory Church Rates Abolition Bill—Liberal and Conservative Finance—The Irish Church Question—Important Declaration by Mr. Gladstone—His Disestablishment Resolutions—Address of the Mover—Mr. Disraeli's Reply—His Retorts upon Lord Cranborne and Mr. Lowe—Mr. Gladstone's Motion carried by a large Majority—Conduct of the Government—Ministerial Explanations—The Suspension Bill passes the Commons—General Election—Mr. Gladstone is defeated in South-west Lancashire—Is elected for Greenwich—Great Liberal Triumph throughout the Country—Resignation of Mr. Disraeli—Mr. Gladstone becomes Premier.

THE fall of Lord Russell's Ministry, with the necessary postponement of the Reform question, led to a series of demonstrations in London and the provinces. At a meeting held in Trafalgar Square—which was attended by about 10,000 persons—the ex-Premier was censured for not having dissolved Parliament. A few days later, Lord Derby, in explaining the policy of the new Ministry in the House of Lords, said that nothing would give him greater pleasure than to see a very considerable portion of the class now excluded admitted to the franchise; but, on the other hand, he was afraid that the portion of the community who were most clamorous for the passing of a Reform Bill, were not that portion who would be satisfied with any measure such as could be approved of by the two great political parties in the country. The Government reserved to themselves the most entire liberty upon this subject. Meanwhile the authorities prohibited the holding of public meetings in Hyde Park, though the Home Secretary, Mr. Walpole, stated in the House of Commons that there was nothing in the notice signed by Sir Richard Mayne to imply that processions, orderly conducted, were illegal. The council of the Reform League received great encouragement to persevere in their intentions from Mr. Bright, who wrote, 'If a public meeting in a public park is denied you, and if millions of intelligent and honest men are denied the franchise, on what

foundation do our liberties rest, or is there in this country any liberty but the toleration of the ruling class?' On the 23rd of July a riot occurred in Hyde Park in consequence of the order of the Government being carried out against the proposed demonstration of the League. The Reformers marched in procession to the Marble Arch, but were repulsed by the police in their efforts to enter the park. The leaders then returned to Trafalgar Square, where resolutions were passed thanking Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Bright, and others, for remaining faithful to the cause of Reform. At this time, however, a scene of great violence was proceeding in Hyde Park. The mob tore down the railings and entered the enclosure, with loud cheering and waving of hats and handkerchiefs. Attacks upon the police by the mob, and *vice versâ*, ensued; a number of persons were seriously injured, and disastrous consequences were apprehended, when fortunately order was restored by the intervention of a body of Life Guards. On the 25th the Home Secretary received a deputation from the Reform League, when he gave an undertaking that if the Reformers would only use the park in a legal and peaceable way there should be no display of military or police. Mr. Walpole became deeply affected during this interview. The spectacle of a Home Secretary in tears so greatly disturbed the gravity of the press that many of the journals demanded a sterner guardian of the public order.

Parliament was prorogued on the 10th of August, but the Reform demonstrations continued through the whole of the recess. A meeting was held at Brookfields, near Birmingham, the number attending being estimated at 250,000. At a second meeting in the Town Hall the same evening, Mr. Bright urged his hearers to press on in their agitation for restoring the British Constitution with all its freedom to the British people. The language held by some of the prominent friends of Reform was not always discreet, and Lord Derby and Mr. Lowe were especially subjected to violent attacks out of doors. Mr. Gladstone alone, at this juncture, amongst the popular leaders on the Reform question, appears to have preserved a calm and dignified attitude. While defending the proceedings of the late Government, in a speech delivered at Salisbury, he promised that a fair consideration should be given to any well-digested scheme brought forward by their successors, provided it was introduced promptly and showed a spirit of moderation and justice. Complaints were at this time made against Mr. Gladstone's leadership of the Liberal party; but Mr. Grant Duff interpreted the feeling of the bulk of his supporters when he remarked of the right hon. gentleman, 'He has a horrible foreboding, that—to use his own words—time is

on the side of those very politicians who, when he started in public life, were at the opposite pole of the political sphere, against whom all the strength of his youth and of his manhood was directed. Read his early speeches, study his early books; he has travelled far since then, and may well murmur from time to time at that destiny which may lead him, before he dies, like the Sicambrian* of old, to burn what he adored, and to adore that which he burnt.'

The Reform demonstrations proceeded, as we have already observed, with little intermission, until the opening of Parliament, on the 5th of February in the following year (1867). The strong feeling pervading all classes in favour of a settlement of the Franchise question had its due weight with the Government, and, notwithstanding Lord Derby's previous declaration, the Queen's Speech once more promised that attention should be called to the representation of the people in Parliament. In the debate on the Address, Mr. Gladstone said that the interests of the country demanded a speedy settlement of the question; and it was the duty of Parliament to accept, wherever they could get it, a measure which would be adequate to the just expectations of the country. On the 11th Mr. Disraeli announced the intentions of the Government. He stated that it was proposed to proceed by way of resolutions, which he now tabled; but objections were raised to this novel mode of dealing with the subject, and complaints were made that no precise details were furnished in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's resolutions. On the 25th, accordingly, Mr. Disraeli disclosed his scheme with greater fulness. He proposed, he said, to reduce the occupation franchise in boroughs to a £6 rating; in counties to £20; the franchise was also to be extended to any person having £50 in the funds, or £30 in a savings-bank for a year. Payment of £20 of direct taxes would also be a title to the franchise, as would a university degree. Votes would further be given to clergymen, ministers of religion generally, members of the learned professions, and certificated schoolmasters. It was proposed to disfranchise Yarmouth, Lancaster, Reigate, and Totnes, and to take one member each from twenty-three boroughs with less than 7,000 inhabitants. The House would have thirty seats to dispose of, and it was proposed to allot fourteen of them to new boroughs in the northern and midland districts, fifteen to counties, and one to the London University. The second division of the Tower Hamlets would return two members, and several new county divisions named

* An allusion to Clovis, the founder of the French Monarchy, who was converted to Christianity. Being baptised by St. Remi, the latter exclaimed, as he poured upon the neck of Clovis the sacred oil, 'Humble thyself, fierce Sicambrer; adore what thou didst burn, and burn that which thou hast adored.'

would have two additional members each. The scheme would add 212,000 voters to the borough, and 206,500 to the county constituencies.

Mr. Lowe demanded a simple bill which would bring the question fairly to an issue. He was ashamed to hear addressed to him, as a 658th part of the House, such language as this:—'If the House will deign to take us into its counsel, if it will co-operate with us in this matter, we shall receive with cordiality, with deference—nay, even with gratitude—any suggestion it likes to offer. Say what you like to us, only for God's sake leave us our places!' Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone enforced the difficulty of proceeding by vague resolutions. On the following day a meeting of the Opposition was held, attended by 289 members, when it was agreed to support an amendment with the object of setting aside the resolutions, and urging the Government to proceed at once by bill. Seeing the manifest feeling of the House, Mr. Disraeli, the same evening, announced that the Government would abandon the method of proceeding by resolutions, and would introduce a bill on the earliest possible day. Three Ministers—General Peel, the Earl of Carnarvon, and Lord Cranborne—resigned office in consequence of the decision of the Government to bring in what they deemed to be an advanced Reform Bill. On the 18th the scheme was introduced. Mr. Disraeli said that its principles were that in boroughs the electors should be all who paid rates, or twenty shillings in direct taxes; the franchise would also be extended to certain classes qualified by education, or by the possession of a stated amount in the Funds, or in savings banks—rated householders to have a second vote. The re-distribution of seats would be on the lines already specified. To guard against the power of mere numbers, it was proposed to establish a system of checks, based on residence, rating, and dual voting. Mr. Gladstone strongly condemned these securities as illusions or frauds, which would be abandoned whenever it suited the Ministry; and he also predicted that a lodger franchise would have to be added to the bill. Lord Cranborne maintained that if the Conservative party accepted the bill they would be committing political suicide.

In the debate on the second reading, Mr. Gladstone cited nine defects in the bill which called for amendment, and Mr. Bright described the measure as bearing upon its face marks of deception and disappointment. The leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons speedily allowed it to be seen that he was—to use a word current at the time—'squeezable' upon the measure. The second reading was carried without a division. We do not propose to follow the course of the long

and acrimonious debates which ensued in committee, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer met with severe taunts from many of his own followers. During the debate on clause 3, Mr. Beresford Hope made an allusion to the Tadpoles and Tapers of certain amusing story-books, and declared that, 'sink or swim, dissolution or no dissolution, whether he was in the next Parliament or out of it, he for one, with his whole heart and conscience, would vote against the Asian mystery.' Mr. Disraeli retorted that when the hon. member talked about an Asian mystery, there were Batavian graces in all he said, which he noticed with satisfaction, and which charmed him.

A division arose amongst the Liberal members at this time, which resulted in the temporary withdrawal of Mr. Gladstone from the leadership of the party. It shortly afterwards appeared, however, that Mr. Gladstone did not intend to abandon the post of leader altogether, but that, in consequence of the decision of the House in favour of a direct and personal payment of rates by the householder as essential to the franchise, he would personally desist from attempting to alter the basis of the bill, though he would still vote with his party on any amendments which they might bring forward for securing a still further extension of the franchise.

Mr. Bright, speaking of Mr. Gladstone at a Reform demonstration in Birmingham, said that since 1832 there had been no man of his rank as a statesman who had imported into the Reform question so much of conviction, of earnestness, and of zeal. 'Who is there in the House of Commons,' he demanded, 'who equals him in knowledge of all political questions? Who equals him in earnestness? Who equals him in eloquence? Who equals him in courage and fidelity to his convictions? If these gentlemen who say they will not follow him have any one who is equal, let them show him. If they can point out any statesman who can add dignity and grandeur to the stature of Mr. Gladstone, let them produce him.' Shortly afterwards deputations from various parts of the country, accompanied by members of Parliament, waited upon Mr. Gladstone to present addresses expressive of confidence in him as the Liberal leader.

The changes effected in the Reform Bill on its passage through committee were so great, as to lead almost to an entire transformation of the measure. The Government were defeated on an amendment restricting the residence in boroughs to twelve months, while a lodger franchise was secured on the motion of Mr. Torrens. A great difficulty arose with respect to the compound householder, whose case gave rise to protracted discussions; but ultimately, on the proposition of Mr. Hodgkinson,

it was decided to abolish composition altogether in Parliamentary boroughs. The occupation franchise in counties was lowered from £15, the sum proposed by the bill, to £12. The 'fancy' franchises—the education and tax-paying clauses—were struck out. The boroughs of Lancaster, Reigate, and Great Yarmouth were disfranchised for gross bribery; and considerable modifications were secured in the clauses relating to the redistribution of seats. The clause providing for the use of voting papers at elections was struck out; and a third member was added to the representation of Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds. Mr. Lowe was defeated on his proposal for cumulative voting, and Mr. Stuart Mill in his effort to enfranchise women.

The bill was read a third time on the 15th of July, after a final protest by its enemies. Lord Cranborne expressed his astonishment at hearing the bill described as a Conservative triumph. It was right that its real parentage should be established. The bill had been modified at the dictation of Mr. Gladstone, who demanded, first, the lodger franchise, which had been given; secondly, the abolition of distinctions between compounders and non-compounders, which had been conceded, as had, thirdly, a provision to prevent traffic in votes; fourthly, the omission of the taxing franchise; fifthly, the omission of the dual vote; sixthly, the enlargement of the distribution of seats, which had been enlarged by fifty per cent.; seventhly, the reduction of the county franchise; eighthly, the omission of voting papers; ninthly and tenthly, the omission of the educational and savings-banks franchises. If the adoption of the principles of Mr. Bright could be described as a triumph, then indeed the Conservative party, in the whole history of its previous annals, had won no triumph so signal as this. 'I desire to protest, in the most earnest language I am capable of using, against the political morality on which the manœuvres of this year have been based. If you borrow your political ethics from the ethics of the political adventurer, you may depend upon it the whole of your representative institutions will crumble beneath your feet.'

Parliamentary history probably furnishes no case precisely parallel to this, where a prominent member of a great political party who held such denunciatory language towards his chief, should, in the course of events, accept office under that chief, and become his ablest and most trusted lieutenant. Lord Cranborne concluded the remarkable speech from which we have just quoted by deeply regretting that the House of Commons had applauded a policy of legerdemain; and above all he regretted that 'this great gift to the people—if gift you think it—should have been purchased at the cost of a political betrayal which has no parallel

in our Parliamentary annals, which strikes at the root of all that mutual confidence which is the very soul of our party government, and on which only the strength and freedom of our representative institutions can be sustained.' Mr. Lowe observed that Mr. Bright had been agitating for household suffrage; now that he had got it, would it be easy to stop in the path of concession? It would now be necessary, continued Mr. Lowe, to teach their masters their letters, and he concluded with this philippic:—'Sir, I was looking to-day at the head of the lion which was sculptured in Greece during her last agony after the battle of Chæronea, to commemorate that event, and I admired the spirit and the power which pourtrayed in the face of that noble beast the rage, the disappointment, and the scorn of a perishing nation and a down-trodden civilisation, and I said to myself, "Oh for an orator, oh for an historian, oh for a poet, who would do the same thing for us!" We also have had our battle of Chæronea; we have had our dishonest victory. That England that was wont to conquer other nations, had gained a shameful victory over herself; and oh that a man would rise, in order that he might set forth in words that could not die, the shame, the rage, the scorn, the indignation, and the despair, with which this measure is viewed by every Englishman who is not a slave to the trammels of party, or who is not dazzled by the glare of a temporary and ignoble success!'

The Reform Bill went up to the Lords, and, with certain amendments, was read a third time in the Upper House on the 6th of August. The Earl of Derby described the measure as 'a leap in the dark.' Two months later, at a Conservative banquet held in Edinburgh, Mr. Disraeli used the famous phrase respecting the education of his party. 'I had to prepare the mind of the country,' he remarked, 'and to educate—if it be not arrogant to use such a phrase—to educate our party.' This observation gave rise to so much comment, that Mr. Disraeli wrote to the journals explaining the sense in which his language was to be taken, and denying that he had said he had been educating his party with the view of bringing about a much greater reduction of the franchise than his opponents had proposed. In February, 1868, by the retirement of the Earl of Derby, Mr. Disraeli became Prime Minister.*

In the previous November Parliament had been summoned to

* There was, of course, but one possible Conservative Premier, Mr. Disraeli—he who had served the Conservative party for more than twenty years, who had led it to victory, and who had long been the ruling spirit of the Cabinet. To have reconstructed the Ministry without 'Vivian Grey' as its chief, would have been to enact in politics a well-known play under proverbial disadvantages. The Press generally congratulated Mr. Disraeli upon his elevation,

meet chiefly in connection with the Abyssinian Expedition. The war was undertaken for the deliverance of Mr. Cameron, her Majesty's Consul at Massowah, Mr. Rassam, and others, who were held captive by King Theodore. The Queen's Speech, in addition to this matter, also dealt with the Fenian conspiracy, which had assumed the form of organised violence and assassination. In the debate on the Address Mr. Gladstone began his speech by expressing sympathy with the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the painful circumstances under which he was then placed—Mrs. Disraeli, who was suffering from illness, being in a precarious state. He should now refrain from asking an explanation of statements made by Mr. Disraeli during the recess. With regard to the Abyssinian campaign, the Executive alone were responsible for the expedition hitherto, Parliament being entirely uncommitted upon the subject. There was a clear *casus belli* between our Government and the King of Abyssinia; but Mr. Gladstone warned the Ministry that the House would require to be convinced that the objects of the Expedition were attainable, that a war could be carried on with an enemy who might choose to run rather than to fight; also, how it was proposed to carry on the Expedition to an issue; and what were to be its limits. The House would, moreover, insist upon a distinct disclaimer, not only of territorial aggrandisement, but of all desire to contract new political responsibilities. As to the expenses of the war, he urged the Government to confide in the courage of Parliament, and

though the comments passed upon the Prime Minister were in many instances mingled with raillery and sarcasm. From a clever article which appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, placing in juxtaposition the rival claims of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli—we take the following extracts:—'One of the most grievous and constant puzzles of King David was the prosperity of the wicked and the scornful; and the same tremendous moral enigma has come down to our own days. In this respect the earth is in its older times what it was in its youth. Even so recently as last week the riddle once more presented itself in its most impressive shape. Like the Psalmist, the Liberal leader may well protest that verily he has cleansed his heart in vain and washed his hands in innocency; all day long he has been plagued by Whig lords, and chastened every morning by Radical manufacturers; as blamelessly as any curate he has written about *Ecce Homo*, and he has never made a speech, even in the smallest country town, without calling out with David, How foolish am I, and how ignorant! For all this, what does he see? The scorner who shot out the lip and shook the head at him across the table of the House of Commons last session has now more than heart could wish; his eyes, speaking in an Oriental manner, stand out with fatness, he speaketh loftily, and pride compasseth him about as with a chain. . . . That the writer of frivolous stories about *Vivian Grey* and *Coningsby* should grasp the sceptre before the writer of beautiful and serious things about *Ecce Homo*—the man who is epigrammatic, flashy, arrogant, before the man who never perpetrated an epigram in his life, is always fervid, and would as soon die as admit that he had a shade more brain than his footman—the Radical corrupted into a Tory before the Tory purified and elevated into a Radical—is not this enough to make an honest man rend his mantle, and shave his head, and sit down among the ashes inconsolable? Let us play the too-underrated part of Bildad the Shuhite for a space, while our chiefs thus have unwelcome leisure to scrape themselves with potsherds, and to meditate upon the evil way of the world.'

not to make them an addition to the debt of the country. The right hon. gentleman concurred in the hopes expressed in the Speech of the speedy termination of the Italian difficulty, and of the suppression of the Fenian outrages; but he pressed for a settlement of the Reform question and of the Irish Land question, and trusted that the rumour was incorrect which assigned to the Irish Church Commission the function of drawing up plans for its re-organisation. Mr. Disraeli, speaking under the influence of emotion, said he was much touched by the manner in which Mr. Gladstone had referred to his domestic affliction, and by the way in which the House had received that allusion. He admitted that the House was quite unpledged to the Abyssinian expedition; and, with regard to Irish questions, said that the Government hoped to be able to introduce a bill dealing with the subject of the land. They were also giving their earnest attention to the Church question. Some days later a vote of £2,000,000 was agreed to for the Abyssinian expedition, but not until after much discussion; and on the 28th of November the House of Commons voted an additional penny in the income-tax to defray the further expenses of the expedition. The payment, out of Indian revenues, of the Indian troops engaged in the war was also sanctioned. The main purposes for which Parliament was called together having been thus attained, the two Houses adjourned on the 7th of December until the 13th of February following.

The work of Reform was completed in the session of 1868 by the passing of the Scotch and Irish Reform Bills, a Boundary Bill for England and Wales, an Election Petitions and Corrupt Practices Prevention Bill, and the Registration of Voters Bill. The object of the last-named measure was to accelerate the elections, and to enable Parliament to meet before the end of 1868. The Scotch Reform Bill was introduced to assimilate the franchise of Scotland with that of England. It also proposed to increase the number of the House by giving seven additional representatives to Scotland. Two of these members were to be given to the universities, three to counties, and one to Glasgow. The debates record several important Ministerial defeats. Mr. Baxter carried against Government a proposition to disfranchise seven English boroughs with a population of less than 5,000 each. Mr. M'Laren and Mr. Bouverie likewise carried amendments against them, which led to considerable modifications in the bill. The Irish Reform Bill proposed to fix the borough franchise at £4, occupiers below that rental not paying rates in Ireland. There was also a limited scheme for redistribution of seats, but this was afterwards abandoned by the Government.

Early in the session the adoption by the House of Mr. Gladstone's Compulsory Church Rates Abolition Bill led to the settlement of a long-agitated question. By this measure all legal proceedings for the recovery of Church rates were to be henceforth abolished, except in cases of rates already made, or where money had been borrowed on the security of the rates; but it permitted voluntary assessments to be made, and all agreements to make such payments, on the faith of which any expenditure had been incurred, would be enforcible in the same manner as contracts of a like character in any court of law or equity. The bill was opposed by a section of the Conservative party, but Lord Cranborne demanded what that party would gain if it adhered to the principle of 'no surrender.' Though it was with the deepest feeling of reluctance that he gave up anything which the Church possessed, he thought it wiser to accept the terms that were then offered, as he was distinctly of opinion that they might go further and fare worse. The bill, with certain amendments, eventually passed through both Houses, and became law.

But the question which overshadowed all others this session was that involving the fate of the Irish Church Establishment. Before discussing this subject, however, with its momentous legislative and other results, some reference must be made to a matter of considerable importance, arising out of and connected with the financial schemes of the Government. These schemes having been subjected to severe hostile criticism, the Chancellor of the Exchequer elaborately defended them. The nature of the charges will be gathered from Mr. Gladstone's reply to the Ministerial apology. 'We left the income-tax,' said Mr. Gladstone, 'at 4d. in the pound. The expenditure of 1859-60 was arranged by the Tory Government. It was early in July that, on coming into office, I had to meet a deficit of, I think, four and a half millions, in a year of which all the arrangements had been made, and of which between three and four months had actually gone.' After dealing at length with the army, navy, and civil service charges, the right hon. gentleman went on to observe that, according to his calculation, the Liberal party had saved about £1,800,000 between 1862 and 1865, while the Tory Government exceeded the estimates in two years by £1,145,000, besides the cost of the Abyssinian war. Financial legislation in the years 1862-65 gave the country reduction of taxation to the extent of £2,276,000 annually. 'From thence it follows that the policy of the Liberal party has been to reduce the public charges, and to keep the expenditure within the estimates, and, as a result, to diminish the taxation of the country and the national debt; that the policy of the Tory Government, since they took office in

1866, has been to increase the public charges, and to allow the departments to spend more than their estimates, and, as a result, to create deficits, and to render the reduction of taxation impossible. Which policy will the country prefer?' The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Ward Hunt, in replying to these financial charges, was unable directly to impugn their accuracy, but pleaded that the extra expenditure was accounted for by increased pay to the army, by the furnishing of breechloaders, and by the arming of fortifications.

On the 16th of March, towards the close of the debate on Mr. Maguire's motion, that the House resolve itself into a committee to take the condition of Ireland into immediate consideration, Mr. Gladstone struck the first blow in the struggle that was to end in the disestablishment of the Irish Church. He complained that the Ministerial programme failed to realise the grave fact that we had reached a crisis in the Irish question. Ireland had an account with this country which had endured for centuries, and we had not done enough to place ourselves in the right. He dealt fully with the Government policy as affecting six questions deemed paramount, viz., Parliamentary reform, the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, railways, education, the land, and the Church. Coming to religious equality, he affirmed that it must be established, difficult as the operation might be; but he condemned the principle of levelling up. As to the appeals which had been made urging the Irish people to loyalty and to union, Mr. Gladstone said that was his object too; but with regard to the means the differences were still profound, and it was idle, it was mocking, to use words unless they could sustain them by corresponding substances. They must give the unreserved devotion of their efforts; and after warning Mr. Disraeli that, unless he had something more satisfactory to say on the subject of justice to Ireland than his colleagues, this question would immediately press for settlement, he concluded as follows:—'If we are prudent men, I hope we shall endeavour as far as in us lies to make some provision for a contingent, a doubtful, and probably a dangerous future. If we be chivalrous men, I trust we shall endeavour to wipe away all those stains which the civilised world has for ages seen, or seemed to see, on the shield of England in her treatment of Ireland. If we be compassionate men, I hope we shall now, once for all, listen to the tale of woe which comes from her, and the reality of which, if not its justice, is testified by the continuous migration of her people,—that we shall endeavour to

> "Raze out the written troubles from her brain,
> Pluck from her memory the rooted sorrow."

But, above all, if we be just men, we shall go forward in the

name of truth and right, bearing this in mind—that, when the case is proved, and the hour is come, justice delayed is justice denied.'

This speech excited feelings of consternation amongst the Ministerialists. Mr. Disraeli bewailed his own unhappy fate at the commencement of his career of Prime Minister, at finding himself face to face with the imperious necessity of settling out of hand an account seven centuries old. He complained that all the elements of the Irish crisis had existed while Mr. Gladstone was in office, but no attempt had been made to deal with them. The spirit of the age was not, he asserted, opposed to endowments, as had been laid down by Mr. Bright—who, with the aid of the philosophers, had now converted Mr. Gladstone to the same opinion. For himself, he was personally in favour of ecclesiastical endowments, and strongly objected to the destruction of the Irish Church. Mr. Maguire, being urged thereto by Mr. Gladstone, withdrew his motion.

But, with the express declarations of the leader of the Opposition, the Irish Church question had moved forward an enormous stage. To go back now was impossible, and to stand still was equally impossible. Mr. Gladstone's address became the basis of action for the Liberal party, and the country speedily took up the cry of disestablishment. The right hon. gentleman himself, not shrinking from following up the policy he had indicated, with all convenient speed, laid upon the table of the House of Commons the following resolutions upon the Irish Church, which he intended to move in committee of the whole House:—'1. That in the opinion of this House it is necessary that the Established Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an establishment, due regard being had to all personal interests and to all individual rights of property. 2. That, subject to the foregoing considerations, it is expedient to prevent the creation of new personal interests by the exercise of any public patronage, and to confine the operations of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of Ireland to objects of immediate necessity, or involving individual rights, pending the final decision of Parliament. 3. That an humble address be presented to her Majesty, humbly to pray that, with a view to the purposes aforesaid, her Majesty will be graciously pleased to place at the disposal of Parliament her interest in the temporalities, in archbishoprics, bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical dignities and benefices in Ireland and in the custody thereof.' A few days later Lord Stanley gave notice that he should propose the following amendment on the motion for going into committee on the Irish Church Establishment:—'That this House, while admitting that considerable modifications in the

temporalities of the United Church in Ireland may, after pending inquiry, appear to be expedient, is of opinion that any proposition tending to the disestablishment or disendowment of that Church might be reserved for the decision of a new Parliament.' This amendment—which was warmly approved by the Ministerialists—Lord Stanley explained, would be taken at the first stage of the discussion, on the motion that the Speaker leave the chair.

The Government thus joined battle with Mr. Gladstone, and on the 30th of March the conflict began. The titles of the Acts relating to the Church Establishment, the 5th article of the Act of Union, and the coronation oath of the Sovereign, having been read from the table, Mr. Gladstone commenced his address in a House crowded with eager listeners to his indictment. The extracts from the existing laws, he remarked, would serve to remind the House that they were about to enter upon a solemn duty. Having indicated his method of procedure, he proposed—if the House should declare its opinion that the Irish Establishment should cease to exist—that the cessation should be effected in a manner worthy of the nation, affording ample consideration and satisfaction to every proprietary and vested right. The residue, after satisfying every just claim, should be treated as an Irish fund, applicable to the exclusive benefit of Ireland. Both the Liberal party and the Conservative party were justified hitherto in not taking up the subject, for previous to this time no state of public feeling or opinion would have enabled this great question to be opened on the wide basis which it required. He had heard a great deal not only of apostasy, but of sudden apostasy; yet a change which extended over a quarter of a century could hardly be called a sudden change.

Mr. Gladstone then briefly recapitulated his personal history on this question, which we have practically dealt with in a previous chapter. As to the actualities of the matter, he apprehended there would be no desire to deprive the Protestant community of the fabrics, provided they wished to apply them to religious purposes; and the same principle would be applied to the residences of the clergy. The proprietors of advowsons would also have a strict claim to compensation. Of the money value of the endowments, not less than three-fifths, possibly two-thirds, would remain in the hands of the Anglican communion in Ireland. He denied that the disendowment of the Irish Church would be dangerous to the English Establishment. What was dangerous to the latter was to hold her in communion with a state of things politically dangerous and socially unjust. The existence of the Irish Church was not necessary for the maintenance of Protestantism in Ireland. Though the census of 1861

showed a small proportionate increase of Protestants, the rate of conversion was so small that it would take 1,500 or 2,000 years to effect an entire conversion, if it went on at the same rate. The final arrangements in this matter might be left to a reformed Parliament, but he proposed that they should prevent by legislation this session the growing of a new crop of vested interests. There had been a connection between this country and Ireland for 700 years, but it had been marked by a succession of storms and temporary calms. He called upon the House to settle its account with the sister island by removing the whole cause of dispute. Mr. Gladstone thus eloquently concluded his address:—

'There are many who think that to lay hands upon the national Church Establishment of a country is a profane and unhallowed act. I respect that feeling. I sympathise with it. I sympathise with it while I think it my duty to overcome and repress it. But if it be an error, it is an error entitled to respect. There is something in the idea of a national establishment of religion, of a solemn appropriation of a part of the Commonwealth for conferring upon all who are ready to receive it what we know to be an inestimable benefit; of saving that portion of the inheritance from private selfishness, in order to extract from it, if we can, pure and unmixed advantages of the highest order for the population at large. There is something in this so attractive that it is an image that must always command the homage of the many. It is somewhat like the kingly ghost in *Hamlet*, of which one of the characters of Shakspeare says:—

> "We do it wrong, being so majestical,
> To offer it the show of violence;
> For it is, as the air, invulnerable,
> And our vain blows malicious mockery."

But, sir, this is to view a religious establishment upon one side, only upon what I may call the ethereal side. It has likewise a side of earth; and here I cannot do better than quote some lines written by the present Archbishop of Dublin, at a time when his genius was devoted to the muses. He said, in speaking of mankind:

> "We who did our lineage high
> Draw from beyond the starry sky,
> Are yet upon the other side,
> To earth and to its dust allied."

And so the Church Establishment, regarded in its theory and in its aim, is beautiful and attractive. Yet what is it but an appropriation of public property, an appropriation of the fruits of labour and of skill to certain purposes, and unless these purposes are fulfilled, that appropriation cannot be justified. Therefore, sir, I cannot but feel that we must set aside fears which thrust themselves upon the imagination, and act upon the sober dictates of our judgment. I think it has been shown that the cause for action is strong—not for precipitate action, not for action beyond our powers, but for such action as the opportunities of the times and the condition of Parliament, if there be but a ready will, will amply and easily admit of. If I am asked as to my expectations of the issue of this struggle, I begin by frankly avowing that I, for one, would not have entered into it unless I believed that the final hour was about to sound—

> "Venit summa dies et ineluctabile fatum."

And I hope that the noble lord will forgive me if I say that before Friday last I thought that the thread of the remaining life of the Irish Established Church was short, but that since Friday last, when at half-past four o'clock in the afternoon the noble lord stood at that table, I have regarded it as being shorter still. The issue is not in our hands. What we had and have to do is to consider well and deeply before we take the first step in an engagement such as this; but having entered into the controversy, there and then to acquit ourselves like men, and to

use every effort to remove what still remains of the scandals and calamities in the relations which exist between England and Ireland, and to make our best efforts at least to fill up with the cement of human concord the noble fabric of the British Empire.'

Lord Stanley, in moving his amendment, admitted that not one educated man in a hundred would maintain that the Irish Church was all that it should be, or that there were no scandals in it; but Mr. Gladstone's resolutions merely came to this—that something must be done, without saying what it was. If the resolutions were carried, there would be no effective legislation this year. He strongly condemned a sudden change of view like the present, and declared that action now was impossible. Lord Cranborne condemned the amendment as ambiguous; it indicated either no policy at all, or a policy which the Ministry were afraid to avow. He did not pretend to predict the probable course of the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government. He should as soon undertake to tell the House which way the weathercock would point to-morrow. Such a system of management was unworthy of the House of Commons, and degrading to the functions of the Executive. While ready to meet the resolutions with a plain, straightforward negative, he refused to support an amendment, the object of which was merely to gain time and to enable the Government to keep the cards in their hands for another year to shuffle as they pleased. Mr. Gathorne Hardy delivered a thoroughly Conservative and 'no-surrender' speech, and Mr. Bright justified disestablishment on the ground that the Irish Church had been, both as a missionary church and a political institution, a deplorable failure. The present condition of Ireland was anarchy subdued by force. Disestablishment was really not more serious than Free Trade, Reform, and other changes which the Conservative party had once resisted, and had since found to be mere hobgoblins.

Mr. Lowe spoke with his accustomed force and sarcasm. He denounced the tortuous course of the Government, which had lowered the House and lowered the estimation in which our public men should be held. On the general question, he reminded members who attempted to link together the Irish and the English Church of the tyrant Mezentius, who bound a dead body to a living one. The Irish Church had an establishment altogether superfluous and monstrous. In the course of a caustic attack upon Mr. Disraeli and his policy, Mr. Lowe said, 'We now find that the Government, instead of initiating measures, throw out, like the cuttle-fish of which we read in Victor Hugo's novel, all sorts of tentacula for the purpose of catching up something which it may appropriate and make its own.' In conclusion, he observed, 'The Irish Church is founded on injustice; it is

founded on the dominant rights of the few over the many, and shall not stand. You call it a missionary church. If so, its mission is unfulfilled. As a missionary church it has failed utterly; like some exotic brought from a far country, with infinite pains and useless trouble, it is kept alive with difficulty and expense in an ungrateful climate and an ungenial soil. The curse of barrenness is upon it; it has no leaves; it bears no blossoms; it yields no fruit. Cut it down; why cumbereth it the ground?'

Mr. Disraeli's reply was not so noticeable from an argumentative as from a personal point of view. After defending the Government policy with regard to Lord Stanley's amendment, he made a bitter and pungent attack upon his present colleague, the Marquis of Salisbury, and upon Mr. Lowe. Of the former, he said that the noble lord was at no time wanting in imputing to the Government unworthy motives, and when he saw the amendment he believed immediately that they were about to betray their trust. 'I do not quarrel with the invective of the noble lord. The noble lord is a man of great talent, and he has vigour in his language. There is great vigour in his language, and no want of vindictiveness. I admit that now, speaking as a critic, and not perhaps as an impartial one, I must say I think it wants finish. Considering that the noble lord has studied the subject, and that he has written anonymous articles against me before and since I was his colleague—I do not know whether he wrote them when I was his colleague—I think it might have been accomplished more *ad unguem*.' Has the Foreign Secretary committed these encounters with the Prime Minister to the waters of Lethe? Happy waters! that can thus drown in oblivion the strongest political antagonisms.

Turning upon Mr. Lowe, Mr. Disraeli observed, 'When the bark is heard from this side, the right hon. member for Calne emerges, I will not say from his cave, but, perhaps, from a more cynical habitation. He joins immediately in the chorus of reciprocal malignity—

"And hails with horrid melody the moon."

The right hon. gentleman is a very remarkable man. He is a learned man, though he despises history. He can chop logic like Dean Aldrich; but what is more remarkable than his learning and his logic, is that power of spontaneous aversion which particularly characterises him. There is nothing that he likes and almost everything that he hates. He hates the working classes of England. He hates the Roman Catholics of Ireland; he hates

the Protestants of Ireland. He hates her Majesty's Ministers. And until the right hon. gentleman the member for South Lancashire placed his hand upon the ark, he seemed almost to hate the right hon. gentleman the member for South Lancashire. But now all is changed. Now we have the hour and the man. But I believe the clock goes wrong, and the man is mistaken.' Mr. Disraeli then proceeded to affirm that he had never attacked any one in his life. Here the loud cries of 'Oh! oh!' and 'Peel' were so overwhelming that the orator adroitly added, 'unless I was first assailed.' But this also was followed by cries of dissent. The Prime Minister concluded by saying that under the guise of Liberalism, and under the pretence of legislating in the spirit of the age, Mr. Gladstone and his friends were, as he believed, about to seize upon the supreme authority of the realm. As long as, by the favour of the Queen, he stood there, he would oppose to the utmost of his ability the attempt they were making.

Mr. Gladstone replied that there were portions of Mr. Disraeli's speech of which, with every effort on his part, he failed to discern the relevancy; and there were others which appeared due to the influence of a heated imagination. For himself, he did not conceal his intention to separate Church from State in Ireland, and he asked the expiring Parliament to pronounce an opinion which would clear the way for its successor. The House then went to a division, when the numbers were—For Lord Stanley's amendment, 270; against, 331—majority against the Government, 61. On the second division for going into committee, there appeared —For the motion, 328; against, 272—majority for Mr. Gladstone's motion, 56. An analysis shows that, including pairs, the first division gave in favour of Mr. Gladstone's policy a total of 343 members; for the Government, 282. This only left 33 members to be accounted for out of the whole House, and they were thus distributed:—Tellers, 4; Speaker, 1; absent, 22; seats vacant, 2; boroughs disfranchised, 4. Of the 22 members absent, 17 were Liberals, amongst whom was Sir Roundell Palmer, who was opposed to Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church policy. The following Liberals voted against Mr. Gladstone, viz., Mr. E. Antrobus, Mr. J. I. Briscoe, Lord Cremorne, Sir J. Matheson, Mr. Herries Maxwell, Mr. E. Saunderson, and Mr. James Wyld. The following Conservatives voted with Mr. Gladstone, viz., Lord Bingham, Mr. H. A. Butler-Johnstone, Mr. R. A. Earle, Sir J. M'Kenna, and Mr. G. Morris. In the second division, the Conservative vote was increased by two, owing to the fact that two Liberal members strayed into the wrong lobby. Not only was Mr. Gladstone's majority much larger than had been anticipated by either political party, but it was almost twice as great a majority as

that which in 1835 voted for the more limited policy involved in the appropriation clause.

The Liberal party was at length united in such a degree as had never, perhaps, previously been known; and great meetings were shortly held in London and the provinces to express sympathy with the agitation thus set on foot for the disestablishment of the Irish Church. Two important demonstrations—one in favour of and the other against the Establishment—were held in St. James's Hall. Meantime the Government entered into negotiations with the Irish Roman Catholic prelates, but these negotiations were afterwards definitively abandoned. The political warfare which now ensued was not always carried on with legitimate weapons. A striking example of this was found in certain charges brought against Mr. Gladstone—charges which the right hon. gentleman himself thus stated:—'First, that when at Rome I made arrangements with the Pope to destroy the Church Establishment in Ireland, with some other like matters, being myself a Roman Catholic at heart. Second, that during and since the Government of Sir Robert Peel I have resisted, and till now prevented, the preferment of Dr. Wynter. Third, that I have publicly condemned all support to the clergy in the three kingdoms from Church or public funds. Fourth, that when at Balmoral I refused to attend her Majesty at Crathie Church. Fifth, that I received the thanks of the Pope for my proceedings respecting the Irish Church. Sixth, that I am a member of a High Church Ritualistic congregation.' 'These statements, one and all,' wrote Mr. Gladstone, 'are untrue in letter and in spirit, from the beginning to the end.'

During the discussion on Mr. Gladstone's resolutions in the House of Commons, the Earl of Derby drew attention in the Upper House to what the noble earl described as their unconstitutional character, in so far as they asked her Majesty to place at the disposal of Parliament certain temporalities which had only been discussed in the Lower House. The leading Opposition peers severely criticised his lordship's course of proceeding, and the debate terminated without any definite result. In the Commons, after a long discussion, Mr. Gladstone's first resolution was carried on the 30th of April. The right hon. gentleman, in summing up the debate, justified his mode of procedure, and declared with reference to Lord Derby's speech that he would not take the word of command from the House of Lords. He urged the House to accept the resolution, not as a panacea, but as part of a policy which would add strength and glory to the empire. Mr. Disraeli reiterated his objections to disestablishment, after which the House divided, when the numbers were—For the resolution,

330; against, 265—majority against the Government, 65. This increased majority caused the Premier to state that the relations between the Government and the House were now altered, and it became necessary for the Ministry to consider their position. On the 4th of May Ministerial explanations were tendered. Mr. Disraeli said he had waited upon the Queen, and informed her that the proper constitutional course to take would be to dissolve Parliament and appeal to the country; at the same time, he offered the resignation of Ministers, which, however, he qualified by the advice that if the Government could conduct public business with the co-operation of the House until the close of the session, it would be better to delay the dissolution until the autumn. Mr. Gladstone strongly protested against this course, and Mr. Lowe complained that no concession had been made by her Majesty to the two great divisions. Mr. Bright was still more emphatic in his censure, and maintained that it was merely for the sake of prolonging his own term of office that Mr. Disraeli had made this outrageous demand on the indulgence of Parliament. The Government had no right to a dissolution, and they had no claim to remain in office when they could carry nothing of their own but a sixpenny income-tax.

The discussion was resumed upon the following day, and at length Mr. Disraeli said that the power held by the Government to dissolve Parliament related entirely to the Irish Church question, and that if any other difficulty arose it would be the duty of Ministers again to repair to the Sovereign. The second and third Irish Church resolutions having been carried in committee, a discussion arose respecting the Maynooth and other grants. The Premier having made some observations upon the divisions in the Liberal party as to these grants, a passage of arms arose between himself and Mr. Bright. The hon. member for Birmingham said, 'The Prime Minister the other night, with a mixture of pompousness and sometimes of servility, talked at large of the interviews which he had had with his Sovereign. I venture to say that a Minister who deceives his Sovereign is as guilty as the conspirator who would dethrone her. I don't charge the right hon. gentleman with deceiving his Sovereign. But if he has not changed the opinions which he held twenty-five years ago, and which in the main he said only a few weeks ago were right, then I fear he has not stated all it was his duty to state in the interview he had with his Sovereign.' The Minister who put his Sovereign into the front of a great struggle like this was guilty of a very high crime and great misdemeanour against his Sovereign and against his country. Mr. Gladstone said of Mr. Disraeli's language that he had never heard such from a Prime

Minister before. Mr. Disraeli retorted with vigour, and, having charged Mr. Bright with indulging in stale invective, challenged him to bring his charges to the vote of the House. This exciting scene terminated by the passing of Mr. Gladstone's resolution. As finally reported to the House, the resolutions were four in number. Three we have already given, and the fourth ran as follows:—'That when legislative effect shall have been given to the first resolution of this committee, respecting the Established Church of Ireland, it is right and necessary that the grant to Maynooth and the *Regium Donum* be discontinued, due regard being had to all personal interests.' Her Majesty, having replied to the address that she would not suffer her interests to stand in the way of any measures contemplated by Parliament, on the 14th of May Mr. Gladstone obtained leave to bring in a bill to prevent for a limited time new appointments in the Irish Church, and to restrain for the same period the proceedings of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners for Ireland. On the 22nd, after a lengthy discussion, the Suspensory Bill was read a second time, the numbers in its favour being 312; against, 258—majority, 54. The bill passed the Commons, but upon the motion for its second reading in the House of Lords it was defeated by a large majority —a result by no means unexpected.

This great question was now remitted for settlement to the constituencies. The Opposition had cleared the ground for action, and felt that the decision of the Lords on the Suspensory Bill would have little or no effect upon the country as to the general question of the disestablishment of the Irish Church. On the 31st of July, the last Parliament elected under the Reform Bill of 1832 was prorogued with a view to its dissolution in the middle of November; it was understood that the new Parliament would be summoned in time to permit a crucial debate to take place upon the question of the Irish Church—in which the fate of the Government was involved—before the close of the year.

Early in August Mr. Gladstone began his electoral campaign in South-west Lancashire. Addressing a meeting at St. Helen's, he said he spoke in literal truth and not in mere sarcasm, when he affirmed of the Irish Church, 'You must not take away its abuses, because if you take them away there will be nothing left.' It was idle to draw a comparison between the Church of Ireland and the Church of England, for the latter entered into the natural life and purpose of the country. Mr. Gladstone also delivered addresses at Liverpool, Warrington, Wigan, Ormskirk, and other places. The right hon. gentleman's address, in which the policy of the Liberal party was duly set forth, appeared on the 9th of October. After referring to the defeat of Lord Russell's

Ministry, and the enormous addition to the public expenditure made by Mr. Disraeli's Government, Mr. Gladstone defended the removal of the Irish Establishment as the discharge of a debt of civil justice, and the blotting out of a national, almost a world-wide reproach. They should proceed with all due regard to existing interests, but a considerable property would probably remain at the disposal of the State. The mode of its application could only be suggested to Parliament by those who, as a Government, might have means and authority to examine into the wants of Ireland. These funds, however, should not be applied to the teaching of religion in any other form. He confidently asked the electors for their approval of the policy of the Opposition upon this great question. Election speeches followed each other in rapid succession, and the country could scarcely keep pace with Mr. Gladstone's extraordinary eloquence.

On the 11th of November Parliament was dissolved, and writs were issued for a new one, returnable on the 10th of December The election for South-west Lancashire naturally absorbed the largest share of the public attention, as it was well known that no effort would be spared to defeat Mr. Gladstone. The nomination took place on the 22nd of November, the hustings being erected in front of St. George's Hall, Liverpool. The weather was bitterly cold, but several thousand persons were present. The usual electioneering noises were prevalent, and while Mr. Gladstone was speaking he was regaled with a choral performance of 'God save the Queen.' Placards of a satirical kind were exhibited, the Conservatives being especially happy in their inscriptions. Some of these, according to the daily journals, provoked laughter from Mr. Gladstone himself. Amongst the most amusing 'hits' were 'Time table to Greenwich,' and 'Bright's disease and Lowe fever.' Yet good-humour prevailed during the proceedings. Mr. Gladstone, who spoke for forty minutes, referred to the elections which had already taken place, where the Ministerial candidates had been scattered right and left. He reviewed the acts of the Government, and repeated his charges of extravagance. He also maintained that some of the provisions of the Reform Act must be amended. Alluding to the abortive Ministerial propositions brought forward by Lord Mayo in the preceding March, the right hon. gentleman declared that the Cabinet were without a policy, and there was no guarantee that they would take any well-defined course. He denied that the Liberal policy was calculated to injure the cause of Protestantism, and pointed to the elections in Scotland, a thoroughly Protestant part of the kingdom, as a proof that the people had no faith in the 'No Popery' cry. Mr. Gladstone then referred to the Liberal

victories in the North of Ireland, and appealed to the electors of South-west Lancashire to permit him to speak the words of truth and justice in the House of Commons in the name and with the authority of that important constituency.

There was a great preponderance of feeling in favour of Mr. Gladstone at the hustings; but on the following day he was defeated at the poll, the numbers being—Cross (C.), 7,729; Turner (C.), 7,676; Gladstone (L.), 7,415; and Grenfell (L.), 6,939. The leader of the Opposition issued the following brief address to the electors:—'Gentlemen, I return my most cordial thanks to the 7,415 electors who supported me at the poll, and to the numerous and zealous friends who have so ably acted on my behalf. It is to me a matter of lively satisfaction, which I can never lose, that I received a large majority of votes within the district of Liverpool.' The right hon. gentleman, however, was not without a seat in the House, having been already elected for Greenwich. The Liberals of that borough, as a precautionary measure against a possible contingency elsewhere, determined upon putting Mr. Gladstone in nomination, together with Mr. Alderman Salomons. Both were returned by large majorities, the numbers being—Mr. Alderman Salomons (L.), 6,645; Mr. Gladstone (L.), 6,551; Sir H. W. Parker (C.), 4,661; and Lord Mahon (C.), 4,342.

Although the Liberals sustained several serious single defeats during the elections—notably, those of Mr. Gladstone in South-west Lancashire, the Marquis of Hartington in North Lancashire, and Mr. J. Stuart Mill in Westminster—there was an enormous preponderance of Liberal feeling manifested throughout the country. The Liberal majority was placed by the daily journals at 115. The Conservatives were, of course, strong in the English counties; but in the boroughs they could only return 94 members, as against 214 Liberal representatives. In Scotland the Liberal majority was still more marked. The Liberals took all the burghs, while the Conservatives only secured seven seats in the counties, as against twenty-three by their opponents. Ireland also gave a majority for the Liberals, both in counties and boroughs. Since 1832 no such party majority had been known. An analysis distinguishing the three kingdoms shows that in this remarkable election of 1868 the total Liberal vote in England and Wales was 1,231,450; the Conservative vote, 824,057—majority, 407,393. The total Liberal vote in Scotland, with three elections undecided (which ultimately added a slight further gain to the Liberals), was 123,410; the Conservative vote, 23,391—majority, 100,019. The total Liberal vote in Ireland was 53,379; the Conservative vote, 36,082—majority, 17,297. The gross-

Liberal vote was thus 1,408,239; and the gross Conservative vote, 883,530, leaving a majority in favour of the former of 524,709. Another test also demonstrated the strength of the Liberals. The 92 constituencies gained by them throughout the elections contained a population of 6,611,950; while the 69 won by the Conservatives contained only a population of 5,177,534, leaving a balance on the side of the Liberals of 1,434,416. There were no fewer than 227 out of the whole number of members returned who had no seat in the previous Parliament, being upwards of one-third of the entire House of Commons.

The national verdict being thus strongly in favour of Mr. Gladstone's policy, Mr. Disraeli did not adopt the usual course of waiting for its endorsement by the new Parliament; but, in a statement addressed to his supporters, announced that Ministers had tendered their resignations to her Majesty. Having briefly reviewed in this circular the circumstances under which the general election was conducted, and the question at issue, the Premier said it was clear that the existing Administration could not expect to command the confidence of the newly-elected House of Commons; but he added that the members of the Government would continue to offer an uncompromising resistance to the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church.

Mr. Gladstone, who was naturally the only Liberal statesman to whom her Majesty could have recourse, received the Royal summons on the 4th of December. In obedience to the Queen's commands, he undertook to form a Ministry. On the 9th the new Government was completed, and on the following day the Premier issued a brief address to his constituents. Contrary to original expectation, the new Cabinet included Mr. Bright as President of the Board of Trade. Referring to this matter in a speech at Birmingham, the hon. member said that he had never aspired to the dignity of office; and when the question was put to him whether he would step into the position in which he now found himself, the answer which came from his heart was that of the Shunamite woman to the prophet, 'I dwell among mine own people.' Happily, he trusted that the time had come when in this country an honest man might enter the service of the Crown, and at the same time not feel it in any degree necessary to dissociate himself from his own people.

The new Premier and the various members of the Ministry were unopposed on presenting themselves for re-election to their respective constituencies. Speaking at Greenwich, Mr. Gladstone said that in view of the recent manifestation throughout the country, it was not unnatural that the Disraeli Government should have melted away before the Parliament which they had

called into existence—without looking that Parliament in the face, and without asking from it the judgment they had undertaken to challenge—melted away, in the words of our greatest poet, 'like a mockery king of snow.' Referring to the question of the Ballot, Mr. Gladstone said that the acts of intimidation which had characterised many of the recent contests had led him to the belief that, whether by open voting or whatsoever means, the liberty of the elector must be secured. It would also be the duty of the Liberal Government forthwith to remedy the grievances inflicted by the rate-paying clauses of the Reform Act. Touching upon education, the relations between capital and labour, and the public expenditure, he observed that no Administration could be expected at once to deal with every great public question, but he should be much disappointed if there was not an immediate reduction in the estimates. With regard to the Irish Church, he denied that there was any analogy whatever between that Church and the Established Church of England, while the former had been condemned by the voice of the people in the three kingdoms. 'We confide (said the Premier) in the traditions we have received of our fathers; we confide in the soundness both of the religious and of the civil principles that prevail; we confide in the sacredness of that cause of justice in which we are engaged, and with that confidence and persuasion we are prepared to go forward.'

A new Liberal Government—able in many of its own constituent elements, and supported by the overwhelming vote of the people—was thus installed before the close of the year. The task before it was arduous, for although it owed its formation ostensibly to the national desire for the settlement of one great question, there were other questions looming in the distance which might prove a source of difficulty and danger. However, for the special work it was pledged to accomplish, no Government could have been more fully strengthened and equipped than that which had Mr. Gladstone for its chief.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF LIBERALISM.

The difficulties of Disestablishment—Attacks upon Mr. Gladstone's Measure—The Premier's Speech on unfolding his Scheme—Details of the Bill—The *Regium Donum* and the Maynooth Grant—Financial Results of the Operations—Character of the Premier's Address—Debates upon the Bill—Speeches of Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Bright, Mr. Gathorne Hardy, and others—Mr. Gladstone's Reply—Second Reading of the Bill carried by an overwhelming Majority—Its subsequent Stages—Reception in the Lords—a memorable Division—The Measure passes—Its Character described—The Irish Land Bill introduced—Mr. Gladstone's comprehensive Speech—Details of the Scheme—Nature of the Government Proposals—They are attacked by Dr. Ball and Mr. Disraeli—Singular Division on the second Reading—The Bill passes both Houses—Elementary Education Bill introduced—Another important Measure carried—Massacre of English Travellers by Greek Brigands—Proceedings in Parliament—The Franco-German War—Position of England—Publication of the proposed Franco-Prussian Treaty—Mr. Gladstone on English Neutrality—Legislative Changes in 1870—Release of the Fenian Prisoners.

ALTHOUGH Mr. Gladstone was thus powerfully sustained by the country in his resolve to disestablish the Irish Church, there were many persons who doubted the successful issue of his policy. The magnitude of the task before the new Premier was such as might well appal any statesman. It is one thing to pass an abstract resolution declaring disestablishment advisable and necessary; it is another to cope with the details and difficulties which an actual measure involves. This great line of public policy and action had certainly been approved by the constituencies with unmistakable clearness; but Mr. Gladstone himself did not disguise the fact that the labour before the Government was of a most arduous and intricate character. A large section of the Conservative party still believed it to be impossible of achievement, and their view was shared by nearly the whole of the clergy. The undertaking was, perhaps, the greatest and the most difficult to which any statesman of modern times had committed himself; but, fortunately for Mr. Gladstone, the Liberal party never wavered in their allegiance to him; and he was enabled to construct, and carry through with few serious alterations, the measure to which he and his Cabinet stood pledged.

The spirit in which these disestablishment proposals were received by the warmest defenders of the Irish Church, may be

gathered from the reports of the public meetings and of the various Synods held at this period. At one of the latter, the measure was denounced as 'highly offensive to Almighty God.' Speaking at Cork, Lord Bandon said that compromise was utterly impracticable, as the plunder of the Church was only preparatory to the plunder of the land. He had no security for his property for to-morrow. The Bishop of Ossory described the bill as 'framed in a spirit of inveterate hostility to the Church.' The Earl of Carrick maintained that it was 'the greatest national sin ever committed.' Lord de Vesci alluded to it as 'a perilous weakening of the foundations of property;' while the Archdeacon of Ossory, addressing the same meeting as his lordship, exhorted his hearers to 'trust in God and keep their powder dry.' The Archdeacon, however, was careful to explain that in thus using a memorable phrase of Oliver Cromwell's he made no reference to 'carnal weapons.' In the sittings of Convocation, Archdeacon Denison deplored 'the great national sin' into which the country seemed to be plunging. Dr. Jebb asked the assembly to express its 'utter detestation of a most ungodly, wicked, and abominable measure;' while Archdeacon Moore insisted that at all hazards the Queen must interfere to prevent 'this dreadful thing'—'better jeopardise her crown than destroy the Church.'

But the language of many of the Orange laity was still more extraordinary. At a meeting held in Exeter Hall, the rejection of the bill by the Peers, and the prompt dismissal of the Ministry by her Majesty, were demanded. The speeches delivered were of a most violent character, the Government being spoken of as 'traitors,' 'robbers,' and 'political brigands,' while the statements made by the Liberal press and Liberal speakers were characterised as lies. A Conservative member of Parliament said that there were thousands of Protestants in his part of the country who thought Mr. Gladstone was a 'traitor to his Queen, his country, and his God,' and the righteous retribution which he (the member) would visit upon the right hon. gentleman was 'perpetual exclusion from power for having dared to put his hand on the ark of God.' Another speaker described the Cabinet as 'a Cabinet of brigands.' All Orangemen, of course, were not so violent as those whose utterances have been cited; and we have only introduced these examples as showing the calumnies heaped upon Mr. Gladstone for undertaking what he deemed to be an act of simple justice towards Ireland and the too long neglected Irish people.

On the 1st of March, Mr. Gladstone unfolded his scheme in the House of Commons. For three hours the orator fixed the attention of a densely-crowded chamber while he described the Ministerial method of dealing with the Irish Church. As Mr.

Disraeli afterwards said, there was not a single redundant word in this remarkable speech. The heads of the Acts relating to the Established Church of Ireland and Maynooth, and the first resolution of the previous session, having been read, Mr. Gladstone moved for leave to introduce a bill 'to put an end to the Established Church in Ireland, to make provision in respect to the temporalities thereof, and of the Royal College of Maynooth.' Commencing by a brief review of the previous stages of the question, and answering in the outset some of the principal objections to the Government policy, the speaker recalled the attention of the House to the pledges given by those who had taken up the subject. The bill for putting an immediate end to the Establishment and the public endowment of the Irish Church would be a thorough but at the same time a liberal and indulgent measure, prompt in its operation, and final in every respect. Dividing his analysis of the bill into three parts—its immediate effect, its effect at a certain time fixed (but not unalterably) at January 1, 1871, and its operation when the process of winding up the affairs of the Irish Church was brought to a close—Mr. Gladstone observed that the bill provided, on the first head, that the present Ecclesiastical Commission should be at once wound up, and a new commission appointed for ten years, in which the property of the Irish Church, subject to life interests, should be vested from the time of the passing of the bill. Therefore, technically and legally, there would be an immediate disendowment of the Irish Church; but disestablishment would be postponed until the 1st of January, 1871. The union between the Churches of England and Ireland would be dissolved at that date, and all ecclesiastical corporations would be abolished. The Ecclesiastical Courts would cease, and the Ecclesiastical Laws would no longer be binding as laws; except that they would be understood to exist as the terms of the voluntary contract between clergy and laity, until they were altered by the governing body of the disestablished Church. With regard to the interval between the passing of the Act and the date of January 1st, 1871, and during the reorganisation of the Church, it was proposed that appointments should be made to spiritual offices, but that they should not carry with them the freehold or confer vested interests. In the same provisional and temporary manner, appointments would be made to vacant bishoprics, but only on the prayer of the bishops to consecrate a particular person to a vacancy; and these appointments would carry with them no vested interests, and no rights of peerage. Crown livings vacant during the same period would be filled up on similar principles.

In order to assist the reorganisation of the Church, and to favour the creation of a body which could negotiate on behalf of the Church with the Commissioners, the Convention Act, which prevented the assembling of the clergy and laity of the Church, would be repealed; and power would be taken to the Queen in council to recognise any governing body which the clergy and laity of the disestablished Church might agree on, and which actually represented both; and that body would be incorporated. Mr. Gladstone assumed that by January 1, 1871, or some other date to be incorporated in the bill, this governing body would have been constituted; and he then proceeded to explain the complicated details of the arrangements for dealing with the Church and its property in a disestablished condition. In this long and lucid explanation he first dealt with vested interests. A vested interest he defined to be the title of an incumbent—including in this term bishops and dignitaries as well as beneficed clergy—to receive a certain annuity out of the property of the Church (fees, pew-rents, &c., being put out of the question), in consideration of the performance of a certain duty. The Commissioners would ascertain the amount of each incumbent's income, deducting what he paid for curates; and, so long as he continued to discharge his duties, that income would be paid him; but he might apply to have this commuted into an annuity for life. It was not proposed to interfere compulsorily with the position of the incumbent in relation to his freehold or the incidents of his landlordship, with three exceptions—that his title to the tithe rent-charge would be vested immediately in the Commissioners; that the freehold of churches wholly in ruins would be taken from the incumbent; and that the peerage rights of the Irish bishops would cease at once. Mr. Gladstone next observed that the compensation to curates would be of two kinds: those whom he described as 'transitory curates' would be dealt with on a principle borrowed from the Civil Service Superannuation Act, and would be dismissed with a gratuity; but permanent curates, viz., those who had been employed in the same parish from January 1, 1869, to January 1, 1871—or had left their employment not from their own free-will or misconduct—would be entitled to compensation on the same principle as the incumbents. This compensation would be paid by the incumbents. It was not proposed to touch private endowments, and these would be the only marketable property conveyed to the Church. The Premier, however, limited the term to money contributed from private sources since the year 1660, and pointed out that it would not include churches and glebe houses. As to churches, wherever the 'governing body' made an application, accompanied

by a declaration that they meant either to maintain the church for public worship or to remove it to some more convenient position, it would be handed over to them; but in the case of St. Patrick's Cathedral, and about a dozen other churches partaking of the character of national memorials, the Commissioners would be empowered to allot a moderate sum for their maintenance. Those churches which were not in use, and which were not capable of being restored for purposes of worship, would be handed over to the Board of Works, with an allocation of funds sufficient for their maintenance. Touching upon the very difficult point of glebe houses, Mr. Gladstone announced that he had seen reason to modify his views of the previous year. They were not marketable property, for, though an expenditure upon them of £1,200,000 could be traced distinctly, their annual value was only £18,600, and there was a quarter of a million of building charges upon them which the State would have to pay on coming into possession. It was therefore proposed to hand over the glebe houses to the governing body on their paying the building charges, and they would be allowed to purchase a certain amount of glebe land round the houses on paying a fair valuation. The burial grounds adjacent to churches would go with the churches, all existing rights being preserved, and other burial grounds would be handed over to the guardians of the poor.

The next question was one of peculiar difficulty. Mr. Gladstone reminded hon. members that it was at all times part of the views of those who proposed the resolutions advocating disestablishment, that with this Act should come the final cessation of all relations between the State and the Presbyterian clergy in Ireland, and between the State and the College of Maynooth. The *Regium Donum* and the Maynooth Grant amounted together to about £70,000, and the Premier announced that the Presbyterian ministers, recipients of the *Regium Donum*, would be compensated on the same principles as the incumbents of the disestablished Church; while in regard both to the grant to Maynooth and the grants to Presbyterian colleges —in order to give ample time for the necessary arrangements, and to avoid the sudden shock and disappointment to individuals— there would be a valuation of all the interests in these grants at 14 years' purchase of the capital amount annually voted. In propounding an elaborate scheme for the final extinction of the tithe rent charge in 45 years, Mr. Gladstone said landlords would be allowed, if they chose, to purchase it at 22½ years' purchase, and if they did not accept the offer, they would come under another and a general operation. There would be a compulsory sale to them of the tithe rent charge, at a rate which

would yield 4½ per cent.; and, on the other side, they would be credited with a loan at 3½ per cent., payable in instalments in 45 years. The power of purchase would remain in the hands of the tenants for three years after the passing of the Act, and it was also proposed that the tenants should have a right of pre-emption of all lands sold by the commission, and that three-fourths of the purchase money might be left on the security of the land.

Mr. Gladstone thus detailed the financial results of these operations:—The tithe rent charge would yield £9,000,000; lands and perpetuity rents, £6,250,000; money, £750,000—total, £16,000,000; the present value of the property of the Irish Church. Of this, the bill would dispose of £8,650,000, viz., vested interests of incumbents, £4,900,000; curates, £800,000; lay compensation, £900,000; private endowments, £500,000; building charges, £250,000; commutation of the Maynooth Grant and the *Regium Donum*, £1,100,000; and expenses of the commission, £200,000. Consequently, there would remain a surplus of between £7,000,000 and £8,000,000; and the question arose, said the Premier, amid considerable excitement, 'What shall we do with it?' He held it to be indispensable, under the circumstances, that the purposes to which the surplus was applied should be Irish. Further, they should not be religious, although they must be final, and open the door to no new controversy. After discussing various suggestions, some of which he dismissed as impossible, and others as radically wrong, the speaker announced, quoting the preamble of the bill, that the Government had concluded to apply the surplus to the relief of unavoidable calamities and suffering, not provided for by the Poor Law. The sum of £185,000 would be allocated for lunatic asylums; £20,000 a-year would be awarded to idiot asylums; £30,000 to training schools for the deaf, dumb, and blind; £15,000 for the training of nurses; £10,000 for reformatories; and £51,000 to county infirmaries—in all, £311,000 a-year. Mr. Gladstone claimed that by the provision of all these requirements they would be able to combine very great reforms; and they would also be in a better condition for inviting the Irish landlord to accede to a change in the county cess, as they were able to offer by this plan a considerable diminution in its burden. The plan for disposing of the residue he believed to be a good and solid plan, full of public advantage. After touching upon possible errors in his statement, and announcing that he should be happy to welcome suggestions from any quarter, Mr. Gladstone referred to the great transition which the Government were asking the clergymen of the Church of Ireland to undergo, and to the privileges which the laity were called upon to abate. He concluded with a peroration which—

inasmuch as it must always be regarded as one of the right hon. gentleman's happiest efforts—we shall place before the reader in its entirety:—

'I do not know in what country so great a change, so great a transition, has been proposed for the ministers of a religious communion who have enjoyed for many ages the preferred position of an Established Church. I can well understand that to many in the Irish Establishment such a change appears to be nothing less than ruin and destruction; from the height on which they now stand the future is to them an abyss, and their fears recall the words used in *King Lear*, when Edgar endeavours to persuade Glo'ster that he has fallen over the cliffs of Dover, and says:—

> "Ten masts at each make not the altitude
> Which thou hast perpendicularly fallen;
> Thy life's a miracle!"

And yet but a little while after the old man is relieved from his delusion, and finds he has not fallen at all. So I trust that when, instead of the fictitious and adventitious aid on which we have too long taught the Irish Establishment to lean, it should come to place its trust in its own resources, in its own great mission, in all that it can draw from the energy of its ministers and its members, and the high hopes and promises of the gospel that it teaches, it will find that it has entered upon a new era of existence—an era bright with hope and potent for good. At any rate, I think the day has certainly come when an end is finally to be put to that union, not between the Church and religious association, but between the Establishment and the State, which was commenced under circumstances little auspicious, and has endured to be a source of unhappiness to Ireland and of discredit and scandal to England. There is more to say. This measure is in every sense a great measure—great in its principles, great in the multitude of its dry, technical, but interesting detail, and great as a testing measure; for it will show for one and all of us of what metal we are made. Upon us all it brings a great responsibility—great and foremost upon those who occupy this bench. We are especially chargeable, nay, deeply guilty, if we have either dishonestly, as some think, or even prematurely or unwisely challenged so gigantic an issue. I know well the punishments that follow rashness in public affairs, and that ought to fall upon those men, those Phaetons of politics, who, with hands unequal to the task, attempt to guide the chariot of the sun. But the responsibility, though heavy, does not exclusively press upon us; it presses upon every man who has to take part in the discussion and decision upon this bill. Every man approaches the discussion under the most solemn obligations to raise the level of his vision and expand its scope in proportion with the greatness of the matter in hand. The working of our constitutional government itself is upon its trial, for I do not believe there ever was a time when the wheels of legislative machinery were set in motion under conditions of peace and order and constitutional rgularity to deal with a question greater or more profound. And more especially, sir, is the credit and fame of this great assembly involved; this assembly which has inherited through many ages the accumulated honours of brilliant triumphs, of peaceful but courageous legislation, is now called upon to address itself to a task which would, indeed, have demanded all the best energies of the very best among your fathers and your ancestors. I believe it will prove to be worthy of the task. Should it fail, even the fame of the House of Commons will suffer disparagement; should it succeed, even that fame, I venture to say, will receive no small, no insensible addition. I must not ask gentlemen opposite to concur in this view, emboldened as I am by the kindness they have shown me in listening with patience to a statement which could not have been other than tedious; but I pray them to bear with me for a moment while, for myself and my colleagues, I say we are sanguine of issue. We believe, and for my part I am deeply convinced, that when the final consummation shall arrive, and when the words are spoken that shall give the force of law to the work embodied in this measure—the work of peace and justice—those words will be echoed upon every shore where the name of Ireland or the name of Great Britain has been heard, and the answer to them will come back in the approving verdict of civilised mankind.'

The scheme so admirably and luminously expounded was

received with vehement demonstrations of approval by the supporters of the Ministry. The exposition which had been looked forward to with some misgiving was admitted to be a complete triumph. The Conservatives, who were naturally opposed to the details of the measure, agreed with their opponents in admiring the excellence of the arrangement, the masterly marshalling of facts, and the lucidity of detail which characterised Mr. Gladstone's statement.*

Mr. Disraeli did not oppose the introduction of the bill, but demanded a period of three weeks in which to consider it. Mr. Gladstone ultimately agreed that the second reading should not be taken for sixteen days. On the 18th, accordingly, on the order for the second reading of the bill, the leader of the Opposition moved its rejection. His speech on that occasion was described by the *Times* as 'flimsiness relieved with spangles—the definition of a columbine's skirt.' He began in the philosophical vein, 'and while we freely acknowledge (observed the journal just quoted) that Mr. Disraeli's fun is exquisite, his philosophy is simply detestable. Then he became historical and didactic, and his historical paradoxes, which were acceptable enough in his earlier political novels, fell flat when reproduced as serious arguments

* From amongst the many tributes paid to Mr. Gladstone's eloquence on this occasion, we cannot refrain from quoting one which appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*, and which well interpreted the general sentiment of those who listened to the ex-Premier's oration on that 'night of justice'—a night never to be forgotten:—'We shall not hesitate to say that Mr. Gladstone never before, amidst all the triumphs that mark his long course of honour and success, displayed more vigorous grasp of his subject, more luminous clearness in its development, earnestness more lofty, or eloquence more appropriate and refined than in the memorable deliverance of last evening. Less than the most complete mastery of the complex scheme, from its mightiest principle to its minutest item, would have brought down that remarkable exhibition of intellect from the high level of an historical oration to a cold and weary evolution of clauses and calculations. But with that consummate skill which in old days made a fine art of finance and taught us all the romance of the revenue, Mr. Gladstone made his statistics ornamental, and deftly wove the stiffest strings of figures into the web of his exposition. Scarcely even so much as glancing at his notes, he advanced with an oratorical step, which positively never once faltered from exordium to peroration of his amazing task; omitting nothing, slurring nothing, confusing nothing; but pouring from his prodigious faculty of thought, memory, and speech an explanation so lucid that none of all the many points which he made was obscure to any of his listeners when he had finished. And, charged as the speech necessarily was with hard and stern matter of fact and figure, the intense earnestness, the sincere satisfaction of the speaker at the act of concord and justice he was inaugurating, gave such elasticity and play to his genius, that nowhere was the clause so dry or the calculation so involved, but some gentle phrase of respect, some high invocation of principle, some bright illumination of the theme from actual life, some graceful compliment to his hearers, lightened the passage of these mountains of statistics, and kept the House spellbound by that rich and energetic voice. This praise may seem extravagant; but though Mr. Gladstone has done many things of marvellous intellectual and oratorical force, his exposition last evening of the measure from which will assuredly date the pacification and happiness of Ireland, was a Parliamentary achievement unparalleled even by himself.'

to arrest the attention and sway the judgment of the House of Commons.' He objected to disestablishment because he was in favour of the union of Church and State, by which he understood an arrangement which armed the State with the highest influence, and prevented the Church from sinking into a sacerdotal corporation. Mr. Disraeli dwelt with much earnestness on the possible evil consequences of divorcing authority from religion, and warned the House against establishing an independent religious power in the country, which might be stronger than the civil power, and not always in agreement with it. As to disendowment, if a State seized on the property of a Church without assigning a reason, he held it to be spoliation; but with a reason, valid or not, it was a confiscation. The title of the Irish Church was stronger than that of any other landlord, and no valid reason had been assigned for depriving her of her property. Amid great amusement, Mr. Disraeli sketched a hypothetical case of the extension of the Government principle to private property—one set of landless Irish gentry demanding the confiscation of the estates of their more fortunate fellow-countrymen, from no motive but jealousy; he also referred to corporate property, as though the unendowed London hospitals were to demand the confiscation of the revenues of Guy's, St. Bartholomew's, and St. Thomas's. The right hon. gentleman then criticised, minutely and sarcastically, the various details of the measure, and, in concluding an address of two hours' duration, declared that England could not afford another Revolution.

As Mr. Disraeli, however, had himself effected a greater revolution when he 'dished the Whigs' upon the question of Reform, his declaration failed to excite any emotion approaching to terror. His address did not rise to the level of his previous great speeches, and it was manifest that the Opposition felt their position had not been put in its strongest light until the addresses of Dr. Ball and Mr. Gathorne Hardy had been delivered. The former, after a lengthened examination of the bill, predicted that it would produce general discontent and a severe shock to the rights of property, which would bear fruits in an agitation on the land question, and would be the precedent for more serious organic changes.

Mr. Bright dealt with the question on broad and general principles. Alluding to Mr. Disraeli's contention that the establishment was a protector of freedom of religion and toleration, he remarked that Mr. Disraeli seemed to read a different history from anybody else, or that he made his own, and, like Voltaire, made it better without facts than with them. Mr. Bright maintained that the Establishment had failed in

every way, and demanded, 'Do you think it will be a misappropriation of the surplus funds of this great Establishment to apply them to some objects such as those described in the bill? Do you not think that from the charitable dealing with these matters even a sweeter incense may arise than when these vast funds are applied to maintain three times the number of clergy that can be of the slightest use to the Church with which they are connected? We can do but little, it is true. We cannot relume the extinguished lamp of reason. We cannot make the deaf to hear. We cannot make the dumb to speak. It is not given to us—

> "From the thick film to purge the visual ray,
> And on the sightless eyeballs pour the day."

But at least we can lessen the load of affliction, and we can make life more tolerable to vast numbers who suffer. . . . I see this measure giving tranquillity to our people, greater strength to the realm, and adding a new lustre and a new dignity to the Crown. I dare claim for this bill the support of all good and thoughtful people within the bounds of the British Empire, and I cannot doubt that, in its early and great results, it will have the blessing of the Supreme, for I believe it to be founded on those principles of justice and mercy which are the glorious attributes of His eternal reign.' This noble and dignified peroration, which would have seemed daring almost coming from any other lips, exercised a very powerful and impressive effect upon the House. The speech to which it formed a fitting conclusion was justly characterised as 'a magnificent oration.'

Sir Roundell Palmer opposed the Government measure, assigning for so doing his sense of an imperious and overwhelming necessity. He assented to disestablishment, but there was no precedent for disendowment. He admitted, however, that the bill must pass, and urged the Irish Church not to take Mr. Disraeli's advice to hold back and refuse to co-operate in its re-organisation. Mr. Lowe made a smart attack upon Mr. Disraeli, and after defending the bill, pointed out that the Irish Church had had many opportunities of reconciling itself with the Irish people, but had neglected them all. Its fall had been a matter of certainty for years; 'and,' concluded the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 'the present state of things in Ireland is no longer unalterable. We can alter it, and we will.' Mr. Hardy, who gave Mr. Gladstone full credit for having redeemed his pledges to sweep away all that he had once deemed precious, said he could discover no reason for this attack on the Irish Church but jealousy, such as animated Haman. He denied that the Church was a badge of conquest—also that it had done anything to deserve destruc-

tion. 'The Irish question' was not the creation of the Church, but of the English State. He maintained that the Act of Union was violated by the destruction of the Church, and that it would be necessary to alter the Coronation Oath. Having examined the provisions of the measure, Mr. Hardy said that, believing to the best of his judgment, and to the best of the light of his conscience, that the bill was alike wrong in the sight of God and against the interests of his country, he did not hesitate to denounce and oppose the sacrilegious measure.

Mr. Gladstone replied, eliciting loud cheers when he remarked of the latter portion of Mr. Hardy's speech that it showed his fitness for the task which Burke disclaimed, viz., 'to draw an indictment against a whole nation.' But even in his libellous picture of the Irish people, serious evils were admitted for which Mr. Hardy had no remedy. The Government had one, which of necessity they proposed piecemeal. The Premier maintained that Sir Roundell Palmer, in giving up Establishment, had abandoned the worthier part of the whole argument. He also showed that the bill would in no way touch the Royal supremacy. After briefly reviewing the course of the debate, he said that the charges brought against the Government only proved that they had fairly fulfilled their pledge. 'As the clock points rapidly towards the dawn,' said the speaker in conclusion, 'so are rapidly flowing out the years, the months, the days, that remain to the existence of the Irish Established Church. . . . Not now are we opening this great question. Opened, perhaps, it was when the Parliament which expired last year pronounced upon it that emphatic judgment which can never be recalled. Opened it was, further, when in the months of autumn the discussions which were held in every quarter of the country turned mainly on the subject of the Irish Church. Prosecuted another stage it was, when the completed elections discovered to us a manifestation of the national verdict more emphatic than, with the rarest exceptions, has been witnessed during the whole of our Parliamentary history. The good cause was further advanced towards its triumphant issue when the silent acknowledgment of the late Government that they declined to contest the question was given by their retirement from office, and their choosing a less responsible position, from which to carry on a more desultory warfare against the policy which they had in the previous session unsuccessfully attempted to resist. Another blow will soon be struck in the same good cause, and I will not intercept it one single moment more.'

The division was then taken. The 'Ides of March' had, indeed, proved disastrous for the Irish Church. Great excitement prevailed in the House, and through all its approaches. When the

numbers were announced, it was found that there appeared—For the second reading of the Government bill, 368; against, 250—majority, 118. This majority was overwhelming and decisive; it was larger than had been expected on either side. There were actually present in the House, including tellers, 622 members—a number exceeded upon only one or two previous occasions. The division conclusively demonstrated the progress of public opinion upon the question of disestablishment, the majority being almost double that of the previous year. The composition of the House was thus accounted for:—Ayes, 368; Noes, 250; tellers, 4; Speaker, 1; Conservative seats vacant, 8; Liberal seats vacant, 6; and absentees, 21. Lord Elcho, Sir Roundell Palmer, and Mr. Briscoe (Liberals) voted with the Noes. Six Conservatives voted with Mr. Gladstone, while of the absentees eight were Liberals and thirteen Conservatives. On both sides the Whips exercised the greatest vigilance, and the number of members whose absence could not be accounted for was exceptionally small.

The enormous support which Mr. Gladstone thus received for his proposals fortunately attended the progress of the Irish Church Bill through its remaining stages. The progress of the bill through committee was exceedingly slow, but at length—exactly three months from its introduction in the Commons—the third reading came on. The motion was strenuously opposed, Mr. Disraeli declaring that the passing of the measure would lead to the ascendancy of the Papal power in Ireland, with a consequent reaction in the country. Mr. Gladstone made a final and eloquent defence of his scheme. He maintained that he was only carrying into effect the views of Mr. Pitt and other supporters of religious equality in Ireland. The measure was neither unjust, illiberal, nor harsh; neither would it permanently cripple Protestantism in Ireland. 'The Church,' said Mr. Gladstone, 'may have much to regret in respect to temporal splendour, yet the day is to come when it will be said of her, as of the temple of Jerusalem, that "the glory of the latter house is greater than that of the former;" and when the most loyal and faithful of her children will learn not to forget that at length the Parliament of England took courage, and the Irish Church was disestablished and disendowed.' The Government had again a large majority, the numbers being—For the third reading, 361; against, 247—majority, 114. The Premier, however, was still subjected to coarse vituperation out of doors, and even certain English Protestant journals published unfounded reports concerning the Premier's alleged relations with the Church of Rome—reports only intended to embarrass the author of disestablishment at a critical moment.

The Irish Church Bill led to many animated discussions in

the House of Lords. At one time it was feared that it would be thrown out upon the second reading. The Earl of Derby and Lord Cairns argued with great eloquence against the measure, but it found a supporter of equal intellectual power on the episcopal bench. The Bishop of St. David's—whose known learning and character had great weight with the country—stigmatised as heathenish the vain and superstitious notion that church property was in any sense divine—that material offerings might be accepted by the Most High as supplying some want of the Divine nature. Miss Burdett Coutts's market at Spitalfields was as religious a work as Mr. Guinness's restoration of Dublin Cathedral. He was as eager as any one for Protestant ascendancy, but ascendancy of a religious, moral, and intellectual character, the ascendancy of truth and reason over error. Of that ascendancy he did not believe the Irish Church to be a pillar. He had no fear of, because no belief in, the power of the Pope. Everywhere he saw it on the decline, and a serious blow would be dealt at it in Ireland by removing a grievance which gave the priesthood an artificial hold on the sentiment of the people. The Bishop of Peterborough strongly attacked the bill, and Lord Derby denounced it as a scheme the political folly of which was only equalled by its moral turpitude. Lords Westbury and Cairns also made fierce onslaughts upon the measure (though the former voted for it), but the peers did not follow Lord Derby's advice to reject the bill at once. There appeared for the second reading, 179; against, 146—majority for the bill, 33. This was the largest division in the House of Lords within living memory, no fewer than 325 peers having taken part in it. Eighteen also paired. Amongst Conservatives who voted with the Ministry were the Marquises of Bath and Salisbury, the Earls of Carnarvon, Devon, and Nelson, and Lords Wharncliffe, Lytton, Calthorpe, and Abinger. The votes of the episcopal bench attracted considerable attention. Neither of the English Archbishops voted, but the Archbishop of Dublin voted against the bill, which was supported by the solitary vote of Dr. Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's. The Bishop of Oxford (Dr. Wilberforce), though present, did not vote. Thirteen English and two Irish Bishops pronounced against the bill, while there were many absentees, including the Bishops of Carlisle, Exeter, Manchester, Salisbury, and Winchester. Lord Clancarty alone signed a protest against the bill, as being, in his lordship's judgment, 'directly at variance with the obligations imposed upon the Sovereign by the coronation oath.'

The debate which took place on the second reading fully sustained the reputation of the House of Lords for eloquence, if

it did not indeed enhance it. The bill passed this second stage owing to a feeling on the part of many peers, that a measure which was thus supported by the country and a great majority of the Lower House ought not to be lightly thrown out. The question now arose, What would be done in committee? Various amendments were carried of an important nature, to some of which the Government could not agree. The bill eventually passed the Lords by 121 to 114, under a protest signed by Lord Derby and forty-three temporal and two spiritual peers. The Lords' amendments were considered by the Commons, and the chief of them were disagreed with. They were then sent back to the Lords, and an animated debate ensued in the Upper House. Lord Grey complained that the Lords were humiliated and degraded, and Lord Salisbury said their lordships were called upon to yield to the arrogant will of a single man. The Earl of Winchilsea compared Mr. Gladstone to Jack Cade, and after hinting at the coming of an Oliver Cromwell, declared that he was ready for the block sooner than surrender. A conference upon contested points afterwards took place between Lord Granville and Lord Cairns, and a compromise was arrived at. This compromise was accepted by the Commons, and on the 26th of July, the Irish Church Bill received the Royal assent.

Thus passed this remarkable measure, which excited more angry controversy than any measure since the great Reform Bill of 1832. 'It was carried through its various stages in the face of a united and powerful Opposition, mainly by the resolute will and unflinching energy of the Prime Minister, who, throughout the long and arduous discussions, in which he took the leading part, displayed, in full measure, those qualities of acuteness, force of reasoning, and thorough mastery of his subject, for which he had long been conspicuous, but which were never more signally exhibited than on this occasion. Upon the whole, whatever may be thought of its merits or demerits, it can hardly be disputed that the Act for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, introduced and carried into a law within somewhat less than five months, was the most remarkable legislative achievement of modern times.'* The Government had manifestly every right to claim, as they did in the Queen's Speech at the close of the session, that this great measure might be remembered hereafter as a conclusive proof of the paramount anxiety of Parliament to pay reasonable regard, in legislating for each of the three kingdoms, to the special circumstances by which it might be distinguished, and to deal on principles of impartial justice with all interests and all portions of the nation.

* *Annual Register, 1869.*

Having settled the Irish Church grievance, however, Mr. Gladstone did not rest there. This was undoubtedly the great sentimental difficulty in the way of a reconciliation between the two peoples, but there was an equally important question behind—that of the land. Not even the Ministry which had disestablished the Irish Church could expect to retain office unless it went further in the direction of popular progress indicated by the sympathies of both divisions of the United Kingdom. Accordingly, at the opening of the session of 1870, and in the course of the debate on the Address, the Premier stated that the duty of the Government in regard to the condition of Ireland was absolutely paramount and primary. With regard to Fenianism, he believed it would receive its death-blow from the passing of good and just laws for removing the evils accompanying the tenure and cultivation of land in Ireland.

On the 15th of February the Irish Land Bill was brought forward in a crowded House, the galleries being filled with distinguished strangers. In the outset, Mr. Gladstone alluded to the predictions of the opponents of the Irish Church Bill twelve months before, that it was the land and not the Church which lay at the root of Irish grievances. He therefore trusted that the Opposition would approach the question with a due sense of its importance. The necessity for closing and sealing up the controversy was admitted by all fair-minded and moderate men on both sides. Acknowledging the valuable assistance rendered by the recent literature on this great problem, he proceeded to dissipate some of the misapprehensions which prevailed as to the condition of Ireland, such as the notion that the Irish were a Celtic race, prone to disorder; that the land laws were the same in Ireland as in England, and ought therefore to produce the same results in both countries; that Ireland had been prospering for the last twenty years, and that the people had no occasion to exhibit feelings of discontent. On the contrary, with regard to this last item, the speaker demonstrated that the rate of wages had not risen within the last ten years, that the number of persons receiving poor relief had increased, the cost of subsistence had risen, and some of the most imprudent and violent interferences with the fixed usages of the country had occurred. Moreover, the course of legislation for the past fifty years, though intended in a beneficial spirit, had possibly been detrimental to the interests of the occupiers. The Act of 1793 giving the franchise to Roman Catholics had induced the creation of 40s. freeholds, and the abolition of the franchise in 1829 vastly extended the mischief, and, perhaps, under the circumstances of Ireland, the still greater mischief of mere yearly tenancy. The Encumbered Estates Act, which had since passed

into the Act for Dealing with the Sale of Landed Estates, by not protecting the improvements of the tenants, had operated as an extensive confiscation. Parliament also, during the previous half century, had completely changed the conditions of eviction against the tenants. Speaking broadly, Mr. Gladstone asserted that after we had been legislating for a century in favour of Ireland, it was a matter of doubt whether, as far as the law was concerned, the condition of the occupier was better than before the repeal of the Penal Laws. The present bill would reverse the presumption of law in favour of yearly tenancies, and would not leave owners and occupiers full freedom of contract.

The great evil to be dealt with was insecurity of tenure—as pointed out years before by the Devon Commission—which paralysed the occupier's industry, and vitiated his relations with his landlord, with the State, and with society at large. The Premier, having glanced at the various remedies which had been suggested, pronounced emphatically against perpetuity of tenure. He held that to convert the landlords into mere recipients of rent-charge, to divorce them from their responsibilities, and to relieve them of their duties, would not be for the public good, would cramp the development of the agricultural resources of Ireland, and must ultimately reproduce the evils now complained of. Insecurity of tenure manifested itself in four modes—in the withdrawal of privileges hitherto enjoyed by the tenant, in the lavish and pitiless use of notices to quit, in evictions, and in the raising of rents where the increased value of farms had been caused by the tenants' improvements. The remedy for these serious evils might be extracted from the experience of Ulster without any shock to the foundations of property. The rental of eight counties where stability or security of tenure prevailed was, in 1779, £990,000; in 1809 it was £2,830,000. The rest of Ireland, minus Ulster, had in 1779, according to Arthur Young, a rental of £5,000,000, and in 1869 that rental was £9,200,000. Further details were adduced, showing that while the rent of England and Scotland, where there was more security of tenure, had tripled and sextupled within the last ninety years, in Ireland it had only doubled; and while in Ulster it had tripled, in the other provinces it had not doubled. Coming to the provisions of the bill, Mr. Gladstone divided them under two heads, viz., the acquisition and the occupation of land. Touching the first, Ireland would come under the operation of the two bills to be introduced for facilitating the transfer of land and the distribution of the real estate of intestates, but all the provisions specially affecting Ireland were contained in the present bill. It proposed to increase the power of limited owners with regard to the sale and lease of land, and assist-

ance would be given by treasury loans, through the Irish Board of Works, to tenants desiring to purchase the cultivated lands they then occupied, either by private contract or through the machinery of the Landed Estates Court. This assistance would only be given as a rule to tenants purchasing their own holdings; but where a landlord would only sell in gross, and the tenants combined to buy four-fifths, assistance would be given to persons outside the estate to purchase the other fifth. Provision would be made for loans for the reclamation and purchase of waste lands, and for assisting landlords to pay compensation to tenants giving up their holdings of their own free will.

Dealing with the second division of the bill—that relating to the occupation of land—Mr. Gladstone explained the nature of the judicial machinery for carrying out the provisions of the measure. This would be of two kinds—either a court of arbitration or the civil bill court—from which latter there would be an appeal to the Judges of Assize; and under a clause described as 'the equities clause,' the courts would be able to take into consideration, not merely the legal aspects of each case, but all the circumstances bearing equitably upon it. There were four main provisions in the bill, corresponding to the four descriptions of Irish holdings, viz., those held under the Ulster custom, those held under analogous customs in other parts of the country not having the same traditionary authority, yearly tenancies which enjoyed no kind of protection from custom, and tenancies under lease. The bill would take the Ulster custom as it existed, and give it at once the force of law, and it would legalise the other customs subject to the following restrictions:—That the tenant should only claim when disturbed by the act of his landlord, but that he should not benefit if evicted for non-payment of rent or for sub-letting; that all arrears of rent and damages might be pleaded as a set-off by the landlord, and that the custom might be barred by a lease for thirty-one years. For tenants at will, the bill established a scale of damages which the courts—subject to the same conditions as in tenancies under customs—would be able to award to evicted tenants, viz., in holdings under £10 a sum not exceeding seven years' rent; in holdings between £10 and £50 a sum not exceeding five years' rent; between £50 and £100 not exceeding three years' rent; and over £100 two years' rent. This scale, however, did not include compensation for reclamation of land and permanent buildings, which would be awarded separately. In holdings over £50 the landlord might exempt himself from this scale by giving a lease for thirty-one years, and in holdings over £100 the parties might contract themselves out of it. The Judges would be required in applying this scale to have regard to the injury done to the

tenants by eviction and the improvements they had effected. Asking, amidst some laughter, 'What is an improvement?' Mr. Gladstone defined it in the first place as an addition to the letting value of the land; and secondly, it must be suitable to the nature of the holding. The bill would reverse the present presumption of law; it would presume all improvements to be the property of the tenant, and it would be for the landlord to prove the contrary. Retrospective improvements would be included, but only so far back as twenty years, except in the case of permanent buildings and reclamation of lands; but no claim could be made by a tenant contrary to the terms of his lease. The courts would take into consideration the length of time the tenant had enjoyed the improvement; and no claim could be advanced for tenants' improvements made for a valuable consideration, or where the landlord had contracted to perform them, and had not failed in his engagement. As to the holdings under lease, any owner might exempt his lands from the custom, always excepting the Ulster custom, which would be legalised, and from the scale of damages, by giving to his tenants a lease for thirty-one years—provided that the lease were approved by the court, and gave the tenant at the close of it a right of compensation for manures, permanent buildings, and reclamation of land. In explaining several miscellaneous and subordinate, yet important provisions, Mr. Gladstone said that eviction for non-payment of rent would not, as a general rule, be deemed a disturbance by the landlord; but where it followed on inability to pay an excessive and flagrantly unjust rent, the court would be allowed to take that circumstance into consideration. In future, notices to quit would be for twelve months dating from the last sale day in the current year, and to make them a more expensive amusement, they must all bear a half-crown stamp. In every new tenancy over £4, the county cess would be divided between owner and occupier, the occupier below that amount being relieved altogether.

In concluding his statement, Mr. Gladstone said the Government had toiled hard in the construction of their scheme, but they were far from believing it to be perfect; and they invited, in unreserved good faith, the co-operation of all parties and of all members of the House. They desired that the measure should become a great gift to Ireland, and put an end to the grievances and sufferings which had so long accompanied the tenure of land in that country. They had not knowingly proceeded in any spirit of partisanship; and as they had afforded the occupier improved security of tenure, so they had afforded the landlord improved security for his rent, and improved security for the better cultivation of his land. With regard to the Irish labourer,

the only great boon—and it was a great boon—which it was in the power of the Legislature to give to him, was to increase the demand for his labour, and, by imparting a stimulus to the agriculture of the country, to insure its requiring more strong arms to carry it on, and thereby to bring more bidders into the market for those arms, and raise the natural and legitimate price of their labour. Though the general effect of the measure would be to impose the possibility of an immediate loss upon the landlord, he would not ultimately be a loser. He (the speaker) believed there was a huge fund of national wealth in the soil of Ireland as yet undeveloped; he trusted, in conclusion, that this bill would be accepted by both landlord and tenant because it was just:—

'If I am asked what I hope to effect by this bill, I certainly hope we shall effect a great change in Ireland; but I hope also, and confidently believe, that this change will be accomplished by gentle means. Every line of the measure has been studied with the keenest desire that it shall import as little as possible of shock or violent alteration into any single arrangement now existing between landlord and tenant in Ireland. There is, no doubt, much to be undone; there is no doubt much to be improved; but what we desire is that the work of this bill should be like the work of nature herself, when on the face of a desolated land she restores what has been laid waste by the wild and savage hand of man. Its operations, we believe, will be quiet and gradual. We wish to alarm none; we wish to injure no one. What we wish is that where there has been despondency there shall be hope; where there has been mistrust there shall be confidence; where there has been alienation and hate there shall, however gradually, be woven the ties of a strong attachment between man and man. This we know cannot be done in a day. The measure has reference to evils which have been long at work; their roots strike far back into bygone centuries, and it is against the ordinance of Providence, as it is against the interest of man, that immediate reparation should in such cases be possible; for one of the main restraints of misdoing would be removed, if the consequences of misdoing could in a moment receive a remedy. For such reparation and such effects it is that we look from this bill, and we reckon on them not less surely and not less confidently because we know they must be gradual and slow; and because we are likewise aware that if it be poisoned by the malignant agency of angry or of bitter passions, it cannot do its proper work. In order that there may be a hope of its entire success, it must be passed, not as a triumph of party over party, or class over class; not as the lifting up of an ensign to record the downfall of that which has once been great and powerful, but as a common work of common love and goodwill to the common good of our common country. With such objects, and in such a spirit as that, this House will address itself to the work, and sustain the feeble efforts of the Government. And my hope, at least, is high and ardent that we shall live to see our work prosper in our hand, and that in that Ireland, which we desire to unite to England and Scotland by the only enduring ties—those of free-will and free affection—peace, order, and a settled and cheerful industry will diffuse their blessings from year to year, and from day to day, over a smiling land.'

Mr. Gladstone's proposals, while they ensured for the tenant security of holding, confiscated not a single valuable right of the Irish landowner. The latter required to be taught the lesson that he would receive the largest amount of rent when he was most liberal in his arrangements with his tenantry. The bill was simple, and was founded on the belief that free contract lies 'at the root of every healthy condition of society.' The tenant was secured against oppression on the part of his landlord, and the

landlord was secured legally against loss or detriment to his property.

The second reading was fixed for the 7th of March, and on that day a long debate began upon the principles and details of the measure. Dr. Ball, in a powerful speech, held that, as regarded Ulster tenant-right, the bill perpetuated and fixed a custom which varied with every estate, which was in itself an evil, making, as it were, a distinct law for every separate holding; as regarded compensation, it was fixed too high, the maximum amounting to one-third the fee-simple. He did not, however, object to the principle; but, as regarded future tenancies, he thought the bill utterly bad. Amongst succeeding speakers was Sir Roundell Palmer, who described the bill as large and important, but not revolutionary, yet, at the same time, 'a humiliating necessity.'

Mr. Disraeli glanced through the various objections taken to the measure, and then warmly attacked Mr. Horsman (who had spoken strongly in favour of the bill) as 'a superior person.' When Secretary to the Irish Lord Lieutenant, Mr. Horsman had excused himself for not bringing in bills on the ground that his office was a complete sinecure; 'and we,' said Mr. Disraeli, 'knowing what a superior person he was, did not put an uncharitable construction on his conduct, but said, "This is a part of some profound policy, which will end in the regeneration of Ireland and in the consolidation of her Majesty's United Kingdom."' He (Mr. Disraeli) believed that, without giving any final or general opinion upon the merits of the bill, 'a more complicated, a more clumsy, or a more heterogeneous measure was never yet brought before the attention of Parliament.' After ridiculing the tribunals proposed by the scheme, his sketch of their difficulties being received with great laughter, Mr. Disraeli said, 'Do not let us vote upon this subject as if we had received threatening letters—as if we expected to meet Rory of the Hills when we go into the lobby. No; let us decide upon all those great subjects which will be brought under our consideration in committee as becomes members of the House of Commons.'

Mr. Gladstone had little to reply to besides invective in closing the debate. Upon all the leading principles of the measure he remained fixed in his opinion—nothing had been brought forward calculated to affect the Government positions. On the general question he observed, 'It is our desire to be just, but to be just we must be just to all. The oppression of a majority is detestable and odious—the oppresion of a minority is only by one degree less detestable and less odious. The face of justice is like the face of the god Janus. It is like the face of those lions, the

work of Landseer, which keep watch and ward around the record of our country's greatness. She presents the tranquil and majestic countenance towards every point of the compass and every quarter of the globe. That rare, that noble, that imperial virtue has this above all other qualities, that she is no respecter of persons, and she will not take advantage of a favourable moment to oppress the wealthy for the sake of flattering the poor, any more than she will condescend to oppress the poor for the sake of pampering the luxuries of the rich.'

There was no intention on the part of the Opposition to divide against the second reading of the bill, but a division was forced by a few members with this extraordinary result—For the second reading, 442; against, 11. Mr. Disraeli and many of his influential supporters went into the lobby with Mr. Gladstone, and the eleven members who desired to record their opposition to this measure of pacification were the following:—Sir W. Bagge, Mr. Callan, Mr. D'Arcy, Mr. E. Dease, Mr. Digby, Sir J. Gray, the Right Hon. J. W. Henley, Mr. Heron, Mr. J. Lowther, Sir P. O'Brien, and Mr. Sherlock; tellers, Mr. Bryan and Col. White. Before the bill went into committee, Mr. Chichester Fortescue's measure for securing the safety of life and property in Ireland was rapidly pushed forward, in consequence of daring outrages which had occurred in county Mayo. The amendments to the Land Bill, of which notice was given, were no fewer than three hundred in number. Mr. Disraeli moved in committee that the compensation for eviction should be limited by the insertion of the words 'in respect of unexhausted improvements made by him, or any predecessor in title, and of interruption in the completion of any course of husbandry suited to the holding.' Mr. Gladstone opposed this amendment as an undisguised attempt to overthrow one of the cardinal principles of the bill, and it was defeated by 296 votes to 220. The House thus decided that on the long disputed question of the tenure of Irish land, Ireland had been right, and England wrong. The principle of tenant-right was afterwards affirmed by a large majority. After many prolonged discussions, the bill was read a third time on the 30th of May. On being brought forward in the Lords, it excited considerable discussion, but after a three nights' debate, the second reading was carried without a division. Struggles took place in committee, but eventually this important measure passed through the Upper House with no serious alterations, and on the 1st of August it received the Royal assent. The second of Mr. Gladstone's great legislative acts of a remedial character on behalf of Ireland was thus added to the statute-book.

Besides the Irish Land Question, several prominent topics—

one of a domestic, others of a foreign character—were discussed during this session. It had long been admitted (referring now to the former subject) that elementary education in this country was in an unsatisfactory condition, and on the 17th of February Mr. Forster introduced the Government bill providing for elementary education in England and Wales. This measure was based upon the principle of direct compulsion as regarded the attendance of children, and to effect this, power was to be given to each School Board to frame bye-laws compelling the attendance at school of all children from five to twelve years of age within their district. The Government having shown a decided agreement on some points with the members of the Opposition, Mr. Richard charged the Premier with having thrown the Nonconformists overboard. Mr. Forster became extremely unpopular for a time with the latter body, and he was described by Mr. Richard as 'mounting the good steed Conservative, and charging into the ranks of his friends and riding them down rough-shod.' On the order for the third reading, Mr. Dixon and Mr. Miall, speaking on behalf of the Nonconformists, denounced the measure, and attacked the Government for having roused the suspicion and distrust of their own supporters, while they had secured the aid of the Opposition. Mr. Miall said that the Premier had led one section of the Liberal party through the Valley of Humiliation; but 'once bit, twice shy,' he continued, 'and we can't stand this sort of thing much longer.' Mr. Gladstone was roused by this speech, and a sharp passage of arms occurred. 'I hope,' said the Premier, replying to Mr. Miall, 'that my hon. friend will not continue his support to the Government one moment longer than he deems it consistent with his sense of duty and right. For God's sake, sir, let him withdraw it the moment he thinks it better for the cause he has at heart that he should do so. So long as my hon. friend thinks fit to give us his support we will co-operate with my hon. friend for every purpose we have in common; but when we think his opinions and demands exacting, when we think he looks too much to the section of the community he adorns, and too little to the interests of the people at large, we must then recollect that we are the Government of the Queen, and that those who have assumed the high responsibility of administering the affairs of this Empire must endeavour to forget the parts in the whole, and must, in the great measures they introduce into the House, propose to themselves no meaner or narrower object—no other object than the welfare of the Empire at large.' This second important measure of a memorable session eventually passed both Houses, and became law.

In April, the country was startled by the report of the seizure

and massacre of a party of English travellers by Greek brigands. It seems that the party consisted of Lord and Lady Muncaster, Mr. F. G. Vyner, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Lloyd and child, Mr. Edward Herbert, Secretary to the British Legation, and Count Albert de Boyl, Secretary to the Italian Legation, with their suites. Having visited Marathon, under the protection of an armed escort, they had reached Raphini on their return to Athens, when they were stopped and overpowered by a party of brigands. After rough usage, the ladies were released, and Lord Muncaster was also allowed to proceed to Athens for the purpose of securing the consent of the Greek Government to the terms of the release submitted by the brigands. They demanded £50,000, which was afterwards reduced to £25,000, in money, a free pardon, and the release of certain brigands already in custody. The Greek Government, thinking little of the threats to murder the captives if these demands were not complied with, despatched a body of troops to liberate them by force. The British Minister at Athens endeavoured to procure the release of the captives, even on the terms demanded by the brigands. The amnesty was the greatest difficulty in the way. Seeing the active efforts which were being made, the brigands took their captives further into the interior, and in a few days murdered them in cold blood. Mr. Herbert and Count de Boyl were shot on the 21st, and Mr. Vyner and Mr. Lloyd on the 22nd. It was stated that from the time of their capture until their melancholy death, the party sustained each other with cheerful resignation and true manliness. The brigands were pursued until the greater portion of them were shot or secured, preparatory to being sent to Athens for trial and execution. This terrible incident created a profound sensation in England. It was formally brought under the attention of the two Houses of Parliament, Sir Roundell Palmer being the mover in the Commons. There was a general impression that, from the outset, two parties had been playing their game of ambition with the lives of our countrymen.

Mr. Gladstone acknowledged the gravity of the situation, but pleaded the necessity for further information before taking decided steps. This grievance and shocking tragedy, however, would tend to an opening-up of circumstances connected with the condition of Greece, such as former times had probably never afforded an adequate occasion of investigating. But he still cherished a desire that some other method would be discovered of accounting for these mischiefs than that of charging them upon the popular institutions of the country. In consequence of Turkish domination in Greece, it was the class called upon to govern in that country which was defective, far more than the class to be

governed. The first duty of the English Government would be to ascertain the facts absolutely, and then comprehensively to consider the obligations which arose. In the House of Lords the Earl of Carnarvon—whose cousin, Mr. Herbert, had been killed—demanded 'a full, clear, perfectly just trial of every single person, no matter what his rank or class, against whom there could be any fair suspicion of complicity with these foul murders.' Ultimately, several brigands were executed, and the band immediately implicated was nearly extirpated. The English Government did not see their way to more active interference, and before the close of the year, events of still greater magnitude than this diabolical outrage absorbed the public attention.

In July, 1870, broke out the war between France and Prussia, which resulted in the complete prostration of the former. Much of the responsibility for the conflict was due to the precipitation and the eagerness for war manifested by the French Emperor and the French people. England could not view such a contest without apprehension, chiefly on the score of Belgium—whose proximity to both combatants rendered her an object of great solicitude. The English Government, however, speedily issued a proclamation of neutrality, a policy obviously dictated by the circumstances of the case. This policy was adhered to, but it laid us open to the unreasonable strictures of the German people. We had been successful, with the aid of others, in procuring the withdrawal of the nomination of the Prince of Hohenzollern to the Spanish Crown by Prussia; but diplomatic relations between that country and France were already greatly strained, and the alleged insults to M. Benedetti, at Ems, led to the hostile initiative being taken by France.

The declaration of war produced great excitement in England, and this excitement was intensified by the publication in the *Times* of a draft treaty between Count Bismarck and M. Benedetti, the French Minister at Berlin. This proposed compact between France and Prussia was regarded as a direct menace to England by the former Power—France looking forward to the acquisition of Belgium for herself. The publication of the treaty was due to Prince Bismarck, who hoped to procure thereby England and Belgium as German allies. Mr. Gladstone, in the House of Commons, admitted that the Government had been taken by surprise by this treaty, whose gravity had not, in the slightest degree, been over-estimated. He awaited, however, declarations from the French and Prussian Governments. France at first denied the authenticity of the document, but this she afterwards admitted. The moment was an anxious one for England, but the Premier refrained from adopting a high-handed policy,

although he asked Parliament for two millions of money and twenty thousand additional men—demands readily acceded to.

Immediately before the prorogation of Parliament, Mr. Disraeli pressed the Government to make known its intentions, and Mr. Gladstone's reply was criticised as unsatisfactory. He objected to the idea of 'armed neutrality,' as inconsistent with that 'unequivocal friendliness to both parties' which England was anxious to maintain. The Belgian difficulty received no exposition, but Mr. Gladstone concluded by saying that the country had adequate forces, and he believed that the Government would be able to maintain such a dignified and friendly position as would carry with it no suspicion, and would not, under the idea of securing safety, introduce new elements of danger and disturbance. England hoped, at some happy moment, to be, either alone or along with others, the chosen bearer of a message of peace. In the House of Lords, Earl Granville was more emphatic and explicit, declaring that England meant to be true and faithful to all her treaty engagements. A new and triple treaty was signed by England, Prussia, and France, recording their determination to maintain intact the independence and neutrality of Belgium, as provided in the Quintuple Treaty of 1839. This new engagement was to be binding for one year after the cessation of the Franco-Prussian war, and then the signatories were to fall back upon the Treaty of 1839. The general policy of the Government upon this important question was endorsed by the country, though complaints were made of the unnecessary reticence of the Prime Minister,

We cannot dismiss this important session of 1870 without a brief reference to certain legislative and other changes which were effected. By an Order in Council it was directed that from the 31st of August next ensuing all entrance appointments to situations in all Civil Departments of the State, except the Foreign Office and posts requiring professional knowledge, should be filled by open competition. The Royal prerogative which asserted that the General Commanding-in-Chief is the agent of the Crown was abolished, and that distinguished personage was formally declared to be a subordinate of the Minister of War. Some difficulty was anticipated in this matter, but her Majesty frankly and promptly surrendered her privileges, and all danger of a collision with Parliament was thereby averted. A new Foreign Enlistment Act was passed, which enabled the Government to prohibit the building as well as the escape of Alabamas, but compelled the Admiralty to release them on receipt of a bond to the effect that they were not to be employed for any illegal work. The disfranchisement of Bridgwater, Beverley, Sligo, and Cashel

was decreed. An Act was passed removing the disabilities of clergymen who abandon the clerical profession; and an Act was also passed modifying the Law of Married Women's Property. Finally, the half-penny postage for newspapers was instituted, while the half-penny card was also introduced.

The release of the Fenian prisoners was a matter which attracted considerable attention. Mr. Gladstone wrote to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, announcing the intention of the Government to release the Fenian prisoners then undergoing sentences for treason or treason-felony, on condition of their not remaining in, or returning to, the United Kingdom. The Premier, alluding to the enormity of their offences, said that the same principles of justice which dictated their sentences would amply sanction the prolongation of their imprisonment if the public security demanded it. 'It is this last question, therefore, which has formed the subject of careful examination by her Majesty's Government, and they have been able to come to the conclusion that, under the existing circumstances of the country, the release of the prisoners, guarded by the condition which I have stated, will be perfectly compatible with the paramount interests of public safety, and, being so, will tend to strengthen the cause of peace and loyalty in Ireland.' This decision on the part of the Government was very generally approved by the press and the country, though the condition placed upon the amnesty was variously viewed, being severely condemned by one section of the people, and regarded as a wise restriction by the great majority.

CHAPTER XX

THE GOLDEN AGE OF LIBERALISM (*concluded*).

The Black Sea Treaty—Mr. Disraeli on Foreign Affairs—Reply of Mr. Gladstone—Debate on the Policy of the Government—Marriage Grant to the Princess Louise—Alarming Condition of Ireland—Mr. Gladstone's Defence of the Government—The Army Regulation Bill—Abolition of Purchase—Mr. Cardwell's Scheme—Debated in the Commons—The Opposition defeated—The Bill rejected in the Lords—The Premier abolishes Purchase by Royal Warrant—The step severely criticised—Vote of Censure in the Lords—Sir Roundell Palmer approves the Royal Warrant—The Ballot Bill—Rejected by the Lords—Other Questions discussed—Mr. Miall's Motion for the Disestablishment of the Church of England—Opposed by Mr. Gladstone, and rejected—Conclusion of the Treaty of Washington—Miscellaneous Questions—Mr. Lowe's Match Tax—Mr. Bruce's Licensing Bill, &c.—The Government and Epping Forest—Mr. Gladstone on his Religion—The Home Rule Agitation—Speech of the Premier—Waning Popularity of the Ministry—Mr. Gladstone's Address on Blackheath—A striking Scene—Defence of the Government Policy—The Constitution of the House of Lords—A new social Movement—The Future of England—Parliamentary History of the Year 1871—Legislative Achievements of the Gladstone Administration.

WHEN the session of 1871 opened, difficulties had already begun to gather round the Gladstone Government, though it was destined to accomplish other great reforms ere it fell before the treacherous wave of public opinion. The most important question discussed at an early period was that concerning the Black Sea Treaty. Taking advantage of the altered circumstances of Europe, the Emperor of Russia declined any longer to recognise the neutralisation of the Black Sea, and withdrew from the naval convention, at the same time restoring to the Sultan the full exercise of his rights, and duly informing the other Powers concerned of his action. The Czar further declared that he had no wish to re-open the Eastern Question, that he adhered to the principles of the treaty as fixing the position of Turkey, and that he was ready to enter into any understanding to this effect with the other Powers. After much diplomatic negotiation, a conference of the Powers was held in London, when the neutralisation of the Black Sea was abrogated, and the Porte permitted to open the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus to the vessels of war of friendly and allied Powers, in case the Government of the Sultan should think it necessary to do so in order to ensure the execution of the Treaty of 1856. The European Commission of the Danube was also prolonged for

twelve years, and the works already made, or to be made, on that river neutralised, with, however, the reservation to the Porte of its right to send ships of war into the river.

In the debate on the Address, Mr. Disraeli reviewed the state of foreign affairs generally. He thought that England should have made more of the guarantee to Prussia of her Saxon provinces, given us by the Treaty of Vienna, and also, as regarded France, of the concession obtained from Prussia as to the Hohenzollern candidature. He was sarcastic at the expense of the Government upon our attenuated armaments, which rendered 'armed neutrality' on our part so difficult. After paying left-handed compliments to Mr. Childers, Mr. Cardwell, and Mr. Lowe upon their economy, the right hon. gentleman ridiculed our proceedings in the matter of the Russian Note, and expressed his belief that there was a secret treaty between Germany and Russia. At the close of his amusing survey, while not prepared to propose an amendment, Mr. Disraeli said that he did not think the state of affairs to be devoid of peril, and all must admit the position to be critical. Mr. Gladstone, in reply, maintained that there was not a shadow of foundation for the accusations which had been made. The Ministry had no knowledge of the coming storm until it broke around them. With regard to the armaments of the country, they had been greatly increased in efficiency since the Conservatives went out of office in 1868; and the Premier rallied the leader of the Opposition on the close resemblance between his conception of a 'bloated armament' in 1861, and his conception of an 'attenuated armament' in 1871. As to the binding character of the guarantee of Prussia's Saxon provinces, given in 1815, Mr. Gladstone showed the fallacy of this from the exposition of the Government of which his opponent was a member, touching the character of a joint guarantee as exemplified in the Luxemburg guarantee of 1868. He further declared, respecting the Russian Note, that neither Lord Clarendon nor Lord Palmerston had ever believed that the neutralisation of the Black Sea could be more than temporary, assured the House that England would not have had a single ally among the neutral Powers if she had proposed simply to insist on this neutralisation when the Russian Note appeared, Austria being entirely opposed to that course; and he denied that we had made any sort of special appeal for help to Germany, having merely notified our course to Germany as to other Powers. England had traditions and obligations which she would never abandon; but he hoped she would never be guilty of the folly of supposing that she could improve her condition in the face of Europe by setting up imaginary interests which she did not possess. He saw no special

or near peril to England, whom he was desirous of making strong, but he admitted the possibility that the neutral Powers might find it necessary to express an opinion upon the terms of peace.

Some days later, Mr. Disraeli again returned to the subject of the Black Sea Treaty, and strongly condemned the assembling of a conference merely to register the humiliation of Great Britain. Mr. Gladstone replied with some warmth to the taunt that there was a foregone conclusion in his mind, when the conference met, fatal to the honour of the country. He had never denied that the neutralisation of the Black Sea was a vital part of the Paris Treaty, but only that it was exclusively vital. He acknowledged his error as to Lord Clarendon's view of the neutralisation condition, but he still believed that Lord Palmerston, while attaching great importance to it, did not think it was one which could be permanently enforced. With regard to Mr. Disraeli's condemnation of the Government policy, Mr. Gladstone said that, with one great quarrel and controversy raging in Europe, the right hon. gentleman would have recommended them to keep open another, and not to take any means to arrive at an amicable solution of the question. Such was the policy which his wisdom and resources suggested to him. But the Government had been desirous to keep together, if possible, in harmony and co-operation, the neutral influences in Europe, in the hope that in some happy moment they might be able to contract that range of misery and destruction which they had long seen extending.

Another debate shortly afterwards took place upon our foreign relations, on a motion by Mr. Auberon Herbert, 'That this House is of opinion that it is the duty of her Majesty's Government to act in concert with other neutral Powers to obtain moderate terms of peace, and to withhold all acquiescence in terms which might impair the independence of France, or threaten the future tranquillity of Europe.' Sir Robert Peel vigorously assailed the policy of the Government. It was one in which 'we ventured to do this, and 'we ventured' to do that all through—language which he respectfully submitted to the House was not of the kind which Lord Palmerston would have used. It was unworthy of a great and powerful nation. Mr. Gladstone denied that the attitude of the Government had been one of selfish isolation. To inquiries as to the possibility of concerted action with Russia, an answer was received that it was impossible. Owing to the untoward reception of this overture and the appearance of the Russian Note, Lord Granville could not further develop the idea of mediation. He (Mr. Gladstone) admitted that an extorted peace was one of the alternatives we had to fear, and that the greater magnanimity shown by the victor the better would it be, not only for

France and Europe, but for the interests of Germany. Neither of the belligerents desired intervention; on the contrary, they rather thought the premature offer of our good offices might be prejudicial. 'England had no cause to be discontented with her position in Europe; but he warned the House not to set too high a value on the sole influence of England, for the strength of neutrals' action was that they should be all represented. He reiterated his statement that the conditions of peace were a matter of watchful concern to the neutrals, and added that it would be a noble addition to the great deeds of this country, if it should be able to mitigate the necessarily severe conditions of peace so as to make them conducive to a permanent settlement.' Expressing himself satisfied with Mr. Gladstone's statement respecting the position of England, Mr. Herbert withdrew his motion.

Before dealing with the great question of the session—the abolition of Purchase in the Army—several other topics of interest claim attention. The proposed grant to the Princess Louise on her marriage roused the opposition of some members of the House, who affirmed that they represented the sentiments of a considerable number of the people. In view of this opposition, Mr. Gladstone's speech on moving the grant was fuller and more argumentative than had usually been the case on such occasions. The resolution provided an annuity of £6,000 to her Royal Highness, and a grant of £30,000. The Premier stated that the Queen, in marrying her daughter to one of her own subjects, had followed her womanly and motherly instincts, and she had been supported by the advice of her responsible Ministers. Having defended the moderate nature of the provision, and passed a high eulogium upon the economical management of the Royal household, Mr. Gladstone affirmed that the Civil List, when settled at the commencement of her Majesty's reign, did not contemplate provisions of this nature, nor was it convenient that it should. Although the Crown Lands now produced an income only about equal to the Civil List, if they were managed in the same manner as a private estate, they would put the Sovereign in possession of the largest income in the country. But there was a still higher ground than this why the proposition should be supported, viz., the political importance which attached to supporting the dignity of the Crown in a becoming manner. The speaker also dwelt upon the value of a stable dynasty, and on the unwisdom of making pecuniary calculations of a minute nature upon such occasions. When the resolution for the marriage portion came to be reported, it was opposed by Mr. P. A. Taylor, supported by Mr. Disraeli, and carried by the singular majority of 350 votes against 1.

The condition of affairs in Ireland, and especially the spread

of an agrarian conspiracy in Westmeath, compelled the Government to move for a committee to inquire into the unlawful combination and confederacy existing in Westmeath and adjoining parts of Meath and King's County. Lord Hartington, Chief Secretary for Ireland, in moving for the committee, admitted that it was with feelings of painful dismay that he did so, but he proceeded to explain that the lawless condition of things indicated in a certain quarter was no criterion of the general condition of Ireland. Crime had subsided in the country, and the constabulary reports exhibited a marked improvement. Westmeath and the parts immediately adjacent, however, formed a terrible exception to the general rule, and the state of things having become intolerable, a committee was required to secure a thorough investigation of the case, and to satisfy the House that when the Government asked for any further powers their demand was justified by necessity. Mr. Disraeli was severely sarcastic at the expense of the Government, which had expressed its dismay at Ribandism. Referring to past legislation for Ireland, he observed that the Chief Secretary should have come forward and said, 'It is true that murder is perpetrated with impunity; it is true that life is not secure, and that property has no enjoyment and scarcely any existence; but this is nothing when in the enjoyment of abstract political justice—and by the labours of two years we have achieved that for Ireland; massacres, incendiarism, and assassinations are things scarcely to be noticed by a Minister, and are rather to be referred to the inquiry of a committee.' The right hon. gentleman added that the people of England, being persuaded with regard to Irish politics that Mr. Gladstone was in possession of the philosopher's stone, had returned him to the House with an immense majority, with the express object of securing the tranquillity and content of Ireland. Neither time, labour, nor devotion had been begrudged him; 'under his influence, and at his instance, we have legalised confiscation, consecrated sacrilege, and condoned high treason; we have destroyed churches, we have shaken property to its foundation and have emptied gaols; and now he cannot govern the country, without coming to a Parliamentary committee! The right hon. gentleman, after all his heroic exploits, and at the head of his great majority, is making Government ridiculous.' Mr. Hardy also bitterly denounced the policy of the Government.

Mr. Gladstone, having administered a rebuke to Mr. Hardy for his heated language in describing murder as 'stalking abroad,' and the Government as 'becoming contemptible,' announced that the Ministry could not, consistently with their sense of public duty, withdraw the motion for a committee. He was glad that

Mr. Disraeli, who had formerly told the House deliberately from his place that the consequences of disestablishment would be more formidable and destructive than those of foreign conquest, had now got down to expressions so moderate and judicial as that the Government had 'legalised confiscation and consecrated sacrilege.' Ministers asked the House to assist them in the elucidation and establishment of facts, but the committee was also necessary from the fact that they desired to prove not only acts that were done but acts that were not done, and to show how the system of terrorism was applied to all the transactions of private life. Much valuable information could be obtained, but only on the condition that those giving it were protected against its publicity. Turning upon Mr. Disraeli, the Premier made an effective point by remarking upon his rival's admission that in the year 1852 he did not adopt the means which he believed most suitable for the protection of life and property in three counties of Ireland, because the Government was weak. 'If the defences of the Government are weak, and the number of troops insufficient, is a Government to make it an apology for departing from the first principles of duty that they sit upon this bench, that they want to sit upon this bench, and therefore cannot propose measures which, in their opinion, principle justifies, and the safety of the country demands?' Mr. Gladstone concluded by observing that, acting upon the immediate elementary obligations of a Government, at all hazards to secure personal peace and freedom in the transactions of life, they submitted their proposal to the House, and were confident it would receive the approval of its reflective and deliberate judgment.

During the debate, Mr. Osborne, in a humorous speech, described the Cabinet as consisting chiefly of 'Whig marionettes.' Alluding to the changes which had taken place in its composition, he said the Cabinet had been lately whitewashed—that is, its members had been shuffled, and they had come back in the old military position of 'As you were.' In his principle of selection, the First Minister, if he had a choice, was in favour of Whig marionettes of the most approved pattern, while he himself held the official wire. He could not help thinking, when he looked through the long and dreary list of gentlemen who bowed to the presiding genius, there was written over the doors of the Cabinet, 'No Irish need apply.' The Solicitor-General for Ireland replied to this speech in a similar vein. Alluding to Mr. Osborne's complaint that the Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant had been transferred to the treadmill of the Board of Trade, he observed, 'I apprehend that the hon. gentleman would be very glad to work upon that treadmill himself, and I take the liberty of

saying confidentially that in less than eighteen months he would not only become a silent but a grateful member of the Government.' With regard to Mr. Osborne's feeling of satisfaction that he had an Irish seat in the House, Mr. Dowse said, 'The hon. member is an Irishman *pro re nata;* he is an Irishman for the present, and will continue one—until the next general election. Having said so much for the hon. member, I promise him, if he gives me another opportunity, to be more liberal in my acknowledgments of his efforts for throwing light on the subject of debate.' The Solicitor-General concluded by adducing arguments in support of the policy of the Government. At the close of the debate, the motion for a select committee was carried by a large majority. The appointment of this committee was fully justified by subsequent events.

We now come to the Army Regulation Bill of the Government, which was introduced by Mr. Cardwell. The country having pronounced in favour of the abolition of the purchase system, this was the chief feature of the measure introduced by the Secretary at War. In moving the usual army estimates, the Minister explained the nature of the new scheme of army re-organisation. He stated that the Government, agreeing with Lord Derby that it would be cheapest to pay for our military labour, would not recommend compulsory service, but there would be clauses in the bill enabling the Government to raise any number of men upon necessity. After considering the various methods as to how our forces were to be raised, the Ministry had decided to propose the abolition of the purchase system. The necessity of accepting a system of retirement and promotion by selection as distinguished by seniority followed this decision, as well as the payment of a large sum of money by way of compensation, which he calculated would range from £7,400,000 to £8,400,000. The bill fixed a day after which no pecuniary interest would be taken by any one in any new commission; but no officer would be the worse in a pecuniary sense by the abolition of purchase. A commission would be appointed to ascertain the over-regulation price in every regiment, and with money from the Consolidated Fund would stand in the place of a purchaser to the officer who wished to sell out, to retire on half-pay, &c. The number allowed to retire each year would be limited to the average of the last five years. As to first commissions, they would be given without purchase to the general public by competitive examination, to subalterns of militia regiments after two years' good service, and, as before, to non-commissioned officers. These were the leading features of a measure whose minor details were explained with great minuteness by Mr. Cardwell.

It was not to be expected that so great a change in the constitution of the army could be effected without opposition. Accordingly, on the motion for the second reading of the bill, Colonel Loyd-Lindsay proposed a resolution declaring that the expenditure necessary for the national defences did not at present justify any vote of public money for the extinction of purchase. The resolution was influentially supported, and many arguments were adduced in favour of the retention of the existing system. During the debate Sir J. Pakington severely criticised the measure, which he described as 'a costly party project and a sop to democracy,' and attacked Mr. Trevelyan for circulating 'trash,' which by dint of continual repetition had come to be believed. Mr. Trevelyan, who had, perhaps, done more than any other man to 'educate' his country upon this question, replied with spirit, and quoted the case of Havelock, who declared that he was sick for years in waiting for his promotion; 'that three sots and two fools had purchased over him, and that if he had no family to support he would not serve another hour.' The hon. member for the Border Burghs warned the Opposition that if the defeat of the bill brought on a dissolution, 'Abolition of Purchase' would be an excellent hustings' cry. Mr. Disraeli was in favour of moulding the bill in committee, and urged Col. Loyd-Lindsay to withdraw his motion. Mr. Gladstone, however, announced that Government would insist upon the amendment being negatived. The speech of Mr. Disraeli he regarded as a landmark in the history of this question, as it admitted that this was the first proposition which had ever attempted to weld into one harmonious whole the three great arms intended for the defence of the country. The bill contained so much of the programme of the Government as needed legislation. Its product would answer to the standard of our requirements, which demanded a small army highly trained, and a large army of reserve ready at any moment. With regard to the reserves, they should not be drawn from the militia, but should consist of seasoned men, regularly trained, corresponding to the German Landwehr. He hoped that Mr. Disraeli's declaration against purchase would have its full weight, and he proceeded to justify Mr. Cardwell's decision to sweep away the whole system by paying off over-regulation as well as regulation prices. He opposed the idea of an increase of pay when purchase was abolished, a cry which had no reason on its side. The best security for the emoluments of the officers, and for a fair system of retirement, was the necessity on the part of the country of attracting the best men into its army. Dealing with the idea that, after purchase had been abolished, almost everything would remain as it was, Mr. Gladstone said that if the purchase system was to be abolished at this great

cost--he would almost call it this vast cost—the reason why it was to be abolished was that the whole position of the officers of the army might be fully and freely considered, and might be subjected to review in all respects where it should seem susceptible of improvement. The idea was to have the very best men and the very best officers; but they were not to go into the army by compulsion, they were to go into it by free choice. The Government would go into committee expecting, even inviting, criticism, and would look for a spirit of co-operation in all those who were desirous of adjusting the clauses of the bill. They had an object of the highest and purest patriotism, viz., to secure that in the future, if possible even more than in the past, the British army should be and remain worthy of the British nation.

The amendment was negatived, and the bill read a second time. On going into committee, Mr. Mundella moved a resolution to the effect 'That this House, whilst approving the abolition of purchase in the army, is of opinion that the army may be put in a state of efficiency without increasing the ordinary military estimates of last year.' He asked why they should not have more organisation, instead of the cry of more men and more money. When the American war was at its worst, and everybody was crying out for 'more men,' the poet Lowell wrote:—

> 'More men! More men—that's where we fail,
> Weak things grow weaker yet by lengthening;
> What is the use of adding to the tail,
> When its the head's in want of strengthening?'

The motion was seconded by Mr. Pease, who inveighed strongly against the increase of army expenditure, and appealed to the Prime Minister to reconsider the retrograde step he was now taking; it was unsound, economically; politically an error. It was also an immoral proceeding, internationally, for this country to set the example of a large military expenditure. Mr. Gladstone said he understood the motion to mean that between £2,750,000 and £3,000,000 ought to be taken off the estimates before the House, and that this might be done without impairing the efficiency of the army. He was not prepared to accede to that proposition. The speeches of the two hon. members were rather in favour of retrenchment generally, than in support of the particular motion before the House. Now, after allowing for the increase which had arisen this year in the military expenditure, the total defensive expenditure for the year would exhibit a sum to the credit of the Government estimates of between £600,000 and £800,000. At the same time, he would not have it supposed that the prolonged scale of military expenditure, which the circumstances and exigencies of the time

required, would become the normal measure of the military expenditure of the country. After going through the various charges, Mr. Gladstone said that his hon. friends need not apprehend for a moment that the Government were more disposed than they had heretofore shown themselves to encourage unnecessary alarm, that they were less sensible of the duty and the value of endeavouring to retrench public expenditure, or that they were less disposed, and, so far as depended upon them, less determined to apply that principle, according to the varying exigencies of the time, with a firm and steady hand during the period, whether it were long or short, that they might have the honour to administer the affairs of the country. In the end, Mr. Mundella's motion was defeated by 294 to 91.

There still remained before the Government the great task of abolishing Purchase in the Army. Their labours were facilitated by a recent report of a Royal commission, to the effect that the practice of bargaining for commissions was inseparable from the permission to buy them; but there was one great obstacle to the proposed abolition in the fact that an expenditure of several millions would be immediately necessary. This part of the Government scheme was warmly opposed by the military members of the House, and an amendment against it was moved by Colonel Loyd-Lindsay. That officer, however, withdrew his motion at the request of Mr. Disraeli; but the clauses of the bill continued to be discussed with great persistency and at undue length. After several months had elapsed, leaving little prospect of the bill being passed in its entirety, the Government were driven to state that they would only insist on the purchase clauses, and the transfer of power over the Militia and Volunteers from the Lords-Lieutenant to the Crown. Mr. Disraeli sharply criticised the policy of the Government, stating that he had only approved the abolition of purchase as a means towards the re-organisation of the army, which had now been abandoned. Mr. Gladstone replied that the abolition of purchase had always been the chief feature of the Government scheme, and that they must and would clear the ground for re-organisation by abolishing it, as well as the privilege of the Lords-Lieutenant. The bill accordingly passed through committee. Besides securing the leading points just indicated, it restored to the State the government of the army, enabled Parliament to fix from year to year the number of the militia, authorised Government to insist on six months' continuous training as the condition of entering that force, and rendered volunteers when under training in the camps subject to the Mutiny Act.

Much speculation arose upon the probable reception of the

measure by the House of Lords, and at a meeting of Conservative peers held at the Carlton Club—attended only by a section of the party, however—it was resolved to oppose the bill. On its being brought forward, the Duke of Richmond moved that the House should not pass the second reading until it had before it a comprehensive plan. Lord Sandhurst defended the bill, but the great majority of the speeches delivered were antagonistic to it. Lord Salisbury said it was the duty of the House to protect the country against rash and imperfect legislation, and he exhorted their lordships not to abandon the army to the influence of combined senility and corruption. The bill was urged forward by the Prime Mnister to redeem the barrenness of a useless session. Lord Granville besought the House to pause ere it placed itself in collision with the Commons. Eventually the bill was rejected by 155 to 130; but as regarded actual peers of the realm the Government had a majority of one. The measure was defeated by the Scotch and Irish representative peers, 29 of whom voted or paired with the Opposition, and only three for the Government.

This decision was distasteful to the country, and it was generally felt that the question could not be suffered thus to remain shelved. It was reserved, however, for the Prime Minister to discover a way out of the difficulty which was as extraordinary and unexpected as it was effectual. On the 20th of July, in answering a question addressed to him by Sir George Grey, Mr. Gladstone announced that the Government had resolved to advise her Majesty to take the decisive step of cancelling the Royal warrant under which purchase was legal. That advice was accepted by her Majesty, and a new warrant had been framed in terms conformable with the law. It was consequently his duty, on the part of the Government, to state that, after the 1st of November ensuing, purchase in the army would no longer exist. When the cheers which followed this announcement had subsided, Mr. Gladstone went on to say that, under the altered circumstances of the case, it was not for them to indicate what course the House of Lords should pursue. In considering this matter, the Government had had no other object in view but simplicity, despatch, the observance of constitutional usage, and the speedy termination of a state of suspense which they thought most injurious—he would not say dangerous—to the army, and calculated to delay the progress of a measure that was likely, in their judgment, to do full justice to the fair pecuniary claims of the officers, and the loss of which might make it difficult to find means of doing justice to those claims. It would not be becoming or appropriate to forecast what course Ministers should take in case they were to fail in prosecuting the bill to its legitimate conclusion. But

one thing it was his duty to state on the part of the Government, viz., that they would use the best means in their power, mindful of the honourable pledges they had given, to secure at the hands of Parliament just and liberal terms for the officers of the army.

Mr. Disraeli described this exercise of prerogative as a very high-handed course—he would not say then illegal course, as he reserved that point for future consideration. He was checked by the Speaker for denouncing the Ministerial policy as 'part of an avowed and a shameful conspiracy against the undoubted privileges of the other House of Parliament.' Having withdrawn these words, he went on to maintain that no Minister acted in a wise manner who, on finding himself baffled in passing a measure which he believed to be of importance, came forward and told the House that he would defy the opinion of Parliament, and who appealed to the prerogative of the Crown to assist him in the difficulties which he had himself created.

When the Royal warrant came on for discussion in the Lords, the Duke of Richmond moved to add the following words:—'That this House, in assenting to the second reading of this bill, desires to express its opinion that the interposition of the Executive during the progress of a measure submitted to Parliament by her Majesty's Government, in order to attain by the exercise of the prerogative, and without the aid of Parliament, the principal object included in that measure, is calculated to depreciate and neutralise the independent action of the Legislature, and is strongly to be condemned: and this House assents to the second reading of this bill only in order to secure the officers of her Majesty's army compensation to which they are entitled, consequent on the abolition of purchase in the army.' Lord Salisbury delivered another bitter speech, and said that although Lord Granville had been made the most reluctant instrument of insulting the order to which he belonged, their lordships knew the dictator under whom he served. The noble marquis asked whether it was worth while to retain their power by uniformly acting against their convictions. Lord Romilly stated that he joined with considerable pain the Opposition peers upon this question; but the Duke of Somerset (who had frequently opposed the measures of the Government) said that purchase must go, and no other course than that which they had adopted was really open to the Ministry. After speeches from Lord Russell, Lord Cairns, and the Lord Chancellor, the vote of censure was carried by a majority of 80. The bill itself passed without a division. When the measure came to be discussed in the Commons, after its return from the Lords, there was a wide difference of opinion upon the legal aspects of the question between Sir R. Collier, the Attorney-

General, and Sir J. D. Coleridge, the Solicitor-General. This divergence caused Mr. Harcourt to ask, amidst laughter from both sides of the House, which horse the Government intended to win with—the Attorney-General on 'Statute,' or the Solicitor-General on 'Prerogative'? Mr. Harcourt nevertheless cordially supported the issue of the warrant; it was the statute, he held, not the Royal warrant, which would make purchase illegal. Mr. Fawcett spoke strongly against the resort to prerogative, and said that if this act had been done by a Tory Ministry, it would have been passionately denounced by Mr. Gladstone amid the applause of the whole Liberal party. The Premier, in defending his policy, said that to have proceeded by warrant in the outset would have assumed that the House of Commons of its own authority could compensate persons who had habitually broken the law. As to the argument that the consideration for which the House had agreed to pay a large sum of money had disappeared from the bill, and that purchase might be revived as it had been abolished, the Lords were responsible for this, and he was content to trust to the vigilance of the House of Commons to prevent any such act. With regard to the question whether he had advised the Crown to issue the warrant on statute or by prerogative, Mr. Gladstone replied that he had advised her Majesty that she was in possession of a legal power, and that an adequate necessity existed for exercising it. Although there were precedents for it, he did not deny that it was a grave proceeding; but the great justification for it was the impossibility of otherwise putting a stop to the flagrant and crying evil of over-regulation prices. As to the censure of the House of Lords, while he did not undervalue it, he appealed to the public opinion of the country for his exculpation.

The absence of Sir Roundell Palmer from these debates having been frequently commented upon, on the last day of the session a letter was read from that eminent Liberal lawyer approving of the issue of the Royal warrant. Such a warrant was within the undoubted power of the Crown; and after recapitulating the existing circumstances, Sir Roundell Palmer said he thought the issue of the warrant was the least objectionable course which the Government could pursue. The measure passed; and greatly diversified as were the opinions of the people upon the method by which the abolition of purchase was secured, all were agreed in a short time as to the substantial wisdom of the Act itself.

Another measure which was discussed this session with great asperity was the Ballot Bill. A considerable section of the Conservative party resolved to obstruct the passage of the measure with every available weapon in their power. Mr.

Gladstone, who supported the bill, said it must and should pass the Commons before the session was concluded; and the Opposition, in order to defeat his purpose, delivered portentous speeches against the measure, whose relevancy it was sometimes impossible to discover. For nearly six weeks this warfare continued, but at length the bill was carried, though a skeleton only of the original scheme. In the Lords the bill met with scant courtesy, being rejected by 97 votes to 48. Many Liberal peers stayed away, and others voted against the measure on the ground of the late period of the session. A second question of importance, that of University Tests, was settled during the session. Mr. Gladstone introduced a bill substantially the same as that which the Lords had rejected the previous year. On the question again being remitted to the Upper House, Lord Salisbury carried an amendment of a religious nature striking at the root of the bill. This was disagreed with by the Commons, and ultimately the Lords themselves disavowed it by 128 to 89, and the bill, as it finally left the Commons, was agreed to, and received the Royal assent. The result of his measure was that all lay students of whatever religious creeds were in future to be admitted to the Universities on equal terms.

On two other important questions Mr. Gladstone was heard this session, and his utterances attracted great attention. Mr. Jacob Bright's bill for conceding the Parliamentary franchise to female householders, if single women, was rejected by 220 to 151; but the Premier caused considerable sensation by admitting that, if the ballot were once established, women might be admitted to the franchise without detriment. A long debate also took place upon Mr. Miall's motion, 'That it is expedient, at the earliest practicable period, to apply the policy initiated by the disestablishment of the Irish Church to the other churches established by law in the United Kingdom.' Mr. Disraeli, in the course of the debate, expressed his confident belief that the great majority, both in the House and in the country, was decidedly in favour of the Church. The Nonconformists had, for the moment, allied themselves with the revolutionary philosophers, but their principles were opposed to the real feeling of the country, and he believed that even now a *plébiscite* would be in favour of the Church. He should oppose the motion in the interests of civil and religious liberty, and more for the sake of the State than of the Church. Mr. Gladstone announced emphatically that the Government were hostile to the motion, and did not at all profess to limit their opposition to the present occasion. The Church of England was not a foreign church; it was the growth of the history and traditions of the country. The disestablishment of

the Irish Church had been one of the largest tasks to which a Legislature could address itself. 'But,' added the Premier, 'the question of the Irish Church sinks into insignificance—I mean material insignificance—beside the question of the English Church. It is not the number of its members or the millions of its revenue; it is the mode in which it has been from a period shortly after the Christian era, and has never for 1,300 years ceased to be, the Church of the country, having been at every period ingrained with the hearts and the feelings of the great mass of the people, and having intertwined itself with the local habits and feelings, so that I do not believe there lives the man who could either divine the amount and character of the work my hon. friend would have to undertake were he doomed to be responsible for the execution of his own propositions, or who could in the least degree define or anticipate the consequences by which it would be attended.' If Mr. Miall sought to convert the majority of the House of Commons to his opinions, he must begin, concluded the right hon. gentleman, by undertaking the preliminary work of converting to those opinions the majority of the people of England. The motion was rejected by 374 votes to 89

A threatened rupture between Great Britain and the United States was averted by the conclusion of the Treaty of Washington in the month of May. The British Commissioners were Lord de Grey (afterwards created Marquis of Ripon for his services), Sir Stafford Northcote, Professor Bernard, Sir Edward Thornton, and Sir John Macdonald. After having sat thirty-seven times, the High Joint Commissioners at New York signed a treaty providing for the establishment of two boards of arbitration—one to consider the *Alabama* and similar claims, which would be recognised as national, and settled on the principle of responsibility for depredations where Government had not exercised the utmost possible diligence and precaution to prevent the fitting out of privateers; the other would consider miscellaneous claims on both sides, confined principally to those arising out of the Civil War. No claims arising out of the Fenian invasion of Canada would be admitted. All legitimate cotton claims would be considered, except those of British subjects domiciled in the South. The San Juan boundary question, it was ultimately arranged, should be arbitrated upon by the Emperor of Germany. American vessels were to navigate the St. Lawrence free, and the Canadian canals on payment of the regular tolls. The treaty was ratified towards the close of May.

On miscellaneous questions the Government were responsible for various failures, and they likewise sustained several severe checks. Conspicuous amongst the former was the budget intro-

duced by Mr. Lowe on the 20th of April. In consequence of the abolition of purchase, the army estimates were much swollen, and there was a great excess of estimated expenditure over revenue. The Chancellor of the Exchequer proposed to make up this deficiency in various ways, and amongst his propositions was a tax on matches, bearing the box label '*Ex luce lucellum*,' from which he expected £550,000. The match-tax speedily became one of the most unpopular taxes ever proposed; it was the butt of the comic and the *bête noire* of the serious papers, and was condemned by the country generally. The trade rose in arms against it, and it was shown that the proposed duty would vary from 100 to 400 per cent., even more on the wholesale price. Thus the duty upon £625 worth of the commonest matches would be £3,000. The match trade would be virtually extinguished by such an imposition. Unable to withstand the dissatisfaction created by his proposal, Mr. Lowe abandoned the tax. Several other propositions in the budget were either modified or withdrawn, and an increased income-tax was imposed. Mr. Bruce's Licensing Bill also excited great opposition. Its two broad principles, as defined by its author, were that the public had a right to a sufficient number of respectably conducted houses; and that all vested interests should be carefully considered. There were certain restrictive clauses, however, in the measure which led to hostile demonstrations on the part of the trade, and in the end Mr. Bruce abandoned the chief features of his scheme, and declined to pledge himself to re-introduce the bill in the following session. Mr. Goschen introduced two bills on the subject of local taxation, designed to provide a uniform system of local government throughout England and Wales (the metropolis excepted), and to secure uniformity of rating. The bills did not come to a second reading. The Government further suffered a defeat on a matter of the greatest interest and importance to the poorer classes of London. Having proposed a commission to settle the rights of the Crown with regard to Epping Forest, Mr. Cowper-Temple brought forward a motion virtually against the Ministry, as it proposed to secure the preservation of the unenclosed portions of the forest as an open space for the enjoyment of the people of the metropolis. The resolution was opposed by Mr. Gladstone, who stated that the Government had secured one thousand acres of the forest as a recreation ground for the people. Mr. Cowper-Temple's motion, notwithstanding, was carried by a large majority. The loss of the 'Captain' and the 'Megæra' led to grave reflections upon alleged Admiralty mismanagement, but Mr. Goschen, who succeeded Mr. Childers as First Lord, elaborately defended the conduct of the Board. The session, which, in

spite of its failures, had been far from barren, terminated on the 21st of August.

During the following recess, Mr. Gladstone's energy was as sleepless as ever. In addition to various public appearances which he made, he was once more called upon to defend himself on the score of his religion. The affection with which he was viewed by a large section of the community seemed to be counterbalanced by the animosity of a smaller if more active section. Writing from Balmoral to Mr. Whalley, in answer to a question which the hon. member for Peterborough had put on behalf of his constituents, the Premier said, 'I quite agree with those of your constituents on whose behalf you address me, in thinking that the question "whether the Prime Minister of this country is a member of the Church of Rome," and being such, not only declines to avow it, but gives through a long life all the external signs of belonging to a different communion, is a "question of great political importance," and this not only "in the present," but in any possible condition of the "Liberal" or any other "party." For it involves the question whether he is the basest creature in the kingdom which he has a share in ruling; and instant ejectment from his office would be the smallest of the punishments he would deserve. If I have said this much upon the present subject, it has been out of personal respect to you. For I am entirely convinced that, while the question you have put to me is in truth an insulting one, you have put it only from having failed to notice its true character; since I have observed during my experience of many years that, even when you undertake the most startling duties, you perform them in "the gentlest and most considerate manner."' This last sentence was worthy of the Premier's rival in his best mood. The hon. member for Peterborough was generally condemned for acting as the mouthpiece of an insufferable inquisition into Mr. Gladstone's religious opinions.

The cry for Home Rule, and the unwarrantable conduct of Irish juries in connection with certain trials for agrarian crime, considerably disturbed the equanimity of the country during the recess. The Prime Minister, however, delivered a speech in connection with these matters which greatly allayed the public excitement. In receiving the Freedom of the City of Aberdeen, he took occasion to say that he did not quite know what was meant by the cry of Home Rule. He was glad to know emphatically that it did not mean the breaking up into fragments of the United Kingdom. He—and he hoped all those who heard him—intended that it should remain a United Kingdom. From circumstances which he adduced, the Irish people were liable to become more or less the victims from time to time of this or that

political delusion. 'But,' he continued, 'there is nothing that Ireland has asked and which this country and this Parliament have refused. This Parliament has done for Ireland what it would have scrupled to do for England and for Scotland. There remains now a single grievance—a grievance with regard to university education, which is not so entirely free in Ireland as it has now been made in England; but that is an exceptional subject, and it is a subject on which I am bound to say Ireland has made no united demand upon England; still, I regard it as a subject that calls for legislation, but there is no demand which Ireland has made and which England has refused, and I shall be very glad to see such a demand put into a practical shape, in which we may make it the subject of rational and candid discussion.' There were no inequalities between England and Ireland, the right hon. gentleman maintained, except such as were in favour of the latter. He admitted, nevertheless, that the circumstances under which Ireland was too long governed were hostile, nay, almost fatal to her growth. They ought rather to be pleased with what she had done than to complain of her. But if the doctrines of Home Rule were to be established in Ireland, they would be equally entitled to it in Scotland, and still more so in Wales, where the people spoke hardly anything but their own Celtic tongue. 'Can any sensible man, can any rational man,' suppose that at this time of day, in this condition of the world, we are going to disintegrate the great capital institutions of this country, for the purpose of making ourselves ridiculous in the sight of all mankind, and crippling any power we possess for bestowing benefits through legislation on the country to which we belong?' With regard to past measures for Ireland, he would not admit that she was not going to be conciliated. But there was a still higher law to remember than that of conciliation. 'We desire to conciliate Ireland, we desire to soothe her people—the wounded feelings and the painful recollections of her people. We desire to attach her to this island in the silken cords of love; but there was a higher and a paramount aim in the measures that Parliament has passed, and that was that it should do its duty. It was to set itself right with the national conscience, with the opinion of the world, and with the principles of justice; and when that is done, I say fearlessly that, whether conciliation be at once realised or not, the position of this country is firm and invulnerable.'

Dealing with the Army Regulation Bill, in a speech at Whitby, the Premier averred that that measure alone was sufficient to make and confer honour upon the session. The power of the Crown was brought in, but it could not have been done without.

With regard to the Ballot Bill, although it had been rejected, the time had not been lost. When the measure was presented next session at the door of the House of Lords, he believed it would be with an authoritative knock which it would not have otherwise possessed. After deprecating hasty legislation, Mr. Gladstone said that 'no doubt many a clever fellow writing in a newspaper could put his finger on many a blot on our legislation, and show how it might have been done, and he had no doubt that he thought he could have done it better himself.' Referring next to a magazine article which appeared at the time, and which caused a strong sensation, entitled the 'Battle of Dorking,' the Premier exhorted his hearers not to be alarmed. The disposition to alarm sat worse upon the English than upon any other people, because we were accused abroad of being an arrogant and a self-assertive people; and nothing could be more injurious than for such a people to lash themselves into a state of apprehension and panic, or to endeavour to persuade themselves that all mankind were in a conspiracy against them. He exhorted them to be on their guard against alarmism. 'The power of this country is not declining,' he observed in conclusion. 'It is increasing—increasing in itself, and I believe increasing as compared with the power of the other nations of Europe. It is only our pride, it is only our passions, it is only our follies which can ever constitute a real danger to us. If we can master these, no other foe can hurt us; and many a long year will make its round, and many a generation of men will be gathered to its fathers, before the country in which we are born, and which we deeply love, need forfeit or lose its place among the nations of the world.'

There were signs during the year 1871—as indeed it has been already indicated—that the popularity of the Ministry was declining. The Premier was too much in earnest for his Whig supporters, whose political animation was well-nigh suspended by the rapidity of his reforms. Rarely had the apathy of the country to great legislative schemes been so nobly overcome as during Mr. Gladstone's premiership, but a reaction began to set in. Early in 1871, even a section of his own constituents drew up a petition inviting him to resign his seat for Greenwich. This movement had a ridiculous but the only legitimate ending. The Premier was heavily weighted, according to the popular view, by such colleagues as Mr. Lowe and Mr. Ayrton—men of great and unquestioned ability, but whose reading of the public pulse was not of the surest and most satisfactory description. The labours of Hercules were thrown upon the shoulders of the First Minister, and it was a little too much to make him responsible for the erratic action of every subordinate. A meeting was called at the

Lecture Hall, Greenwich, in support of the requisition desiring Mr. Gladstone to resign his seat; but the Liberals repudiated all connection with the movement, and the tables were turned in a surprising manner upon the requisitionists. After a scene of considerable violence, a vote of confidence was passed in Mr. Gladstone, and the proceedings closed with a volley of cheers for the right hon. gentleman.

The chief event of the recess, however, was the Premier's great speech on Blackheath. For two hours, on a bleak October day, Mr. Gladstone addressed an open air audience, consisting of some 20,000 persons. In his whole career he has, probably, never made a more dramatic appearance. Standing before the immense audience bareheaded, by the sheer force of his eloquence the right hon. gentleman subdued the opposition of those who had come expressly to circumvent him.* He began his speech by craving indulgence in respect to his discharge of local duties, and observed that, though it might be a serious

* From a description of the scene which appeared in the *Daily News* we take the following passage:—'The dense mass heaved, and there rose from it an audible gasp as a burst of cheering was heard in the offing. Nearer rolled the cheers, mingled with some yells, but the silence of keen expectancy reigned before the hustings. The door at the back of the booth opened, there was some confusion among its occupants, and then—here was Mr. Gladstone, standing at the right hand of Mr. Angerstein. Then the throng broke the silence of expectancy. Peal after peal of cheering rent the air. There was a waving forest of hats. The cheering was spasmodic—it was too loud to be sustained, and ever as it drooped a little was audible the steady automaton-like hissing. But as yet there was little or no hooting, only the bitter, persistent hissing in the lulls of the cheering. If Mr. Angerstein flatters himself that in the remarks he made introducing Mr. Gladstone he was audible ten feet to his front, he simply labours under a delusion. The noise that drowned his words was utterly indescribable. When this brief preface was over, Mr. Gladstone stood forward bareheaded. There was something deeply dramatic in the intense silence which fell upon the vast crowd when the renewed burst of cheering, with which he was greeted, had subsided. But the first word he spoke was the signal of a fearful tempest of din. From all around the skirts of the crowd rose a something between a groan and a howl. So fierce was it that for a little space it might laugh to scorn the burst of cheering that strove to overmaster it. The battle raged between the two sounds, and looking straight upon the excited crowd stood Mr. Gladstone, calm, resolute, patient. It was fine to note the manly British impulse of fair-play that gained him a hearing when the first ebullition had exhausted itself, and the revulsion that followed so quickly and spontaneously, on the realisation of the suggestion that it was mean to hoot a man down without giving him a chance to speak for himself. After that Mr. Gladstone may be said to have had it all his own way. Of course at intervals there were repetitions of the interruptions. When he first broached the dockyard question there was long, loud, and fervent groaning; when he named Ireland a cry rose of "God save Ireland!" from the serried files of Hibernians that had rendezvoused on the left flank. But long before he had finished he had so enthralled his audience, that impatient disgust was expressed at the handful who still continued their abortive efforts at interruption. When at length the two hours' oration was over, and the question was put that substantially was, whether Mr. Gladstone had cleared away from the judgment of his constituency the fog of prejudice and ill-feeling that unquestionably encircled him and his Ministry, the affirmative reply was given in bursts of all but unanimous cheering, than which none more earnest ever greeted a political leader.' Rarely has an English Premier ventured to throw himself thus completely upon the sympathies of the great mass of the people.

misfortune to many whom it affected, the closing or restriction of Government establishments might at the same time be a duty to the nation. Three-fourths of the reduction in the number of the dockyard labourers was due to their predecessors, and the whole plan had been devised by a former Government. Touching upon the abolition of purchase in the army, Mr. Gladstone said he rejoiced to think that in a single session they had been able to achieve a task so formidable. He had faith in the army, in spite of all the writings of alarmists. The autumn manœuvres had demonstrated that, if it should please Providence to bring upon us the necessity, never was the country more able to entrust its defence to troops and to officers more worthy of their country, or more certain to make that defence effectual. In defending the War Minister, Mr. Gladstone said, 'There has been a fashion during the present year to scoff at Mr. Cardwell. I can only say that, when he is condemned, I, for my part, am glad to share the condemnation. But I venture to affirm that no man who ever held the seals of office since the Secretaryship at War was established, has done so much for the reform and the efficiency of the army; and I am quite sure that when he retires from the office, he will leave behind a name entitled to the approval and the gratitude of the country.' Dealing with the Education Act, the speaker observed that a great and comprehensive measure of that kind could hardly be perfect. 'Indulgence, equity, the sacrifice of extreme opinions, must be asked for in every quarter. But I ask those who are least satisfied with the Education Act this one and simple question, whether it is not a great stride, and one achieved upon a path of real progress? I will not now attempt to say more upon the question than this:—On the one hand we shall endeavour to adhere to that principle of the Act which aims at the severance between the application of the State funds and controverted matters in religion; and on the other I must pause, for my own part, and I believe my colleagues would feel themselves obliged to pause, before they could resolve to say to the parent desirous to send his child to a school of his own persuasion, compelled by public authority to send it to school, and unable to pay the charge, If you attempt to send the child to a school of your own persuasion, if you don't consent to send him to a school the principles of which you disapprove—namely, the rate school—we shall send you to prison. I don't think public opinion would sustain us in such a course.' Alluding to the ballot, he expressed his belief that his hearers were of opinion the Government had made a good and wise choice in pressing that important question upon the attention of Parliament.

It was scarcely possible, after the recent important differences

of opinion between the two Houses of Parliament, that Mr. Gladstone should avoid all reference to the functions and constitution of the House of Lords. When he arrived at this stage of his address, he was interrupted by a voice, 'Leave the constitution of the House of Lords alone!' Whereupon he proceeded to say:—

'I am not prepared to agree with my friend there, because the constitution of the House of Lords has often been a subject of consideration amongst the wisest and most sober-minded men; as, for example, when a proposal—of which my friend disapproves, perhaps—was made a few years ago to make a moderate addition to the House of Lords of peers holding their peerages for life. I am not going to discuss that particular measure; I will only say, without entering into details that would be highly interesting, but which the vast range of the subject makes impossible on the present occasion—I will only say that I believe there are various particulars in which the constitution of the House of Lords might, under favourable circumstances, be improved. And I am bound to say that, though I believe there are some politicians bearing the name of Liberal who approve the proceedings of the House of Lords with respect to the Ballot Bill at the close of last session, I must own that I deeply lament that proceeding. I have a shrewd suspicion in my mind that a very large proportion of the people of England have a sneaking kindness for the hereditary principle. My observation has not been of a very brief period, and what I have observed is this, that wherever there is anything to be done, or to be given, and there are two candidates for it who are exactly alike—alike in opinions, alike in character, alike in possessions, the one being a commoner and the other a lord—the Englishman is very apt indeed to prefer the lord.'

In giving instances in support of his opinion, Mr. Gladstone dealt with a new social movement which at that time was the subject of much discussion. This movement was originated by Mr. Scott Russell, and its object was to improve the condition of the working classes by an alliance of workmen with (chiefly) Conservative statesmen. The memorandum which formed its basis was signed by Lords Salisbury, Carnarvon, Lichfield, Sandon, and John Manners, and by Sir J. S. Pakington, Sir Stafford Northcote, and Mr. Gathorne Hardy. Mr. Gladstone indulged in a little pleasantry at the expense of this scheme, whose ultimate issues did not satisfy its promoters. 'Here was one body on one side, another body on the other side, and in the middle Mr. Scott Russell. Mr. Russell comes in communication with both of these bodies. He speaks first to the one and then to the other. You have seen a clergyman in a large church when he gives out his text; he first of all looks to the people in one part of the church, and says, "You will find it written so-and-so," and then to the other side of the congregation, "You will find it so-and-so." This is exactly, or almost exactly, what seems to have been done by Mr. Scott Russell. The only difference is this—that, unfortunately, Mr. Scott Russell gives a text out of one Testament to the people on this side, and a text out of the other Testament to the people on the other side.' As to the composition of the body he had organised, he might have said, 'I have organised a body of educated, intelligent, and independent men,' and per-

haps that would have occurred in another country. But what is the language he used? He said, 'I have organised this body, and what does it contain? It contains peers, lords, baronets, and one commoner—one solitary commoner among peers, lords, and baronets.' It was by these means that Mr. Scott Russell thought to make his prescription most acceptable to those for whom it was intended. The right hon. gentleman, however, speaking of the House of Lords, went on to acknowledge the admirable and exemplary manner in which many of the peers performed their duties.

Detailing the great advantages which had accrued from the legislation of the past generation, including Free Trade, the removal of twenty millions of taxation, a cheap press, and an education bill, Mr. Gladstone enforced the lesson that Englishmen must depend upon themselves for their future well-being and improvement. After describing those who promised Utopian benefits to the working man as quacks, deluded and beguiled by a spurious philanthropy, the Premier thus concluded his long and animated address:—

'How, in a country where wealth accumulates with such vast rapidity, are we to check the growth of luxury and selfishness by a sound and healthy opinion? How are we to secure to labour its due honour—I mean not only to the labour of the hands, but to the labour of the man with any and all the faculties which God has given him? How are we to make ourselves believe, and how are we to bring the country to believe, that in the sight of God and man labour is honourable and idleness is contemptible? Depend upon it, gentlemen, I do but speak the serious and solemn truth when I say that beneath the political questions which are found on the surface lie those deeper and more searching questions that enter into the breast and strike home to the conscience and mind of every man; and it is upon the solution of these questions that the well-being of England must depend. Gentlemen, I use the words of a popular poet when I give vent to this sentiment of hope, with which for one I venture to look forward to the future of this country. He says:—

> "The ancient virtue is not dead, and long may it endure,
> May wealth in England——"

and I am sure he means by wealth that higher sense of it—prosperity, and sound prosperity—

> "May wealth in England never fail, nor pity for the poor."

May strength and the means of material prosperity never be wanting to us; but it is far more important that there shall not be wanting the disposition to use those means aright. Gentlemen, I shall go from this meeting, having given you the best account of my position in my feeble power, within the time and under the circumstances of the day—I shall go from this meeting strengthened by the comfort of your kindness and your indulgence to resume my humble share in public labours. No motive will more operate upon me in stimulating me to the discharge of duty than the gratitude with which I look back upon the, I believe, unexampled circumstances under which you made me your representative. But I shall endeavour—I shall make it my hope—to show that gratitude less by words of idle compliment or hollow flattery than by a manful endeavour, according to the measure of my gifts, humble as they may be, to render service to a Queen who lives in the hearts of the people, and to a nation with respect to which I will say that through all posterity, whether it be praised or whether it be blamed, whether it be acquitted or whether it be condemned, it will be acquitted or condemned upon

this issue, of having made a good or bad use of the most splendid opportunities; of having turned to proper account, or failed to turn to account, the powers, the energies, the faculties which rank the people of this little island as among the few great nations that have stamped their name and secured their fame among the greatest nations of the world.'

The year 1871 was, in many respects, a memorable one. When it opened, war was still raging between Prussia and France, but a treaty of peace was signed in the month of May. We have already seen how our own difficulties with the United States were placed in the way of a satisfactory adjustment. Towards the close of the year, the whole nation was moved with a sense of gratitude to Almighty God for the recovery of the heir to the Throne from a dangerous illness, and one to which for a long period none but a fatal result was feared and anticipated.

The Parliamentary history of the year was not altogether satisfactory, though there have been sessions since quite as barren in acts of great and useful legislation. On the 1st of January, the disestablishment of the Irish Church was finally completed. With regard to extra-Parliamentary politics, in the autumn an agitation was commenced for the reform or the abolition of the House of Lords, but it speedily subsided; and Mr. Gladstone, as we have seen, defended the Lords in his speech at Blackheath, while admitting that the constitution of the House might be improved. Sir Charles Dilke caused considerable sensation by first attacking the Queen's administration of the Civil List in a lecture delivered at Newcastle, and avowing himself a Republican a few days later in a speech made at Bristol. Not, perhaps, as the consequence of this, but owing rather to a special conjuncture of circumstances, the country shortly afterwards testified its loyalty to the Throne in an especially marked and enthusiastic degree. Lastly, there was a continuance of the Home Rule agitation, while Mr. Dixon and a powerful body of Nonconformists strongly attacked the clauses of the Education Bill which allowed of aid to denominational schools—one leading object sought being the exclusion of religious teaching from day schools.

The Gladstone Administration had now passed its zenith, and its decadence had already begun. There are some reforms which, when they do not touch the mass of the people, are readily acquiesced in; but when a Ministry resolutely sets itself to the reform of abuses in all directions, however laudable its objects, it is sure to incur the hostility of individual interests. Mr. Bruce alienated the whole of the brewing interests by his Licensing Bill, and the Government acquired further unpopularity by the disasters reflecting upon the Admiralty. Indignation was caused when, upon the promotion of Sir M. Smith to the Privy Council, the Attorney-General (Sir R. Collier) was gazetted as a Puisne

Judge of the Common Pleas, for the purpose of qualifying him for an appointment to the Judicial Committee, which was soon afterwards completed. Opponents of the abolition of purchase, moreover, did not forget to enlarge upon what they described as the straining of the Constitution by the issue of the Royal warrant. Rightly or wrongly, these and other matters led to much obloquy being cast upon the Government; and the Premier—to whom personally little or no blame could attach for many of these transactions—found towards the close of the year that his popularity was waning. A reaction had set in against so-called 'heroic' legislation—which really meant that Mr. Gladstone, who in 1868 so clearly and unmistakably interpreted the public sentiment, was now in advance of it. His earnestness and enthusiasm were already beginning to be but ill-appreciated by the very classes who had wafted him into power, and given him such an enormous majority

But, in looking back upon the legislative enactments of the three sessions of 1869, 1870, and 1871, who can deny that they warrant the designation which we have given to the present division of this work? That period which (to say nothing of minor measures) witnessed the passing of the Irish Church Act, the Endowed Schools Bill, the Bankruptcy Bill, the Habitual Criminals Bill, the Irish Land Act, the Elementary Education Act, the Abolition of Purchase in the Army, the negotiation of the Washington Treaty, the passing of the University Tests Bill and of the Trades Union Bill, and the repeal of the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, may well be entitled to the appellation of the 'golden age of Liberalism.' There have been few periods in the history of this country—we might venture almost to say there have been none—when measures of equal magnitude have been passed within this limited space of time. 'The hour and the man' were both designed for the task which had to be accomplished. Never was there an age when a stronger zeal for reform was manifested—taking reform now not merely in a political and Parliamentary, but in a social, religious, and national sense; and never was there a statesman more fully capable of meeting the needs of such an age than Mr. Gladstone. They were the complement of each other, and when Englishmen reflect upon the great legislative achievements of the time, it is well for them also to remember that the cry of justice to Ireland, and other demands for imperial legislative reforms, owed their fulfilment to the untiring energy, the dauntless will, and the high moral and political courage of him whose name now occupies so conspicuous a position in our political annals.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE ALABAMA CLAIMS—THE BALLOT—IRISH UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

The Year 1872—Recovery of the Prince of Wales—Growing Unpopularity of the Government—Debate on the Address—The Premier on Mr. Disraeli's Survey of the Ministerial Policy—Debates on Sir Robert Collier's Appointment—The 'Ewelme Scandal'—The Government and the Public Parks—Sir Charles Dilke's Motion on the Civil list—Opposed by Mr. Gladstone—Extraordinary Scene in the House—The Ballot Bill—The Measure carried—The Alabama Claims—Mr. Gladstone on the Washington Treaty—The Geneva Arbitration—Award of the Arbitrators—Protest of Sir Alexander Cockburn—Irish University Education—Scheme of the Government—Great Speech by the Premier—Details of the Measure—The Bill in Danger—Debate on the Second Reading—Speeches of Mr. Lowe, Mr. Disraeli, and Mr. Gladstone—Defeat of the Government—Ministerial Interregnum—Mr. Disraeli declines to take office—Mr. Gladstone on the Situation—Resumes the Premiership—Measures of the Session of 1873—Ministerial Changes.

THE new year dawned amid universal symptoms of rejoicing on the part of the people. The Queen invited her subjects to share in her gratitude for the recovery of the Prince of Wales, and a thanksgiving service was held in St. Paul's Cathedral, under circumstances of splendour and impressiveness. The reception which the Sovereign and the Heir to the Throne met with on their progress from Buckingham Palace testified to the hold which the Royal family had upon the affections of the people, whose demonstrations acquired a deeper fervour from the recollection of the period of deep anxiety, now happily overpast. National prosperity, too, was advancing in a marked degree, and there seemed no reason to dread the introduction of discordant elements into the life of the commonwealth.

The chief political feature of the period was the continued unpopularity of the Government. Speculation was rife as to its stability, and yet those who predicted its downfall during the session of 1872 were unable to point to a combination powerful enough to take its place. For that reason, the strongest opponents of the Ministry, while anxious to damage its prestige and to humiliate it in the eyes of the country, were not desirous of witnessing its overthrow. By way of illustrating the divisions and the spirit which existed, a Liberal journal observed that 'many would like to knock over Lord Hatherley, many to expel

Mr. Forster, many to rid the Government of Mr. Bruce, many to hurt Mr. Lowe, most of all, perhaps, to humiliate Mr. Gladstone. But they all want to know how this can be done without causing a dissolution or change of Government. It is a spiteful problem in *maxima* and *minima*, how to inflict on the Government the maximum of discredit with the minimum of immediate result. The censors of the Government are like a dueller who declares he does not want to kill his antagonist, but only to "give him a lesson that he will remember to the day of his death." That, however, is a very delicate feat to achieve when you are playing with deadly weapons. You may wish to "wing" your adversary, and send a ball just through his heart. And the great question now is, Can the Government, even with the cordial help of its many open enemies and insincere friends, manage to receive the tokens of the accumulated dislikes of so many different sections, and yet survive the session?' The Prime Minister, looking round upon his lieutenants, could scarcely discover one who was not credited, justly or unjustly, with having contributed his share to the weight of opprobrium under which the Government was labouring. But while not exempting the Ministry from blame in several matters, every candid mind must confess that much of the criticism passed upon it was groundless.

In the debate on the Address, Mr. Disraeli challenged the policy of Ministers, remarking that they had adopted a new system of vindicating their characters during the recess. 'We really have had no time to forget anything. Her Majesty's Ministers may be said during the last six months to have lived in a blaze of apology.' After protesting against this new system, the right hon. gentleman continued, 'The notices of motion given this evening will afford her Majesty's Government ample opportunities for defending their conduct, past or present. If it is in the power of the Government to prove to the country that our naval administration is such as befits a great naval power, they will soon have an occasion of doing so; and if they are desirous of showing that one of the transcendental privileges of a strong Government is to evade Acts of Parliament which they have themselves passed, I believe, from what caught my ear this evening, that that opportunity will also soon be furnished them.' Attacking next the clauses of the Queen's Speech, Mr. Disraeli observed, with regard to Ireland, that there had originally been a reference to the 'third branch of the Upas tree,' but it had slipped out at the last moment. The Ballot had been preferred to such measures as the Mines Regulation Act and Sanitary Legislation. He condemned the paragraph relating to the Washington Treaty as frigid and jejune, and utterly inadequate to the

occasion. Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville, having full control and supervision of the negotiations at Washington, were solely responsible for the treaty, whose terms he proceeded to discuss, objecting strongly to its retrospective clauses. He demanded from the Government their grounds for stating that the treaty excluded claims which were preposterous and wild, and which equalled a tribute from a conquered people. He asked for the view of the American Government upon our reading of the treaty. Her Majesty's Ministers must be perfectly frank upon the question, for it appeared to him that if they got into a Serbonian bog of diplomacy upon this matter the consequences might be enormous and fatal.

Mr. Gladstone, undisturbed apparently by his rival's sarcasm, at once said that the Government courted the most searching inquiry into the case of the 'Megæra,' and into Sir Robert Collier's appointment. Every assistance would be given by the Government to the taking of the judgment of the House upon these questions. Having adverted to the recovery from illness first of her Majesty and then of the Prince of Wales, the Premier touched upon the Irish references in the Speech, and assured the leader of the Opposition that he was mistaken in his assumption as to the question of education in Ireland. He next justified the precedence which had been given to the ballot; and with regard to the Alabama case, he said that it was the duty of Ministers to state their case to the Government of the United States, and especially to the people of this country, in the mildest terms possible consistent with an appreciation of the momentous importance of the question. The paragraph relating to the treaty was in his opinion, therefore, quite adequate to the emergency. Mr. Disraeli's historical retrospect of the negotiations he accepted as proving that the British Government had at no time acceded, either in intention or otherwise, to an instrument admitting constructive claims. Whatever blame fell on those who concluded the treaty must be borne by the Government—the Commissioners were entirely free from it; but he denied that there was blame anywhere Large concessions had undoubtedly been made to the American Government—such as accepting retrospective action and abstaining from claiming compensation for the Fenian raids in Canada—but they were justifiable. The American Government had made no protest against the interpretation publicly put on the treaty in the House of Lords in the previous June. In consequence of the American case having been only in possession of all the members of the Cabinet for a week or so, a communication could not be addressed to the American Government until within the last few days. The treaty was not ambiguous, and

could not be read in two contradictory senses; on the contrary, the Government would contend that, tried by grammar, logic, common sense, policy, or any other conceivable criterion, its only just and unequivocal meaning was that which they put upon it. It amounted almost to an interpretation of insanity to suppose that any negotiators could intend to admit, in a peaceful arbitration, claims of such an unmeasured character as the right hon. gentleman had partially described, such as he (Mr. Gladstone) for a moment glanced at, and such as it was really impossible to have supposed the American Government to intend; these would be claims transcending every limit hitherto known or heard of—claims which not even the last extremities of war and the lowest depths of misfortune would force a people with a spark of spirit, with the hundredth part of the traditions or courage of the people of this country, to submit to at the point of death. They relied on the friendly disposition which prevailed between the two peoples for an amicable settlement, but under no circumstances would the Government allow themselves to swerve from their sacred and paramount duty to their country.

Sir Robert Collier's appointment led to very warm debates in both Houses. In the Lords the Duke of Argyll severely condemned the letter from Lord Chief Justice Cockburn protesting against the appointment—a letter which, he said, contained 'railing, nay, almost ribald accusations.' Lord Stanhope's vote of censure upon the Government was negatived by 89 against 87 votes. A similar vote was moved in the Commons by Mr. Cross, whereupon Sir Roundell Palmer moved an amendment to the effect that there was no just cause for Parliamentary censure. His speech was of great service to the Government. Mr. Gathorne Hardy said that he did not wish to impute wrong motives, but there were cases in which Acts of Parliament had been dealt with in a peculiar manner, and statutes dispensed with by the Premier. Mr. Gladstone rose and complained that irrelevant topics—such as the appointment to the living of Ewelme—had been introduced into the debate by the preceding speaker. He asked the House to reserve its judgment, and not to allow the question of the construction of an Act of Parliament to be prejudiced by the introduction of matters which had nothing whatsoever to do with it. If he (the speaker) had been guilty of the wilful violation of a statute, he should deserve not merely exclusion from office but from Parliament altogether. The admissions made in the course of the debate, however, showed that the statute had been obeyed, and that a competent man had been appointed—nay, more than a competent man, looking to the status and rights of an Attorney-General. The Government had unsuccessfully applied to three

Judges before appointing Sir Robert Collier, and without such a resource would have been brought into serious practical difficulty, having regard to the dignity of the office. They had not violated the statute—this was admitted as affecting the letter of it—but only somebody's idea of the intention of the statute. The meaning of the qualification specified in the Act was judicial *status*, judicial experience being merely one element among others. The burden of proof to the contrary lay upon the mover of the motion. The Government did not foresee the storm that would be raised over this appointment, and if they had foreseen it they would not have been so foolish as to have evoked it. But was there ever a vote of censure passed upon a Government—a sentence of capital punishment—that hung upon so slender a thread? He hoped the House would never be drawn aside from the straight road of justice into slippery paths. He did not consider the consequences to the Government of this motion; he put it upon higher grounds. Moreover, if carried, Sir Robert Collier would feel that a shade rested upon his judicial fame, and that it possibly might become the end of his judicial career. The House of Lords had declined to pass judgment against this appointment; and he was well convinced that the House of Commons would refuse to fall into the snare.

The House negatived the vote of censure by a majority of 27.

Another matter which led to a debate in the month of March was one described by the papers as 'the Ewelme scandal.' In this case the Premier had appointed the Rev. W. W. Harvey to the vacant rectory of Ewelme; but as the statute required that the rector of that parish should be a member of the Oxford Convocation, Mr. Harvey—who had been educated at Cambridge—was made a member of the Oxford Convocation, in order to satisfy the statute. Here again no question arose as to the fitness of the appointment; but Mr. Mowbray, in bringing the matter before the House of Commons, affirmed that the act was a direct and wanton violation of the statute of Parliament and of the statutes of the University, and that it had led to most reprehensible delay. Mr. Gladstone, in his reply, having thrust aside the irrelevant portions of Mr. Mowbray's speech, asked what the Government had to do with the qualifying office for Mr. Harvey. As a Minister, he had nothing to do with it; and had it been a qualifying office given by the Emperor of China or the Mikado of Japan it could not have been more independent of the action of the British Government than in this case. Neither had the qualification anything to do with the duties of the post. Membership of Convocation did not imply education at the University, and if the words introduced in the Lords had

been understood so to limit the rights of the Crown, it would have been his duty to advise the Crown to withhold its assent. Mr. Harvey had not acquired a colourable qualification, but one solid, substantial, and perfect. As to the probable question, what demon prompted him to create this difficulty for himself, Mr. Gladstone said that his demon was simply and solely the desire to appoint the fittest man to the parish fittest for the man. Mr. Harvey was eminent as a divine, and his ill-health rendered his immediate removal to a more salubrious neighbourhood desirable. The Premier concluded by saying that he stood upon the construction of the Act, which he had in no sense violated.

The debate closed without a division. Several scenes occurred at an early period of the session in connection with Mr. Ayrton's Bill for the Regulation of the Parks. The Government introduced a clause throwing on the Houses of Parliament the responsibility of certain bye-laws for the parks. Mr. Hardy stigmatised this as a cowardly proceeding, whereupon Mr. Gladstone rebuked him for bringing an acid and venomous spirit into the debates, and said that it was the bungling and feeble conduct of the late Government which had led to the present difficulties. Mr. Disraeli complained that when his friend Mr. Hardy moved in this question in 1866, the present Prime Minister sat night after night in sullen silence, and never spoke with reference to the proceedings that took place in the Park, except when he addressed a tumultous multitude from the balcony of his own private residence. Mr. Gladstone replied with excusable warmth that his opponent's imagination had led him astray; but, as Mr. Sheridan had remarked, there had been former occasions when a gentleman had drawn on his memory for his jokes and his imagination for his facts. With respect to the one intelligible sentence in the right hon. gentleman's observations, there was no foundation of fact in it whatever. When the right hon. gentleman said that after the lapse of six years it was necessary to rub up one's recollection by reference to what had really occurred, he strongly recommended him to practise the doctrine he had preached, and to improve his memory of those things before he ventured to make such extraordinary statements. Col. Gilpin having attacked Mr. Gladstone in a similar manner, the Premier retorted, amidst the cheers and laughter of the House, that he did not think the imagination which prevailed on the front bench had extended so far back as the third. The Government ultimately carried their proposals.

Of all the scenes, however, which took place this session—and indeed for many years previously—the most violent and discreditable was that which arose out of Sir Charles Dilke's motion for

returns bearing upon the Civil List. Lord Bury having asked whether the oath of allegiance and Sir C. Dilke's declaration at Newcastle that he was a Republican were not irreconcilable, and having observed also that the present motion was a colourable method of repeating that declaration, the Speaker decided that there was nothing irregular in the motion, and Sir C. Dilke was allowed to proceed. The hon. member said his aim was to show that Parliament had a general and special right to inquire into the management of the Civil List, and that there ought to be such an inquiry. The object of an inquiry was not to destroy the vested interests of the holders of sinecures and unnecessary offices, but to prevent any new interests being created, and to facilitate the next settlement of the Civil List. After a lengthy explanation of the nature of the returns moved for, and an examination of the Exchequer accounts from the beginning of the reign, Sir Charles Dilke withdrew a previous statement of his that the Queen had paid no income-tax, and expressed his regret that he had been misled. His reasons for the opportuneness of the present inquiry were—the public belief that the Sovereign had accumulated large savings; the grants to the Princesses, which he asserted were entirely unprecedented; and the secrecy maintained in respect of Royal wills, which made it impossible to ascertain the Sovereign's private fortune. He urged the importance of granting the inquiry because of an impression which prevailed that under the shadow of the Crown large sums were wasted.

When the hon. member sat down there was a general impression that the House would go to a division at once, but Mr. Gladstone rose and replied to Sir Charles Dilke's address. The Premier, who was loudly cheered throughout by both sides of the House, complained that the hon. member had been careless in the investigation of his facts, and observed that the result of the inquiry of a select committee had been to prove a very large reduction in the Civil List compared with the two former reigns. To go into the charges brought forward was impossible without notice; but these charges and the observations about sinecures were equally beside the mark, and would not bear the inference which Sir Charles Dilke had suggested. Some portion of the information now asked for was already before the House in a different form. With regard to the new portion, Mr. Gladstone said it was impossible to consider it without referring to the incident in which the motion originated; and, by his unfortunate speech at Newcastle, the hon. member had brought the subject into an ill-omened association with proposals to change the form of our Government which were most repugnant to the great body of the people. Mr. Gladstone severely condemned the circumstances of this meeting,

and said it was Sir Charles Dilke's duty, in his assumed character of a 'public instructor,' to have made it clear to his audience that Parliament was solely responsible for the Civil List, and that the Queen had nothing to do with the settlement of it. To grant the motion would be to propagate the belief in the country that the House of Commons had assented to it in direct reference to the Newcastle speech, and as an initiation of the change. The Government were not willing to contribute to the creation of such an impression. Her Majesty had faithfully adhered to her compact with the nation, and, contrasting this with former times, the Premier mentioned that the Queen had, since the commencement of her reign, spent £600,000 on private pensions; and he urged the evil precedent it would set to future Sovereigns if the people attempted to re-open the life bargain. He concluded by asking the House, as a matter of policy, and as a matter of grateful duty to the Queen, to reject the motion, and that without further discussion.

For the honour of the House of Commons, the scene which ensued is probably unexampled in its history. The number of sympathisers with Sir Charles Dilke's resolution, either in the House or the country, was exceedingly small; but, as the Speaker had ruled that there was nothing irregular in it, he and his seconder were, of course, entitled to that hearing which would have been given to motions less distasteful. Members hooted and groaned with stentorian power, and the scene baffled description. Mr. Liddell afterwards expressed a hope that the whole proceedings would be regarded as a comedy, but it was a comedy into which only the rougher elements of burlesque entered. Mr. Auberon Herbert endeavoured to second the motion, but was met with a storm of cries and howls which completely drowned his voice. When the cries of 'Divide!' mingled with groans and hisses had to some extent subsided, the hon. member apologised for Sir Charles Dilke, for his unintended personal attack on the Sovereign, and then proclaimed his own preference for a Republican form of Government. A large number of members hereupon left the House, while those who remained continued to shout and to interrupt the speaker. Mr. Herbert, with much *sang-froid*, sent for a glass of water, which was interpreted as a sign that he meant to be heard out. The remainder of his speech consisted only of disjointed sentences.

Just as Mr. Herbert was replying to Mr. Gladstone's complaint that the hon. baronet had not supplied full information, an hon. member rose, and blandly said that he did not think there were forty members present. Several members immediately left the House, calling upon others to 'Come out;' but the Speaker found

that more than the required number still remained. Mr. Herbert rose again as the Speaker reached the magical number of 'forty,' and was entering into further details connected with the Privy Purse and the Duchy of Lancaster, when another hon. member rose, and, addressing the Speaker, observed, 'It appears to me, sir, the House has considerably thinned since you last counted; I move that it be counted.' There was still more than forty present, and this was found to be the case on a third count. At last an hon. member thought he had hit upon a solution of the difficulty. This was Lord George Hamilton, who rose and said, 'Mr. Speaker, I espy strangers present.' The Speaker then ordered strangers to withdraw—'strangers,' of course, including the reporters. It was understood that during the remainder of Mr. Herbert's speech the cries and interruptions were renewed with increased vehemence. The cries proceeded chiefly from members in the more remote and obscure parts of the House. Amid the general confusion were heard imitations of the crowing of cocks, whereat Mr. Dodson rose to order. He said he would not ask whether the state of the House and the scene they were witnessing were for the credit and dignity of the House of Commons; he would merely, as a point of order, ask whether the sounds that proceeded from near the chair were not un-Parliamentary and disorderly.

The Speaker said the sounds he had heard were undoubtedly gross violations of the order of the House; and he could not refrain from expressing the pain with which he had witnessed the scene that had just taken place. Other members having spoken, and a motion for adjournment made by Mr. Dillwyn having been defeated by a large majority, Mr. Fawcett rose and said that though a year ago he might have voted for the motion, now that it was associated with the Newcastle speech, which he thoroughly disapproved, he should vote against it. The question of Republicanism ought not to be raised on a miserable haggle over the cost of the Queen's household. Mr. Liddell denied that the Conservative party had attempted to stifle discussion. He blamed Mr. Herbert for endeavouring to brave the House, and then said that when history looked back upon the proceedings of that evening, it would probably be all regarded as a 'Comedy of Errors.' Sir Charles Dilke having expressed his determination to divide the House, the original question was put, when there appeared—Ayes, 2; Noes, 276. The two members who supported Sir C. W. Dilke and Mr. Herbert were Mr. G. Anderson and Sir W. Lawson. The result of the division was hailed with loud cheering.

The Ballot Bill, the chief measure of the session, led to many protracted debates. It was introduced by Mr. Forster, and its

second reading was carried in a meagre house by 109 to 56. Mr. Walter said he had voted against the ballot, believing that its introduction was but preliminary to a new reform bill, which would abolish all little boroughs, and boroughs which were really fragments of counties, and enfranchise all county householders. He believed that these boroughs would, under the bill, be bought wholesale, and that equal electoral districts would soon be inevitable. Unless the country was prepared for that, the House ought not to pass the bill. For himself, however, he should oppose it no more. After the discussion of many of the details of the measure, a crisis arose in connection with an amendment moved by Sir W. Harcourt, which was carried against the Government by 274 votes to 246, a large number of Liberals voting with the majority, and others absenting themselves. The Government agreed to accept a modified form of this amendment as follows :—'No person shall, directly or indirectly, induce any voter to display his ballot-paper after he shall have marked the same, so as to make known to any person the name of the candidate for or against whom he has so marked his vote'—the penalty for doing this to be three months' imprisonment with hard labour. Mr. Gladstone then announced the intention of the Government to proceed with the bill, and the third reading was eventually carried by 276 votes to 218. Some amendments to the bill were carried in the Lords, and when it was returned amended to the House of Commons, Mr. Forster moved to disagree with making the ballot optional. This, he said, would render the bill useless, or worse than useless. Mr. Disraeli, in supporting the Lords' amendments, remarked that he regarded compulsory secrecy as a degrading punishment for 'the excesses of electoral society,' much as the Riot Act for rioting. He denied entirely the demand of the country for the ballot.

Mr. Gladstone retorted that his opponent, who thought the ballot stood in the same relation to corruption as the Riot Act did to rioting, evidently regarded it as an efficient remedy. He (Mr. Gladstone) appealed not only to the Liberals, but to the newly-elected Conservative members for various constituencies specified, to show that there was a very great demand for the ballot. The right hon. gentleman also pointed out that very stringent securities were taken against any publication by the presiding officer of an illiterate person's vote, which securities the Lords had done away with.

The option-giving amendments of the Lords were disagreed with. A compromise was subsequently effected, the Upper House yielding the main point in dispute, and the Commons accepting, with certain modifications, the Scrutiny clause, as well as Lord Beauchamp's amendment making the operation of the

bill temporary. This important measure, effecting a complete revolution in the system of voting, then received the Royal assent; and the first elections conducted under its provisions were of the most orderly and satisfactory character.

Although the ballot was the chief incident in the domestic legislation of this session, the question of the Alabama claims more than rivalled it for the excitement which it caused throughout the country. In December, 1871, there was a formal meeting at Geneva of the Arbitration Commission appointed to consider these claims. The sittings were adjourned until the following June. Meanwhile, by January, 1872, the agitation in England had become still more pronounced by the presentation of the British and American cases on the 20th of December. The English people learnt with amazement that enormous claims for indirect losses had been introduced into the American case—which losses were defined under the heads of transfer of trade from American to British ships, increased rates of marine insurance, and losses incident to the prolongation of the war. A long correspondence ensued between the British and American Governments, and in April counter-cases were presented at Geneva. To have acceded to the American claims as originally presented would have been to involve this country in liabilities which no nation could possibly have accepted.

Mr. Gladstone, having discovered that certain observations which he had made upon this subject, during the debate on the Address in answer to the Queen's Speech, had been misinterpreted, wrote as follows to the London Correspondent of the *New York World*:—

'Permit me to assure you it is an entire mistake to suppose I have ever said that "every rational mind" must see but one meaning in the Treaty of Washington. Nothing could have induced me to use such an expression. The limit of my assertion, stated briefly, was, and is, as follows:—

I believe the meaning of the Treaty to be clear and unambiguous, according to any legitimate test whatever which can be applied to it. This proposition I am, of course, ready to sustain in argument. But every other person is equally entitled to think, if he see cause, that what I hold to be clear and unambiguous is dark and doubtful; or, that it is clear and unambiguous in the sense contradictory to mine. What I trust is that others, upon a close examination, will not see cause to think any such thing. This point a little time and patience cannot fail thoroughly to elucidate.

Setting aside the remark which I did not use, and which I think open to severe animadversion, I have always understood, and still understand, that any man is at liberty to hold and to state with the utmost confidence an opinion as to the meaning of a document (and this I have done), without being open to the charge of what I conceive to be a gross offence, viz., his presuming to restrain for others the liberty which he claims himself. Indeed, speaking according to the usages and habits of English public life, I feel as if the utterance of such a proposition were not so much a truth as a truism.

If, however, this truth or truism be applicable to documents in general, it requires but a moderate share of modesty to adopt it in the case of documents such as a treaty and its protocols.'

In May, a draft supplementary treaty was drawn up, by which both nations agreed in future to abstain from claims for indirect losses. This treaty was presented to the American Senate, and approved. In the House of Commons, on the 27th of May, Mr. Disraeli put several questions to the Prime Minister upon the state of the negotiations. Mr. Gladstone replied that the American Senate had agreed, by a large majority, to the last article which had been prepared by her Majesty's Government, but with certain verbal amendments. 'The English Cabinet, which had only met an hour and a half ago, had not yet been able to transmit its final argument to the American Minister. He was, therefore, not prepared at present to state the proposed modifications; they were strictly confidential between the two Governments, and could not be disclosed until the disclosure might be made without disadvantage to the important interests involved. As to ratification, before that could take place the conditions must be transmitted across the water. He considered it would be premature to make any announcement in Parliament with respect to the steps which might be taken at Geneva until they had been able to conclude the business then in hand as to the supplementary enactments. The proceedings at Geneva must depend in a material degree upon the result of these negotiations. If an enlargement of time should become necessary, power could be given by agreement between the two Governments. The Government appreciated the importance of the element of time as respected Geneva, but they were still more impressed with its importance as regarded the negotiations now going on; and on behalf of his colleagues and himself, he assured the House that not one moment would be lost in returning their reply to the last proposal of the American Government, so as to make their contribution towards producing the consummation which both nations so ardently desired.

The British Government having objected to certain modifications in the supplementary article, a lengthened correspondence ensued, and the feeling of the country found vent in debates in Parliament. On the meeting of the Congress in June, differences arose as to the mode of procedure. The arbitration tribunal, however, commenced its sittings, and was constituted as follows:—Count Frederick Sclopis, for Italy, president; Baron Stæmpfli, for Switzerland; Vicomte d' Itajuba, for Brazil; Mr. G. F. Adams, for the United States; and Sir Alexander E. Cockburn, for Great Britain. After several adjournments, the arbitrators voluntarily declared that the indirect claims were invalid, and contrary to international law; whereupon President Grant consented to their withdrawal. On the 14th of September, at a final meeting, the

arbitrators agreed upon their award. All the arbitrators found Great Britain liable for damages for the injuries done by the *Alabama;* four mulcted us for those done by the *Florida;* and three for those done by the *Shenandoah.* The liability in the case of these vessels was to extend to the tenders as well as the cruisers to which they were attached. Great Britain, however, was held not to be responsible for the acts of the *Georgia,* or of any of the Confederate cruisers beyond the three above-named. The arbitrators likewise rejected altogether the claim of the United States Government for expenditure incurred in the pursuit and capture of the cruisers. The practical or pecuniary result of the award was, that England was adjudged to pay a gross sum of 15,500,000 dollars in gold (about £3,229,166) in satisfaction and final settlement of all claims, including interest. The amount of claims preferred before the tribunal by the United States in the revised statement presented in April, 1872, was 19,739,095 dollars in gold, to which was added a claim for expenses of pursuit and capture to the amount of 7,080,478 dollars, with interest at seven per cent. on the whole amount for about ten years, or, in all, 45,500,000 dollars in gold, being about £9,479,166 sterling.

Sir Alexander Cockburn differed from the rest of the arbitrators, and published his reasons for so doing. This document, which did not assume the nature of a formal judgment, occupied nearly three hundred pages of the *London Gazette,* being one of the most elaborate official papers on record. The English representative made a powerful reply to the unjust aspersions which had been cast upon this country, but admitted the justice of the award for the *Alabama.* While strongly opposing the other awards, he counselled the acceptance by the British people of the judgment of a tribunal by whose award they had freely consented to abide; and he hoped that in time to come, as the result of the Geneva arbitration, 'no sense of past wrong unredeemed would stand in the way of the friendly and harmonious intercourse which should subsist between two great and kindred nations.' Some time afterwards a final settlement was effected of this great difficulty on the basis indicated in the award.

Though the session of 1872 could scarcely vie with some of its predecessors in the matter of its legislative acts, it is yet not without its title to remembrance. Besides the satisfactory adjustment of the *Alabama* claims and the conclusion of a new French treaty, the following measures of great domestic importance were passed:—The Ballot Act, the Scotch Education Act, two Acts relating to the Regulation of Mines, the Licensing Act, the Public Health Act, and the Adulteration Act. These measures at least

demonstrated that the welfare of the people was not neglected by the Government.

Ireland—a name associated with the most brilliant legislative triumphs of the Government—was fated also to be its most serious stumbling-block. The Irish University question had long awaited a settlement, and Mr. Gladstone addressed himself to the task at an early period in the session of 1873. Successfully to have grappled with this difficulty would have justified Mr. Gladstone's boast that, in its effects, as well as its magnitude, his proposed scheme was in no wise inferior to the Irish Church and the Irish Land Acts. But so many considerations were involved in dealing with this subject, that the country was scarcely surprised when the Premier ultimately failed in his purpose. Of all questions upon which a perfect unanimity of sentiment was essential, that of university education stood foremost, and it was found that this sentiment was lacking. On the 13th of February, the Ministerial scheme was unfolded. The Premier said that for the third time he now endeavoured to discharge a duty vital not only to the honour and existence of the Government, but to the welfare and prosperity of Ireland. He emphatically declared on the part of the Ministry that they did not share in the opinion held in some quarters that Ireland offered but a barren field for these efforts of legislation. Industry flourished in Ireland, the wealth of the community was increasing, order was respected, ordinary crime was less than in England, agrarian crime had greatly diminished, and treasonable crime had disappeared. After bespeaking indulgence for the intricate and complex details into which he should be obliged to enter, and observing that though the Government admitted the urgent necessity for dealing with intermediary education, they yet did not intend to mix up that question with university education, Mr. Gladstone referred in a sarcastic vein to the anticipatory criticisms in one of the daily journals upon his measure, and repelled energetically the insinuation that it would be tinged with Ultramontane influence. So far from this being the fact, the Government had not even communicated with any of the bodies interested in university education, and the measure appealed for support solely to the equity and justice on which it was based. At the same time, he could not wonder that apprehensions with respect to Ultramontane influence should enter into the minds of the British public whenever legislation affecting the position of Roman Catholics in Ireland was projected; and the House could not be surprised that the influences which prevailed within the Roman communion should be regarded by a very great portion of the people of this country with aversion, and by

some portion of them even with unnecessary dread. 'It appears to us, however,' continued the speaker, 'that we have one course, and one course only to take, one decision and one only to arrive at, with respect to our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. Do we intend, or do we not intend, to extend to them the full benefit of civil equality on a footing exactly the same as that on which it is granted to members of other religious persuasions? If we do not, the conclusion is a most grave one; but, if the House be of opinion, as the Government are of opinion, that it is neither generous nor politic, whatever we may think of this ecclesiastical influence within the Roman Church, to draw distinctions, in matters purely civil, adverse to our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen—if we hold that opinion, let us hold it frankly and boldly; and, having determined to grant measures of equality as far as it may be in our power to do so, do not let us attempt to stint our action in that sense when we come to the execution of that which we have announced to be our design.' Mr. Gladstone next examined the alternatives which had been offered to the Government or imputed to them, and declared that with regard to denominational endowment, they were not only precluded from proposing it by their own pledges, but by a sincere belief that it would be unwise. The 'Supplemental Charter' scheme had entirely gone by, and was not equal to the present emergency, and to set up another university by the side of the Dublin University and the Queen's University would be no settlement of the question. Defining the principles on which the Government had decided to act, the right hon. gentleman started from the proposition that the exclusion of the Roman Catholics from university education in Ireland constituted a religious grievance—a civil disability, imposed for religious opinions. That both Roman Catholics and Presbyterians were debarred from the benefits of university education by their unwillingness to send their children to places where religion was not taught on authority as part of the system of training was a fact which, however some might deplore it, must be dealt with as a fact that could not be altered. In proof of this Mr. Gladstone quoted returns showing that there were only 145 Roman Catholic students in Arts at the Dublin and Queen's Universities—a state of things which he described as miserably and scandalously bad. Again, the total number of students in Arts in Ireland was 1,179. So that the Roman Catholics—with more than two-thirds, nearly three-fourths in fact, of the population—supplied only an eighth part of the students in Arts. He therefore considered that he had shown there was a great religious grievance in Ireland. Had he been able to point to a state of things in which the movement was in

the other direction—in which, instead of an almost constant decrease of Roman Catholic attendance at the Queen's Colleges, there was a steady, healthy, and progressive increase—the case would have been greatly different. Quitting the topic of the religious grievance, Mr. Gladstone stated, from the most recent statistics, that the whole number of university students in Ireland amounted to the very poor and scanty figure of 1,634, of whom less than one-half were university students in the English or in the Scottish sense of the word. Of students in that sense in Ireland there were but 784, against 4,000 whom Scotland, with not much more than half the population sent to her universities. That was a pretty strong case as regarded the absolute supply of university and academic training in Ireland. But the case was stronger still when they considered the comparative state of the academical supply. Figures demonstrated that notwithstanding the efforts of Parliament, notwithstanding the general increase of education, notwithstanding the opening of Queen's Colleges with large endowments, the university students of Ireland in the proper sense —that is, the students in Arts—were fewer at that moment than they were forty years before, when no Queen's Colleges were in existence. At that moment, the students in Arts in Ireland, even including men who were merely examined and who did not attend lectures, only numbered—as he had already remarked—1,179; while in 1832 the students in Arts at Trinity College alone numbered 1,461.

Coming to the second cause of the demand for academical reform, Mr. Gladstone dwelt upon the anomalous position of the university, and the strange inversion of the relations between it and Trinity College. After a long retrospect of the history of the university, he drew the conclusion that by its original design it was always intended to include several colleges—and that, in fact, various colleges had from time to time existed, although none had survived but Trinity College. He therefore based the main principle of his bill on this historical conclusion—that the University of Dublin—as distinct from Trinity College—was the ancient historical University of Ireland, and that within its precincts should be effected the academical reform which was needed. There was also a collateral proposition which he had to mention, viz., that the Queen's Colleges of Belfast and Cork would be retained, that the Galway College would be wound up by 1876, and that it would be proposed to merge the Queen's University into Dublin University. On this last point, however, the Government were not unwilling to defer to the judgment of the House. The principles which had been already applied to the reform of the English universities distinguished the present bill

— that is to say, tests would be abolished, the university emancipated from the colleges, members would be introduced into the university not belonging to any of the colleges, and the colleges would be taxed for the benefit of the university. There were some points on which it would be necessary to depart from the English precedent—for example, a limit must be placed on academical teaching; and for a time, at least, the governing body must be subjected to the action of the Crown and Parliament. The bill contemplated three periods. On January 1st, 1875, the powers exercised by the Provost and the seven Senior Fellows of Trinity College in relation to the university, would be handed over to the new governing body; then would follow a provisional period, during which certain special arrangements would prevail; and after 1885, when the new system had been fully developed, the permanent rules would come into force. With regard to the changes to be made in the existing position of the university, first of all the University of Dublin would be incorporated, which it had never been yet; the Theological Faculty would be separated from Trinity College and handed over to the Representative Body of the Disestablished Church, with compensation for vested interests and a charge for its maintenance. The Chancellor would be appointed by the Crown, and would retain his present function of Visitor of Trinity College; and the Vice-Chancellor would be elected by the governing body. The Queen's Colleges of Cork and Belfast, the Roman Catholic University, and the Magee College, would become colleges of the university; as would probably other institutions also. With regard to the very important change in the constitution of the new governing body of the University of Dublin, Mr. Gladstone stated that there would be, in the first place, twenty-eight ordinary members, to be nominated in the Act, all vacancies to be filled alternately by the Crown and by co-optation during the preliminary period of ten years, and afterwards four members would retire annually—one successor to be filled up by the Crown, one by the council, one by the professors, and one by the senate. In addition to these ordinary members, every college which had fifty students *in statu pupillari* matriculated in the university, would be allowed to elect one member of council, and each college which had 150 such students might elect two members. The senate would consist of all Doctors and Masters of Arts who kept their names on the books, and would include both those now qualified in Dublin and the Queen's University; with special powers during the first three years after 1875, for the admission of persons who resided for a sufficiently long time in the other colleges. The new university would be a teaching as well as an examining body, and

in describing the securities for conscience which would be taken, the Premier said there would be no chairs in theology, moral philosophy, or in modern history. With regard to the two latter subjects, no student would be examined in them against his will, and these subjects would be completely excluded from examinations for emoluments. The main security for the rights of conscience, on which the Government relied, was such a representation of all parties, within moderate and safe limits, in the body of the council, as could be usefully and beneficially introduced into its constitution.

The next and the last of the difficult subjects Mr. Gladstone had to lay before the House was that concerned with the financial arrangements of this comprehensive scheme. The general result of his investigations was, that from the present revenues of Trinity College would be taken the cost of providing for vested interests, and a contribution of £12,000 a-year to the new university. This would still leave Trinity, he observed, the richest college in Christendom; and for its consolation, he added that in all probability it would be necessary to apply the same treatment to some of the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge when the commission then prosecuting its inquiries had reported. The Premier estimated the expenses of the extended university at £50,000: viz., £25,000 for the encouragement of learning, thus divided:—ten fellowships annually of £200 each, tenable for five years; twenty-five exhibitions annually of £50, and one hundred bursaries annually of £25 each, tenable for four years; £20,000 a-year for the staff of professors; and £5,000 for examinations, buildings, and general expenses. It was proposed to provide this sum as follows:—£12,000 by Trinity College, £10,000 from the Consolidated Fund, £5,000 from fees, and the remainder from the surplus of the ecclesiastical property of Ireland. Mr. Gladstone further mentioned that powers would be given to Trinity College to form a scheme for its own self-government. The other colleges, also, would have the same powers; and as to the preponderance of lay or ecclesiastical influence in them, each must settle that for itself; all that the Legislature could do was to give them an open career and fair play. The Premier paid a warm tribute to Trinity College, and expressed a hope that for generations and for ages it would continue to dispense more unrestrainedly than ever the blessings of a liberal culture. He also indicated additional advantages which the college would possess under the new *régime*. As regarded the voluntary colleges, they would enjoy an entire freedom of internal government. Remarking upon the important, he might almost say—from the many classes it concerned and the many topics it involved—the

solemn nature of his subject, Mr. Gladstone thus concluded his lengthened address:—

'We have not spared labour and application in the preparation of this certainly complicated, and, I venture to hope, also, comprehensive plan. We have sought to provide a complete remedy for what we thought, and for what we have long marked and held up to public attention as a palpable grievance—a grievance of conscience. But we have not thought that, in removing that grievance, we were discharging either the whole or the main part of our duty. It is one thing to clear obstructions from the ground; it is another to raise the fabric. And the fabric which we seek to raise is a substantive, organised system, under which all the sons of Ireland, be their professions, be their opinions what they may, may freely meet in their own ancient, noble, historic university for the advancement of learning in that country. The removal of grievance is the negative portion of the project; the substantive and positive part of it, academic reform. We do not ask the House to embark upon a scheme which can be described as one of mere innovation. We ask you now to give to Ireland that which has long been desired, which has been often attempted, but which has never been attained; and we ask you to give it to Ireland, founding the measure upon the principles on which you have already acted in the universities of England. We commit the plan to the prudence and the patriotism of this House, which we have so often experienced, and in which the country places, as we well know, an entire confidence. I will not lay stress upon the evils which will flow from its failure, from its rejection, in prolonging and embittering the controversies which have for many, for too many, years been suffered to exist. I would rather dwell upon a more pleasing prospect—upon my hope, even upon my belief, that this plan in its essential features may meet with the approval of the House and of the country. At any rate, I am convinced that if it be your pleasure to adopt it, you will by its means enable Irishmen to raise their country to a height in the sphere of human culture, such as will be worthy of the genius of the people, and such as may, perhaps, emulate those oldest, and possibly best, traditions of her history upon which Ireland still so fondly dwells.'

It was scarcely to be expected that the leaders of the Opposition would be prepared to discuss proposals of such magnitude immediately upon their introduction; and Mr. Disraeli asked—as in the case of the Irish Church Act—that a period of three weeks might elapse before the second reading of the bill. Mr. Gladstone consented to fix the second reading for the 3rd of March. Meanwhile, the House and the country had leisure to digest the provisions of the scheme. In the outset, it seemed as though the bill would please all those parties whom the Ministry had chiefly in view in its construction. But this hope speedily gave way to an opposite feeling, and it became evident before many days had elapsed that an amicable settlement of university education in Ireland was as far off as ever. The Roman Catholic bishops strongly denounced the measure, and, while not unprepared to take what it offered, left it to be sufficiently understood that they claimed much more. The advanced Liberals also passed an adverse judgment upon the bill. Objection was likewise strongly taken to the exclusion of mental and moral science from the course of study. The appointment of the ordinary members of the council was another important matter, and as the Government did not state the names of these members, the scheme encountered the hostility of the Protestant-Conservative section of

the House. Irish members whom it was thought the bill would conciliate were its chief opponents when it came on for discussion; and the chorus of disapproval showed the Ministerial scheme to be in danger.

In moving the second reading, Mr. Gladstone did not remain content with formally rising for that purpose, but availed himself of the opportunity offered for correcting some of the prejudices created against the bill. He announced, however, several minor changes which he proposed to make. Accepting the suggestion made by Queen's College, Cork, the power of affiliating new colleges would be vested in the Crown, acting on the inquiries and recommendations of the governing body. As to the alleged insufficient provision for vested interests, the speaker had no doubt the House would be disposed to act liberally both as to money and status. Changes would be introduced into the definition of persons *in statu pupillari*, and also in the powers of the council to divide students in Arts into different branches for the purposes of examination. Anticipating the amendment to be moved by Mr. Bourke, Mr. Gladstone admitted that the anxiety of the House to learn the constitution of the governing body was excusable, but what the hon member asked was impossible. He pointed out that it was contrary to all precedents—to the course taken on the English University Bills, on the Reform Bill of 1867, and the Irish Church Bill of 1870. It was the desire of the Government to select men of the greatest weight to serve on the council, without reference to their political opinions or the course they might have taken in regard to this bill; but it would be impossible to ask such men to undertake the duty until the bill had made some way in committee, and it was obvious that if they were willing to serve before they knew what shape the bill would take they would not be fit for the position. 'Are we to be told,' demanded the Premier, 'that the House of Commons is to be asked to pass a vote of censure on the Government for not having attempted what it would be ridiculous to attempt and impossible to form? That such a vote of censure would be passed I am not going to assume, but that such a vote should be asked for is worthy of commemoration in the annals of Parliament.'

The opposition to the bill, as already intimated, was remarkable both for the diverse politics of the speakers, and the arguments they advanced against the Ministerial scheme. Many of the strong points of Mr. Gladstone's case, however, were left untouched. Mr. Bourke having moved his amendment expressing the regret of the House that the Government had not stated to the House the names of the twenty-eight ordinary members of

the council, Lord E. Fitzmaurice seconded the resolution, strongly condemning the 'gagging clauses,' and maintaining that the bill would destroy Protestant separate education, and the mixed system of education, in order ultimately to give the Roman Catholics the monopoly of a second-rate article. Mr. C. E. Lewis combated the arithmetical arguments upon which Mr. Gladstone had built up his measure, and the O'Donoghue opposed the bill, not for the benefits which it conferred on Episcopalians and Presbyterians, but because it did nothing for the Roman Catholics. The latter would be content with nothing but a separate Catholic university. Lord R. Montagu said that the majority of the people of Ireland would continue to agitate for denominational education until Parliament complied with their demands, and Sir M. Hicks Beach remarked that though he was not particularly friendly to Mr. Fawcett's bill, he preferred that settlement of the question to this. Mr. Fawcett, however, pronounced the strongest condemnation of the scheme, in language sometimes open to animadversion. He maintained that it would make the condition of university education in Ireland more unsatisfactory than ever, and would create worse evils than those with which it was meant to deal. It was a mere compromise intended to please everybody, but which pleased nobody. He entered an emphatic protest against the abolition of the Queen's University and the Galway College, took exception to the constitution of the governing body, and denounced the 'gagging clauses,' and the degrading censorship of professorial teaching which they involved. The bill would lead to no other conclusion but the establishment of denominational education in Ireland, and he hoped the House would reject it on its merits without reference to the collateral issue of a Ministerial crisis.

On the first night of the discussion, the only speakers in defence of the Government University scheme were the Marquis of Hartington and Mr. Osborne Morgan; and upon the resumption of the debate, Mr. Horsman created some astonishment by delivering a clever but bitter diatribe against the bill, which he had at first welcomed as a settlement of the question. He alleged in justification of this change of opinion the demands of the Roman Catholic Bishops, and asked, 'Why does not the Government withdraw the bill? Nobody wants it—nobody accepts it—it settles nothing, but unsettles everybody. Had any English or Scotch member ever gone through the hypocrisy of proposing to feel confidence in the Government on this question? To ask for such a vote was a piece of effrontery worthy of a cartoon in *Punch*.' Such a vote, continued the right hon. gentleman, would be regarded by the country as a vote of confidence in Cardinal Cullen and the priests. The measure was defended by Mr.

Chichester Fortescue, and opposed, in able speeches, by Dr. Playfair and Mr. Gathorne Hardy.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, nevertheless, came to the support of the Ministerial scheme in an address, which, for the moment, seemed as though it would do much to retrieve the fortunes of the Government. Remarking, with respect to the 'gagging clauses,' that they were not of the essence of the bill, Mr. Lowe showed that their meaning had been entirely misapprehended. A number of objections urged against the essential principle of the measure arose from the ambiguous use of the words 'university' and 'college.' While 'college' only implied teaching provision, 'university,' as well as teaching, implied the power of giving degrees, and he maintained, therefore, that while colleges could not be over-multiplied, a university ought to have as nearly as possible a monopoly. He justified the scheme of the bill on this ground—the collection of a number of colleges under a single university. The present necessity for legislation arose from three causes: the imperfect constitution of Trinity College, the insufficient education given at the Queen's Colleges, and the refusal of the Roman Catholic Bishops to allow their youth to seek a degree either at Trinity College or the Queen's Colleges. He expressed his regret that the Roman Catholic Bishops had signified their disapproval of the bill, but that event must be treated as an earthquake, or any other natural calamity which could not be helped. While admitting that the Government had met with more hostile criticism than they anticipated, he nevertheless maintained that this bill was the only means of applying a real remedy to the grievance.*

* The happiest passage in Mr. Lowe's speech was its conclusion, in which, amid continuous cheers and laughter, he retorted thus effectively upon Mr. Horsman:—'There are Abdiels who will not leave their friend. There is one member of the House whose sympathy with us I feel unequal to express, and would, therefore, for that purpose, take the liberty of resorting to the words of a bard of Erin:—

"Come rest in this bosom, my own stricken deer,
Though the herd have all fled thy home is still here;
Here still is a smile that no cloud can o'ercast,
And a hand and a heart thine own to the last."

The House will see that I am not too high-flown in the panegyric I give, when I read a brief extract from this letter:—"Mr. Gladstone has introduced a measure of university education that does him great honour, and when perfected by amendment in committee, and it takes its place on the Statute Book, it will be a noble crowning to the work of the present Parliament. We must all resume its consideration with an earnest desire to acknowledge the large and generous spirit with which the Government has addressed itself to the subject, and co-operate with the high purposes it has in view; and as the erroneous impression conveyed by Mr. Gladstone's allusion to Sir Robert Inglis and the Pope could not pass without notice, I have written this letter with a view of getting it out of the way before we come to the real business."' Mr. Horsman—'What is the date of that letter?' 'The date is 7, Richmond Terrace, Feb. 15, and it is signed "Edward Horsman." I have read the House the letter, and in the early part of the evening they have been furnished with the comment. And now I will say this—Whatever faults you may find with

The fact that the Government were willing to give up the 'gagging clauses,' combined with the admission that they had never intended to sanction the wholesale affiliation of diocesan colleges, afforded a momentary but delusive hope that the measure might ultimately weather the storm.

Sir W. Harcourt, who spoke on the third night of the discussion, supported the bill, though he was far from admitting that it was a successful specimen of legislating according to Irish ideas. Dr. Ball vigorously attacked the measure, and Mr. Bernal Osborne expressed his surprise that a Cabinet with eight double first-class Oxford men in it could have so blundered in a matter of education. Mr. Cardwell said that all the points which had been objected to were open for discussion in committee, and there was nothing to bind the House to abide by the bill as it stood.

This admission had the unfortunate effect of damaging instead of aiding the cause of the Government. While it alienated the Ultramontane interest, it failed to conciliate the wavering allegiance of the discontented Liberals. The close of the debate was therefore looked forward to with augmented interest. On the fourth night, about half-past ten, Mr. Disraeli rose, and delivered a speech which, in some parts, was unusually brilliant, but equally irrelevant. Although they had been assured, he said, that those points which were not of 'the essence of the bill' were dead, and Mr. Cardwell had spoken in the direction of surrender, Mr. Gladstone had disclaimed this meaning, and declared that the only concession was that these points should be fully discussed. Having no proof, therefore, that the Government had withdrawn any of the clauses, he (Mr. Disraeli) would discuss the Bill on its merits. First, he objected to it because it proposed to institute a university that was not universal. He also objected strongly to the transfer of the Theological Faculty to the disestablished Church, and as to the proposed exclusion of mental and moral philosophy and modern history, it was an astounding proposal to come from the leader of the Liberal party at this day. The speaker next demanded some information upon the composition of the 'despotic and anonymous council,' and observed that, arguing from previous experience, it would be like the House of Commons, and would consist of two well-organised parties arrayed against each other,

this bill, I believe it will be recognised by the country as an attempt to deal thoroughly with what appears to me to be a great and crying evil, and one which ought no longer to be allowed to exist. We have encountered a great deal of opposition, and shall, no doubt, have to encounter still more; but I am very much mistaken if behind this storm we do not receive an acknowledgement from the people of these islands of the honesty and fairness of the intention of this bill—an acknowledgment which will brush aside all captious criticism, and help to make it, in the language of my right hon. friend the member for Liskeard, "the crowning work of the present Parliament."

with a few trimmers inclining the balance. Discussing the situation of the Roman Catholics, Mr. Disraeli said he pitied their position, but it was their own doing. His own Government had entered into negotiations with the Roman Catholic bishops, and while vindicating the principle of concurrent endowment, the House knew that it was held to be dead. Mr. Gladstone had capped his negotiations with the policy of confiscation. The Roman Catholics fell into the trap, and lost sight of university education in the prospect of destroying a Protestant Church. But the country had had enough of this policy of confiscation, and he hoped that that night's vote would show that it was suffering the inconveniences of satiety. He had no desire to disturb the Premier, but he should vote against the bill, believing it to be monstrous in its principle, pernicious in many of its details, and utterly futile as a measure of practical legislation.

Before the vehement cheering on the Opposition benches had subsided, Mr. Gladstone had risen to reply to Mr. Disraeli, and wind up the debate. In the opening of his speech the Premier drew forth prolonged applause from his supporters by calling upon the House to note that, though the leader of the Opposition had declared concurrent endowment to be dead, it yet lived in his mind, and might revive under his magical touch. After explaining that the attitude of the Government on this question was not due to any words of his, and deprecating the introduction of religious heat and party temper into its discussion, he repeated once more the grounds on which the measure had been introduced, viz., the grievance of the Roman Catholics, and the necessity for academic reform in Ireland. The history of the bill had some dramatic features; it had suffered a catastrophe; on its introduction all the 'waiters on providence' in London were in favour of it, but now not an individual of the species had a word to say for it. The question, however, was, Should the House go into committee on the bill? In deciding that, the House ought to have no other motive but to endeavour to do that now which a few years hence it would regret it had not done. He denied that the bill would lower the standard of education, and reminded the House that the London University—a mere examining body—had certainly raised education. They had been told the bill should be given up on account of the opposition in Ireland; but that opposition had been most inaccurately stated in the House. Yet even if the opposition had not been exaggerated and misrepresented, in dealing with a measure like this it would be impolitic and unparliamentary on that account to withdraw the bill before it had been considered in committee. The general effect of the speech of Mr. Cardwell—with which he entirely agreed—was to

show that it was a wise course in a question of this character, where it was difficult to retrieve ground once lost, to go into committee, to compare their several notions and demands at close quarters, and to see what they could effect towards bringing them into harmony. Mr. Gladstone then cited—against Mr. Disraeli's condemnation of going into committee on the ground that a measure came out substantially the same—the precedent set by the right hon. gentleman himself as regarded the Reform Bill of 1867. The history of that bill in committee had its lessons. Referring to the banishment of ethics and modern history from the *curriculum*, and the introduction of collegiate members into the council, the Government would not adhere to them, and there were also other points upon which they would meet the House on equal terms. Any amendments which were real improvements would be welcomed, and even those which were not improvements would be welcomed if deemed of importance by the House, and if they did not touch the vitality of the bill. As to the actual vital principle of the bill, it was this—there must be a complete removal of the admitted religious grievance by opening degrees under an impartial and unsectarian authority to men of all opinions, whether educated under the mixed or separate system. The university must be relieved from the monopoly of Trinity College, and must have an independent governing body and a competent endowment, and the faculty of theology must be separated from it. Mr. Gladstone next proceeded to condemn the principle of concurrent endowment, observing that he wished to leave on record the strong conviction he entertained that it would be a grave and serious error on the part of the House were they to give the slightest encouragement to the demand that was made for introducing into Ireland the system of separate endowment for separate religious institutions for academic purposes, and thereby to distinctly renounce and repudiate the policy of 1869, to which the great majority of that House were parties. Having alluded to the concord which had for the moment been established between the Conservatives and the Roman Catholics, and further entreating the House to remove the grievance rather than follow Mr. Disraeli's alternative of withdrawing from the task, Mr. Gladstone thus concluded his powerful speech:—

'For the House, for us all, for the country, I ask what is to be the policy that is to follow the rejection of this bill? What is to be the policy adopted in Ireland? Perhaps the bill of my hon. friend the member for Brighton will find favour, which leaves the University of Dublin in the hands of Trinity College, and which, I presume, if passed, will only be the harbinger of an agitation fiercer still than that which we are told would follow the passing of the present bill. It will still leave the Roman Catholic in this condition, that he will not be able to obtain a degree in Ireland without going either to the Queen's College, to which he objects, or placing himself under examinations and a system of discipline managed and conducted by

a Protestant board—a board composed of eight gentlemen, of whom six are clergymen of the disestablished Church of Ireland. The other alternative will be the adopting for Ireland of a new set of principles, which Parliament has repudiated in Ireland and has disclaimed for Great Britain, not only treating the Roman Catholic majority in Ireland as being the Irish nation, but likewise adopting for that Irish nation the principles which we have ourselves overthrown even within the limits of our own generation. I know not with what satisfaction we can look forward to these prospects. It is dangerous to tamper with objects of this kind. We have presented to you our plan, for which we are responsible. We are not afraid, I am not afraid, of the charge of my right hon. friend that we have served the priests. (Mr. Horsman: I did not say so.) I am glad to hear it. I am ready to serve the priests or any other man as far as justice dictates. I am not ready to go an inch further for them or for any other man; and if the labours of 1869 and 1870 are to be forgotten in Ireland—if where we have earnestly sought and toiled for peace we find only contention—if our tenders of relief are thrust aside with scorn—let us still remember that there is a voice which is not heard in the crackling of the fire, or in the roaring of the whirlwind or the storm, but which will and must be heard when they have passed away—the still small voice of justice. To mete out justice to Ireland, according to the best view that with human infirmity we could form, has been the work, I will almost say the sacred work, of this Parliament. Having put our hand to the plough, let us not turn back. Let not what we think the fault or perverseness of those whom we are attempting to assist have the slightest effect in turning us even by a hair's-breadth from the path on which we have entered. As we have begun, so let us persevere even to the end, and with firm and resolute hand let us efface from the law and the practice of the country, the last—for I believe it is the last—of the religious and social grievances of Ireland.'

The amendment having being negatived, a division was taken upon the main question, that the bill be read a second time. A scene of great excitement ensued when, upon the return of the tellers, the clerk at the table handed the paper to Colonel Taylor, the Conservative whip. The tellers approached the table, and comparative quiet having being restored, the numbers were declared as follows:—For the bill, 284; against, 287—majority against the Government, 3. Thirty-five Irish, eight English, and two Scotch Liberal members voted against the Government, while eighteen Liberals were absent, and eighteen paired.

The Government did not, of course, count upon this defeat of their measure, and were quite justified in the hope that the House would support them in removing the last of the great grievances of the Irish people. Some years after the defeat of his scheme, the ex-Premier was questioned as to whether he was really surprised at the rejection of the Irish University Bill, or whether he dealt with the subject as a matter of duty, knowing that he risked almost all that followed. The right hon. gentleman replied, that considering the extremely favourable reception which the bill met with in the outset, he was most emphatically astonished at its ultimate fate. He had been most anxious to dispose of this vexed question of Irish University education Had this been happily accomplished, in all probability the ex-Premier would have brought forward some other schemes of Irish legislation.

Following his specifically-declared intention, Mr. Gladstone

resigned office, whereupon a peculiar difficulty arose. The Premier was unfeignedly desirous of being relieved of his onerous duties, but Mr. Disraeli, acting upon the wishes of the great bulk of his followers, declined to accept office with a majority of the House of Commons against him. Some days later, Mr. Gladstone made a statement in the House of Commons to the effect that he and his colleagues had consented to resume their positions. He also explained the nature of the transactions which had taken place in the interregnum. The Queen having requested his advice upon Mr. Disraeli's unconditional refusal to take office, he (Mr. Gladstone) submitted a statement to her Majesty. That was made known to Mr. Disraeli, and his reply to it was received. Perceiving from the unequivocal nature of this reply that there was no chance of a Government being formed by the party opposite, he had agreed to resume office. Referring to a difference of opinion which had arisen between himself and Mr. Disraeli upon the duties of an Opposition when it had brought about the fall of a Government, Mr. Gladstone read an extract from his letter to the Queen, in which he contended that his rival's summary refusal to accept office was contrary to precedent and Parliamentary usage. With regard to the delay which had occurred, he was not conscious of its being due to any personal reluctance to resume office, although he did feel it, and thought he had earned a right to rest so far as it could be earned by labour. That which had occurred, however, he feared would modify the relations of the Government and the Opposition in a manner not likely to contribute to the satisfactory working of our Parliamentary system. The Government would endeavour fully and honourably to discharge their duty, and nothing had transpired to shorten the existence of the present Parliament, either as touching the course of public business or the duration of time. Nothing could be more injurious than the prevalence of opinions to the contrary effect. The Government would endeavour to proceed, both with respect to legislation and administration, in the same manner and upon the same principles as those which had heretofore governed their conduct.

Mr. Disraeli then gave his version of the Ministerial difficulty and the advice he had tendered to the Queen. His speech was in reality a manifesto to the country. He pointed out that the majority against the Government had been created by a considerable section of the Liberal party, with whom he had no bond of union. He had had experience of office under such circumstances as those which had recently arisen, and it had convinced him that such an experiment weakened authority and destroyed public confidence. He had consequently prayed her Majesty to

relieve him of the task. Upon the question why he had not advised the Queen to dissolve, he remarked that although a Minister in office could perform it with great promptitude, it was not so with a Minister who had to form his Government. He might, perhaps, have been able to dissolve in May, but what could he have dissolved upon? The Irish University Bill was not sufficient, nor could a Government appeal to the country without a policy. The function of the Opposition was essentially critical, and it was totally impossible for them suddenly to have a policy matured. Mr. Disraeli next illustrated in an amusing manner the difficulties of a Government which endeavoured to carry on public business in the face of a hostile majority. After stating that the Queen had given him permission to dissolve if it would assist him, Mr. Disraeli—with a view of showing that he had exhausted all means before refusing office—read an extract from his letter to her Majesty, in which he stated he had represented to her Majesty that Mr. Gladstone had resigned on very inadequate grounds, and that his honour having been satisfied by a resignation, his return to office was the best solution of the difficulty. Mr. Disraeli concluded by predicting for the Tory party a noble and a triumphant career, when other topics pressing to the front would become 'great and burning questions.'

Thus closed a remarkable episode in the history of Irish university education. Although much of the time of the session of 1873 was devoted to this important scheme, some measures of great value were passed. Foremost of these was Lord Selborne's Judicature Bill. Mr. Forster brought forward in the Commons a bill transferring from the school boards to the guardians of the poor the duty of determining whether the fees of indigent children should be paid out of the rates; and this bill passed. Mr. Lowe was not so successful with his financial measures as the chief of the Government had been in former years, and Mr. Gladstone came to his assistance in the debate on Mr. W. H. Smith's motion upon the subject of local taxation, which the Premier said was aimed at all indirect taxes. The resolution was negatived without a division. Mr. Fawcett carried his bill for the reform of the University of Dublin, but it was so changed as to become a simple measure for the abolition of tests. Mr. Miall's motion for the disestablishment of the Church of England was defeated by 356 to 61 votes, Mr. Gladstone delivering the most important speech against it. He said that he not only opposed the motion on its merits, but because it was ill-timed and incapable of present discussion. The popular feeling was not favourable to the proposal, and if a general election were to occur he believed a House would be returned much less disposed to entertain the question than

the existing one. Mr. Gladstone also opposed Mr. Cowper-Temple's proposal for the delivery of sermons in churches by laymen and Dissenters. The principle of extending household suffrage to counties received the personal adhesion of the Premier this session. In proposing the usual grant on the approaching marriage of the Duke of Edinburgh to the Grand Duchess Marie Alexandrovna of Russia, Mr. Gladstone said the union would be one of affection, and expressed his trust that the day had gone by when royal personages connected with this country were required to enter into matrimonial engagements 'without the consecrating element of personal attachment, which was the solemn basis on which this union was founded.'

Several Ministerial changes of an important character occurred shortly after the close of the session. Mr. Lowe having resigned the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, Mr. Gladstone took up the duties himself, and filled the double offices of Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Ripon, Mr. Childers, and Mr. Baxter retired from the Government, and Mr. Bright re-entered it as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Vigorous speeches in defence of the Ministerial policy were made during the recess, but the Government failed to recover its once overwhelming popularity.

CHAPTER XXII.

FALL OF MR. GLADSTONE'S MINISTRY (1874).

Mr. Disraeli on the Policy of the Government—Reaction against the Liberal Ministry—The Premier's Manifesto to the Electors of Greenwich—Dissolution of Parliament—Reasons for the Step—A Record of distinguished Service—Mr. Gladstone's Proposals—Public Opinion on the Manifesto—Mr. Disraeli's Counter-blast—The Straits of Malacca—A Geographical Quarrel—Result of the General Election—Resignation of Mr. Gladstone—Character and Labours of his Administration.

THE autumn of 1873 was a time of strange transition in the political feeling of the country. The people clearly demonstrating that they no longer desired to keep up with the reforming zeal of the Government, Mr. Disraeli stepped in, and cleverly guided the public sentiment to the advantage of the Opposition. Writing to his 'dear Grey,' in October, he observed that 'for nearly five years the present Ministers have harassed every trade, worried every profession, and assailed or menaced every class, institution, and species of property in the country. Occasionally they have varied this state of civil warfare by perpetrating some job which outraged public opinion, or by stumbling into mistakes which have been always discreditable, and sometimes ruinous. All this they call a policy and seem quite proud of it; but the country has, I think, made up its mind to close this career of plundering and blundering.' This strongly-exaggerated description of the Premier's policy had the effect of fanning the popular discontent. The bye-elections which had recently occurred had mostly proved substantial Conservative victories, and indications were not wanting that many Liberal members who had long endorsed Mr. Gladstone's action were falling away from him. The Bible was affirmed to be in danger; and when it came to 'beer' as well, amongst other things, the work of revolution was pronounced by many powerful classes as certainly going too far. The joint flag of 'Beer and Bible' having been hoisted, the cry against the Ministry became irresistible.

Something must be done. That which was done was an equal surprise to both political parties. The Premier—assured by the press that the people whom he had so long and so faithfully served

had turned their backs upon him, and weary of the half-hearted support of his own party—resolved to take the direct judgment of the country itself upon the aspect of public affairs. Accordingly, on the 23rd of January, he issued a lengthy manifesto to the electors of Greenwich, announcing that the existing Parliament would be dissolved, and a new one summoned to meet without delay. The excitement of the people was intense when they learnt that the Parliament of 1868—the Parliament which had disestablished the Irish Church, settled the Irish land question, abolished Purchase in the Army, founded a system of National Education, and established the Ballot—was declared, as Cromwell once declared a Parliament, to be no longer a Parliament.

In the fullest and frankest manner, Mr. Gladstone—in a document entitled to rank as a State paper, from its political and historical importance—stated his reasons for what was regarded in many quarters as a political *coup d'état*. After observing that the welfare of the country can never be effectually promoted by a Government which is not invested with adequate authority, he wrote:—'In the month of March last the Government were defeated in their effort to settle upon just and enlarged principles the long-disputed question of the higher education in Ireland, if not by a combined, yet concurrent effort of the leader of the Opposition and of the Roman Catholic prelacy of Ireland. Upon suffering this defeat the Government, according to the practice of our Constitution, placed their resignation in the hands of the Sovereign. Her Majesty, in the just and wise exercise of her high office, applied to the leader of the Opposition. He, however, declaring that he was not prepared with a policy, and could not govern in the existing Parliament, declined to fill the void which he had made. Under these circumstances, we thought ourselves bound by loyalty to the Queen not to decline the resumption of our offices. But this step we took with an avowed reluctance. We felt that, in consequence of what had happened, both the Crown and country were placed at a disadvantage, as it was established that, during the existence of the present Parliament, one party only could govern, and must, therefore, govern without appeal. We also felt that a precedent had been set, which both diminished our strength and weakened the general guarantees for the responsibility and integrity of Parliamentary opposition. Of this diminution of strength we were painfully and sensibly reminded during the session by the summary and rapid dismissal, in the House of Lords, of measures which had cost much time and labour to the House of Commons. But we remembered that in the years 1868 and 1870, when the mind of the country was unambiguously expressed, the House of Lords had, much to

its honour, deferred to that expression upon matters of great moment; and I cannot doubt that it would have continued in this course had the isolated and less certain, but still frequent and fresh, indications of public opinion at single elections continued to be in harmony with the powerful and authentic, but now more remote, judgment of 1868.'

This state of things not having improved, however, during the latter part of the recess, the Administration desired to pass from a condition thus fitful and casual, to one in which the nation would have full opportunity of expressing its will and choice as between the two political parties. The Government of the day, whatever it might be, would thus be armed with the just means of authority. Mr. Gladstone next reviewed the measures of his Ministry, and claimed a renewal of confidence. He promised a diminution of local taxation and the total repeal of the income-tax, for which the surplus of upwards of four millions which he would have to show would afford justification. He observed that the income-tax had been borne with exemplary patience, mainly on the ground of the great work of liberation which had been achieved by its aid. But no Government had ever been able to make it perpetual. The proceeds of the income-tax for the present year were expected to be between £5,000,000 and £6,000,000, and at a sacrifice for the financial year of something less than £5,500,000, the country might enjoy the advantage and relief of its total repeal. He declared that this advantage was in present circumstances practicable, but added that it was manifest they ought not to aid the rates, and remove the income-tax, without giving to the general consumer, and giving him simultaneously, some marked relief in the class of articles of popular consumption.

The Premier next pointed out that the changes indicated would dispose of considerably more than the surplus named, but there was nothing to preclude the Government from asking Parliament to consider, in conjunction with those great remissions, what moderate assistance could be had from judicious adjustments of existing taxes. Pointing to his own declarations of 1868, he affirmed that he could not belong to a Government which did not on every occasion seek to enlarge its resources by a wise economy. As some earnest of his sincerity in this matter, he added, 'The policy of the Government for the last five years in particular, the character and opinions of my colleagues, and the financial and commercial legislation with which I may say that, since 1842, I have been associated, are before you.' In concluding, Mr. Gladstone referred to the charge sometimes made that the Liberal Government and party had endangered the institutions and worried all the interests of the country. As to the

interests, he was aware of no one that had been injured, and if unhappily they had offended any, it was not their intention or wish, but in consequence of their anxiety to consult the highest interest of all—the interest of the nation. 'As to the institutions of the country, gentlemen, the charge is the very same that you have been accustomed to hear urged against Liberal Governments in general for the last forty years. It is time to test by a general survey of the past this trite and vague allegation. Now, there has elapsed a period of forty, or more exactly a period of forty-three, years since the Liberal party acquired the main direction of public affairs. This followed another period of about forty years, beginning with the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, during which there had been an almost unbroken rule of their opponents, who claimed, and were reputed to be the great preservers of the institutions of the country. But I ask you to judge the men by the general results. I fear we must admit that the term of forty years of Tory rule which closed in 1830, and to which you are invited to return, left the institutions of the country weaker, ay, even in its peace and order less secure, than at the commencement of the period it had found them. I am confident that if now the present Government be dismissed from the service of their Gracious Mistress and of the country, the Liberal party, which they represent, may at least challenge contradiction when they say that their term of forty years leaves the throne, the laws, and the institutions of the country not weaker, but stronger than it found them. Such, gentlemen, is the issue placed before you, and before the nation, for your decision. If the trust of this Administration be by the effect of the present elections virtually renewed, I, for one, will serve you, for what remains of my time, faithfully; if the confidence of the country be taken from us and handed over to others whom you may judge more worthy, I, for one, shall accept cheerfully my dismissal.'*

* The opinions of the press upon Mr. Gladstone's Address of course varied in tone. The *Times* wrote:—'The Prime Minister descends upon Greenwich amid a shower of gold, and must needs prove as irresistible as the Father of the Gods. The benefits he proposes to confer upon the tax-payers of the country will seem to them miraculous, as they will feel at first some difficulty in understanding how so much relief from taxation can be got out of even £5,000,000. Upon this head, however, they will reassure themselves by remembering that few venture to assail Mr. Gladstone's arithmetic, and even if it should prove necessary, as Mr. Gladstone hints, that some moderate assistance to the revenue, through judicious adjustments of existing taxes, should accompany these great remissions, there must still be a vast balance of relief in their favour. . . . The issue is before the country, and Mr. Gladstone is to be approved for no longer delaying it.' The *Daily News* said:—'Here is a full and attractive programme of Liberal policy. The Liberal party are, in fact, invited to open a fresh chapter of their history. . . . Whatever may be said of the time or manner of the dissolution, it is, beyond all dispute, a policy to awaken—or, if anybody will have it so, to revive—the enthusiasm of the Liberal party, and to benefit the country.' 'Mr. Gladstone,' said the *Standard*, 'probably finds that he could not meet the present Parliament, for all his nominal majority,

The leader of the Opposition lost no time in issuing a counter-blast to the Prime Minister's address. On the very day upon which the document which we have just summarised appeared, Mr. Disraeli indited an epistle to the electors of Buckinghamshire. Its phraseology, if in some parts brusque, was undoubtedly clever. This brief definition, nevertheless, exhausts its merits. Commencing with a reference to the dissolution, he said, 'Whether this step has been taken as a means of avoiding the humbling confession by the Prime Minister that he has, in a fresh violation of constitutional law, persisted in retaining for several months a seat to which he was no longer entitled, or has been resorted to by his Government in order to postpone or evade the day of reckoning for a war carried on without communication with

without sustaining an immediate and decisive defeat. . . . We have condemned, as the country will condemn, a policy which must be described as one of surprise and intrigue.' The *Daily Telegraph* thus expressed itself:—'It is an admirable record of success, and it will remain for others to celebrate his share in the work. The country will not forget that share when it pronounces judgment in the present House of Commons on the Liberal party. Mr. Gladstone has given it the materials for a mature verdict. But the all-important necessity is that the House of Commons should again be brought into harmony with the country, and be endowed with new vigour. . . . If the nation should express its trust in Mr. Gladstone, he will be able to proceed with the great financial work in hand as vigorously as he did when he took office at the head of a great majority in 1868.' The *Morning Post* remarked that, 'Taken altogether in its general bearings, it must be allowed that the address to the electors of Greenwich is a very able apology for the Administration, and does great credit by the boldness of its language, if not by its lavish bids for support, to the statesman who penned it. Whether it will stand analysis remains to be seen.' The *Pall Mall Gazette* took the following review of the Premier's appeal for a renewal of confidence:—'The authority which he wants and openly asks for is a personal authority, renewed and confirmed by a *plébiscite* "Unambiguously express your opinions once more, or, in other words, make me again personally supreme and paramount over the other branch of the Legislature. Make me again the absolute ruler I was five years ago, confirm the powerful and authentic, but now more remote judgment of 1868, and I in return will remit you the income-tax, lighten your local burdens, and free your breakfast tables." Such is the offer; and, whatever we think of its terms or its morality, its candour is undeniable.' 'The issue upon which attention must be concentrated,' contended the *Globe*, 'is that upon which lies the appeal to the country. . . . Accepting Mr. Gladstone's account of the situation, we deem it the most humiliating a Prime Minister could voluntarily assume; and while we appreciate the wisdom of his appeal to hope instead of gratitude, we have little doubt the country will discount his draft on its confidence on the terms he has himself established, as only reasonable and only safe.' The *Echo* observed that, 'Whatever difference of opinion may agitate the country for the next few weeks, we are confident there will be but one as regards the illustrious statesman whose address we are now considering. No one of his opponents will advocate the repeal of any one of the great measures by which his Administration has been signalised, while his supporters will remember that no other five years have been equally fruitful in wise, just, and beneficial legislation.' Coming to the weekly journals, we find the *Saturday Review* opposed to the spirit of the manifesto. 'The Liberal party has done great things in the last forty years, and some of the greatest have been done since Mr. Gladstone has been Prime Minister. But although we may honour statesmen for what they have done in the past, we are obliged to judge their present policy by its own special character, and it is difficult to see anything in this sudden dissolution, and in Mr. Gladstone's bargaining for the price of a financial secret, which raises the reputation of the Liberal party, or adds to the benefits it has conferred on the country.' The *Spectator* was more just in its view as to the rights of a statesman at a critical

Parliament, and the expenditure for which Parliament has not sanctioned, it is unnecessary to consider.' The right hon. gentleman then described the Prime Minister's address as 'a prolix narrative, in which he mentions many of the questions that have occupied, or may occupy, public attention, but in which I find nothing definite as to the policy he would pursue except this, that, having the prospect of a large surplus, he will, if retained in power, devote that surplus to the remission of taxation which would be the course of any party or any Ministry.' Mr. Disraeli next declared that he had always endeavoured, and would continue to endeavour, to propose or support all measures calculated to improve the condition of the people; but he did not think this great end could be attained by incessant and harassing legislation. 'By an act of folly or of ignorance rarely equalled,' he continued, 'the present Ministry relinquished a treaty which secured us the freedom of the Straits of Malacca for our trade with China and Japan, and they at the same time entering, on the West Coast of Africa, into those equivocal and entangling engagements, which the Prime Minister now deprecates, involved us in the Ashantee War. The honour of the country now requires that we should prosecute that war with a vigour necessary to ensure success, but, when that honour is vindicated, it will be the duty of Parliament to inquire by what means we were led into a costly and destructive contest, which neither the Parliament nor the country have sanctioned, and of the necessity or justice of which, in its origin, they have not been made aware.'* Mr. Disraeli, in concluding an address whose flippancy contrasted strangely with the dignity and gravity of that of his rival, pronounced against the extension of household suffrage to the counties, criticised adversely the more prominent features of Mr. Gladstone's policy,

moment to appeal to a long record of distinguished services, and more generous in its recognition of those services. 'No sincere Liberal will doubt that Mr. Gladstone's appeal to the people of England ought to meet with a cordial and grateful response. This Government has been distinguished above all other Liberal Governments for the honesty and earnestness with which it has redeemed its pledges, instead of using them mainly as baits to catch votes. It has been a steady, and an upright, and a Liberal Government, not a Conservative Government with a Liberal name, and has done more to gain for the people of the United Kingdom some addition to that stock of human happiness which, as Mr. Gladstone, as truly as pathetically says, is never too abundant, than any Government of the present generation. The genuine Liberals, who see its shortcomings best, will also see best its immeasurable superiority to anything likely to replace it.' The *Examiner* took the advanced Radical view, and cared little whether Mr. Gladstone was accepted or rejected at Greenwich, or whether he or Mr. Disraeli came into power. The *Nonconformist*, while exhorting Nonconformists throughout the country to close up their ranks and to act upon the maxim 'Measures not men,' observed of the Government, 'We have nothing to say against their being upheld. They are very much to be preferred to any Conservative Government of which we can conceive.'

* With an alteration of names, these expressions of opinion may be commended to the consideration of the Administration of which their writer is now the chief.

and assured the electors that, if again returned, he would resist every proposal which might impair the strength and stability of England.

Parliament was dissolved on the 26th of January, and the new House was summoned to meet on the 5th of March. The electioneering campaign at once began in earnest. Mr. Gladstone's general adherence to the principles of the educational policy pursued during the past four years caused the Nonconformist Committee to pass a resolution declaring it to be the immediate duty of all who desired to restore union and vigour to the Liberal party, to insist that all candidates for their support should pledge themselves against the further development of the denominational system. There were many difficulties, in addition to this, in the way of Liberal union. On the 28th Mr. Gladstone met his constituents on Blackheath. After alluding to the circumstances under which the Ministry resigned in the previous March, he replied to the election address of Mr. Disraeli. He warned his hearers that when they were asked to divert their attention from domestic affairs to foreign policy, they were called upon to run away from what they had the power of comprehending, to discuss that which was extremely difficult adequately to study and comprehend.. The Premier then defended those points of the foreign policy of the Government which had been attacked, and thus took up the reference by the leader of the Opposition to the Straits of Malacca:—'Such is his poverty and destitution of points to make against the Government, although he travels all the way to the Straits of Malacca for the purpose, that he manufactures his charge out of an act which is not a bad act, but a good act, and an act which was not done by us, but done by the colleagues of Mr. Disraeli, and by the Government to which he belonged. Understand me, gentlemen, when I say it was done, I mean this: the draft of the treaty concluded by us was forwarded by Lord Derby in the month of September or August, 1868. He deserved the main credit for it, and credit—not discredit—is what is due. And so, gentlemen, I will leave the leader of the Opposition for the present floundering and foundering in the Straits of Malacca.' Mr. Gladstone then reiterated that economy and reduction of taxation were the great objects which the success of the Liberal party would secure. At the same time, he did not believe that it was in his power to serve them unless they were a united Liberal party.

At Aylesbury, on the 31st, Mr. Disraeli returned to the charge with regard to the Straits of Malacca, affirming that the conduct of the Government over which he presided was exactly the reverse of that which the Prime Minister had alleged against them. Mr.

Gladstone, however, was determined to have the last word upon the subject—save for the avalanche of geographical ignorance which descended upon the press in relation to these Straits of Malacca. Delivering the last of his eloquent election addresses at Deptford, the Premier denied that his Administration ever advised the recall of the late Lord Mayo from the Governor-Generalship of India, and then took up the Malacca question. 'The real Straits of Malacca,' he said, 'are but twenty or thirty miles broad. But no, says Mr. Disraeli, the Straits of Malacca are between Acheen and the Continent, where the sea is 150 miles wide. Mr. Disraeli—I have no doubt quite unintentionally—has fallen into a sad error, which I will endeavour to expose. The narrow part of the Straits near the Island of Sumatra is bordered by the kingdom of Siak. It was with regard to Siak I stated that Lord Malmesbury had accepted with thanks the treaty transmitted by the Dutch announcing that they had assumed the control of Siak. I stated also that the kingdom of Siak was the part of Sumatra which was important with respect to the Straits.' Mr. Gladstone next defended his Irish policy, and contended that the Land Act had removed a great scandal. He further reminded the meeting of the remaining principal achievements of the Government, and concluded by expressing his belief that the Liberal party, once more joining hand in hand and setting shoulder to shoulder, would carry forward the banner they so long bore in hope, and which for nearly forty years they had borne on to victory, and would achieve results worthy of the past, and full of national benefit for the future.

Mr. Disraeli, speaking subsequently at Newport Pagnell, said that although he was quite as anxious as the Premier to abolish the income-tax, he yet felt there were occasions, such as a sudden war, or a reform of the tariff, when it would be necessary to have recourse to this impost. He declined to pledge himself to any specific course, either with regard to the income tax or indirect taxation.

With these declarations of policy before them, the constituencies went to the poll; and the first general election held under the ballot was conducted in a peaceable and creditable manner. A few riots occurred, but, on the whole, the elections passed off with orderliness and quietude. The result proved to be most disastrous to the Liberal party. Out of 652 members (the complete number of the House, six members being otherwise accounted for) the Conservatives returned 349 and the Liberals 303, thus giving the former a majority of 46 votes. The Liberals lost 95 seats and gained 39, so that their net loss was 56 seats, being equivalent to 112 votes on a division. The licensed victuallers

had thrown in their interest with the Conservatives, and 'Bung' was everywhere triumphant; even Mr. Gladstone himself so far succumbed to his influence as to occupy an inferior position upon the Greenwich poll. Other interests, acting under the belief that the Ministry were their oppressors, also declared against them. In no instance was this more conspicuous than in the case of the dockyardsmen. Greenwich, Chatham, Portsmouth, and Devonport, exasperated with Mr. Gladstone, and allured by the promises of friendship held out by the Conservatives, swelled the Tory reaction. The curious in such matters may readily discover what the dockyard *employés* have reaped by these changes under the new *régime*. The farmers, the licensed victuallers, the dockyardsmen, the civil service, and the Church all pronounced in favour of Mr. Disraeli, and all with expectation of immediate legislation for their benefit. The leader of the Opposition was so far grateful to the licensed victuallers that legislation was set on foot on their behalf, while the clergy were understood to be temporarily satisfied when Mr. Disraeli affirmed that the country had emphatically declared that education must be preserved upon a strictly religious basis.

As soon as the national verdict was known, Mr. Gladstone went to Windsor and tendered his resignation and that of his colleagues to the Queen. The great Liberal leader surrendered his functions after a term of office which, while not very protracted, was distinguished for wise and memorable acts of legislation. Having faithfully served his Sovereign and his country, he now made room for his successors. In stepping down from his high position—overshadowed but not disgraced—we can find no words more appropriate in which to describe him than those once used by Lord Beaconsfield concerning Sir Robert Peel:—'Placed in an age of rapid civilisation and rapid transition, he had adapted the practical character of his measures to the condition of the times. He had never employed his influence for factious purposes, and had never been stimulated in his exertions by a disordered desire of obtaining office; above all, he had never carried himself to the opposite benches by making propositions by which he was not ready to abide.'* The only grave charge made against Mr. Gladstone as a political leader was his alleged want of tact in the management of the House of Commons. It may be that, in the superabundance of other gifts, he had not all the qualities best suited to this task, but to these objectors a comparison

* This juster estimate of Sir Robert Peel—both in the eyes of his contemporaries and of posterity—than that which Lord Beaconsfield subsequently formed, was pronounced during the debate on the 'no confidence' motion in the Ministry, May 27th, 1841.

may well be suggested between Mr. Gladstone's management of the House of Commons and that of the sessions of 1878 and 1879. Let it at once be admitted, however, that the Gladstone Ministry had its failures, which were mainly owing to the fact that the Premier's ablest lieutenants were most conspicuous for their lack of practical adaptability. What had much more to do with the failure of the Government was its misfortune in stirring up an antagonism in many of the most powerful classes of society. How much of the blame attached to them, and how much to the classes against whom they were supposed to wage war, we need not attempt to determine. It was well said by a writer of the time that 'a great many people entertain towards Mr. Gladstone's Government the same sort of sentiment as that which worthy Mrs. Bertram, in Scott's romance, felt for the energetic revenue officer who would persist in doing his duty, instead of following the example of his predecessor, who sang his song, and took his drink, and drew his salary without troubling any one.'

But the record which the Gladstone Administration left in the Statute Book might well atone for blunders far more stupendous than those with which it was fairly chargeable. Its errors were few and trivial by comparison; its services were conspicuous and enduring. It is worthy of equal remembrance with any Ministry of the century, for in its legislation it touched higher grounds than those of mere material comfort and prosperity (though in a remarkable degree it considered these also): it satisfied the claims of conscience, and met—in so far as the time of its duration permitted—those demands of justice, in relation to Ireland, which had hitherto been ignored—demands which had been the sport of circumstances and of Governments, and for whose redress their advocates had long knocked at the doors of the British Legislature in vain.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SPEECHES ON PUBLIC WORSHIP AND EDUCATION.

The new Premier—Mr. Gladstone partially retires from the Liberal Leadership—Letter to Lord Granville—Debate on the Address—Church Patronage of Scotland Bill—Opposed by Mr. Gladstone—His Speech on the Public Worship Regulation Bill—The ex-Premier's Six Resolutions—Reasons for their Withdrawal—The Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill—a retrograde Measure—Strongly attacked by Mr. Gladstone—Strange Confession of the Premier—The Bill passes in a mutilated Form—Mr. Gladstone on Education—Reply to Dr. Strauss's Work, *The Old Belief and the New*—Address to the Working Classes—Friendly Societies, Trades Unions, &c.—Facilities for Intellectual Improvement—The ex-Premier at Mill Hill School—Advice to the Students—The Higher Culture..

BORNE into office by a strong current of public opinion, Mr. Disraeli, for the first time in his Parliamentary career, now commanded a majority. It seemed—to change the simile—as though some brilliant but erratic comet, arrested in mid-course, had suddenly been given the elements of stability. The talents of the new Premier had always commanded the admiration of his supporters (and to a large extent of his opponents), but with this admiration there mingled in many quarters little of the sentiment of sincere esteem. By the admission of members of his own side of the House, the leader of the Conservative party had never evoked amongst his followers that feeling of implicit trust and affection with which his predecessor, Lord Derby, had been regarded. Amongst the strongest denunciations of his policy were those pronounced by men long the occupants of the same benches with himself; and perhaps the most crushing indictment of his career is to be found, not in the party journals, nor yet in the addresses of Liberal politicians, but in the speeches of one who afterwards became his most trusted friend and colleague.

But Mr. Disraeli was now in power, and the question that arose was, 'What will he do with it?' Whatever chances Mr. Gladstone had once possessed of righting himself with the House had vanished with the general election. It was said that if he had met Parliament, and brought forward his budget announcing the repeal of the income-tax, all would have been well. Such speculations were now useless. He had taken the hazard of the die, and fortune had been against him and there were not wanting members

of both Houses, supposed to have been in sympathy with him, who could even grow jocular upon his fall. With Buckingham, the ex-Premier might have said:—

> 'Those you make friends
> And give your hearts to, when they once perceive
> The least rub in your fortunes, fall away
> Like water from ye, never found again
> But where they mean to sink ye.' *

Lord Selborne justly and severely rebuked a certain noble duke for his flippancies at the expense of the fallen Minister. It was the old story transferred into political life of a reverse of fortune testing friendship, and the flocking of the multitude after its new idol. We pass by these exhibitions of feeling, as both painful and humiliating.

Shortly before the House met for active business, the Liberal party were astonished at finding themselves practically without a leader. In one of the speeches delivered before his constituents, Mr. Gladstone had intimated that if the country resolved upon the dismissal of the Liberal Ministry, he should reserve to himself the right of limiting his future services to his party as he might think fit. He was sincerely desirous of enjoying that period of repose which he had fairly earned, though there were not lacking opponents who attributed his comparative retirement from Parliamentary life to personal pique. His letter to Lord Granville, however, dated 11, Carlton House Terrace, March 12, fully explained the reasons for that step which took the House and the country somewhat by surprise:—

'My dear Granville,—I have issued a circular to members of Parliament of the Liberal party on the occasion of the opening of Parliamentary business. But I feel it to be necessary that, while discharging this duty, I should explain what a circular could not convey with regard to my individual position at the present time. I need not apologise for addressing these explanations to you. Independently of other reasons for so troubling you, it is enough to observe that you have very long represented the Liberal party, and have also acted on behalf of the late Government, from its commencement to its close, in the House of Lords.

For a variety of reasons personal to myself, I could not contemplate any unlimited extension of active political service; and I am anxious that it should be clearly understood by those friends with whom I have acted in the direction of affairs, that at my age I must reserve my entire freedom to divest myself of all the responsibilities of leadership at no distant time. The need of rest will prevent me from giving more than occasional attendance in the House of Commons during the present session.

I should be desirous, shortly before the commencement of the session of 1875, to consider whether there would be advantage in my placing my services for a time at the disposal of the Liberal party, or whether I should then claim exemption from the duties I have hitherto discharged. If, however, there should be reasonable ground for believing that, instead of the course which I have sketched, it would be preferable, in the view of the party generally, for me to assume at once the place of an independent member, I should willingly adopt the latter alternative. But I shall retain all that desire I have hitherto felt for the welfare of the party, and if the gentlemen composing it should think fit either to choose a leader or

* *King Henry VIII.*, Act iii., Scene i.

make provision *ad interim*, with a view to the convenience of the present year, the person designated would, of course, command from me any assistance which he might find occasion to seek, and which it might be in my power to render.'

The Liberal party accepted the offer of Mr. Gladstone's informal and modified leadership for the session of 1874, and the chief members of the late Government made the best of the circumstances in which they were placed. The Ministerialists indulged themselves in a little pleasantry at the expense of an Opposition virtually without a leader, while the latter felt more than ever in how essential a degree Mr. Gladstone was necessary to the party. The Liberal position was that of the cast of *Hamlet* with the Prince of Denmark withdrawn.

Mr. Gladstone met his successful antagonist fairly, and in the course of the debate upon the Address defended the conduct of the late Government in dissolving Parliament. He held that the simple possession of a Parliamentary majority did not betoken absolute confidence in a Government, and would not justify it in retaining office until the natural expiration of Parliament. Admitting that the verdict of the country had been pronounced in no uncertain manner, and without discussing the combinations which had brought it about, he did not regret the dissolution by which it had been evoked, if thereby an opportunity had been given to the people to express their opinion upon the conduct of public affairs, and upon those who ought to direct them in the future. The transfer of power was made under conditions favourable to the late Government; but the majority of the constituencies had rejected their proposals, and as this was the act of the country, the new Government was entitled to a fair trial, and open space for the development of their plans and the application of their principles. Everything like factious opposition should be avoided, and full opportunity should be given to the various departments to develop their plans and apply their principles. It was but right that the country should have the opportunity of judging of those plans and principles; and whether the result should be the continuance in power of gentlemen opposite or the contrary, the Constitution would provide a remedy for any conceivable state of things.

Now was witnessed for a short time the unusual spectacle of a perfectly friendly and peaceful House of Commons. The Government, making no pretensions to an original policy, resolved on following the example of their predecessors. Mr. Smollett proposed a vote of censure upon the late Government in connection with the dissolution, but Mr. Gladstone, in his reply, completely annihilated the arguments of the hon. gentleman, and the motion collapsed. The Premier would hear nothing against the Liberal

chief, while Sir Stafford Northcote confessed that the financial calculations of the ex-Prime Minister were quite correct, and that there was a surplus of five millions and a half. All, in fact, went 'merry as a marriage bell' until the introduction of several important religious measures by the Government.

The first of these measures was the Church Patronage of Scotland Bill. Brought forward in the House of Lords by the Duke of Richmond on behalf of the Government, the object of this bill was to abolish the system of lay patronage in the Established Kirk, and to make it over to the congregation. The question of patronage had agitated the people of Scotland for the last three hundred years, and the General Assembly had passed various resolutions expressing dissatisfaction with the existing condition of things. The bill, which was exceedingly short, proposed to abolish all Church patronage from the Crown downwards, and to create a constituency by whom the minister of a congregation might be selected. The qualification taken would be that which existed in other Presbyterian bodies in Scotland, and the patronage would be vested in the male communicants. The bill would enact, as regarded compensation to patrons, that it should not exceed one year's stipend; and it was believed that in the great majority of cases the patrons would not require compensation at all.

The Duke of Argyll and some other Liberal peers supported the bill, but on the motion for its second reading in the Commons, Mr. Baxter proposed an amendment to the effect that the House considered it inexpedient to legislate on the subject of patronage in the Church of Scotland without further inquiry and information. The chief feature of the debate was a vigorous speech by Mr. Gladstone in opposition to the bill. The right hon. gentleman's re-appearance in the House after a considerable absence was the signal for an unanimous outburst of cheering from the Liberal benches. His presence for some time escaped notice, but when it became known, his greeting was of the warmest and most flattering character. Mr. Gladstone at once grappled with the subject with that facility which in other men we should call eloquence. Regretting to find himself engaged in a new ecclesiastical controversy, yet admitting at the same time that the motive of the bill was laudable, the ex-Premier said its details were so objectionable, and its production was so inopportune and premature, that he was constrained to support Mr. Baxter's amendment. He based his opposition to the bill on three grounds — the exclusion of 'heritors' from all share, as such, in the election of ministers; the omission of any provision calculated to meet the case of the Highland parishes; and the alleged injustice which the abolition of

patronage would do to the Free Church. The bill amounted to a cry of *Peccavi;* and he asked what they were going to do for those people whom they had driven out of the Established Church, and compelled to find ministers for themselves, to build churches, manses, and schools, and in fact to organise and pay for the establishment of a complete system of Church government. If they would receive them back in bodies, he would withdraw his opposition to the bill. If the General Assembly would, on terms of fraternal equality, communicate with the Dissenting bodies, and endeavour to bring about an union of equality, he would assist them to the full extent of his power; but the present bill was neither fair nor generous. He wanted to know what the General Assembly had done towards reuniting itself to bodies which it turned out holding the view which formed the basis of the present bill. Mr. Gladstone finally discussed the effects which the measure had already produced:—

'There was scarcely any disestablishment movement in Scotland until the date of the introduction of this, I do not call it bad, but crude, premature, and insufficiently considered bill. But is it true that there is no promise of a disestablishment movement in Scotland now? What has happened since the announcement of this bill? The representatives of 1,200,000 of the Scottish people have, in their General Assembly, declared for disestablishment. . . . There were 295, as I understand the number, against 98, those 98 not voting in favour of establishment, but for the previous question. I do not wish myself to be responsible for raising the question of disestablishment in Scotland. I am not an idolater of establishments.'

Here Mr. Gladstone was interrupted by an ironical cheer from the Ministerial benches, but he continued amid the counter cheering of his own supporters:—

'Neither am I one of those who would wish to raise a controversy of that kind, excepting under very strong justifying circumstances, and excepting with a perfect preparedness to abide the issue of that contest. If the cheer we have just heard—and it was, perhaps, a very fair, natural, and legitimate cheer—was intended to imply that I am a great enemy of establishments, because I used every effort in my power to put an end to an establishment in Ireland, I must say, in answer to that cheer, that I do not repent the part I took. So far from repenting it, if I am to have a character with posterity at all—supposing posterity is ever to know that such a person as myself existed in this country—I am perfectly willing that my character should be tried simply and solely by the proceedings to which I was a party with regard to the Irish Church Establishment. I would, however, in this case recognise distinctions that are founded in the nature of things. In Scotland there has been no general movement of principle towards disestablishment; and although an established Church in a minority is an anomaly, it is an anomaly which I was well content to tolerate, and which the masses of the people of Scotland were justly and wisely prepared to tolerate, and not to be guided by abstract principles, but by a careful regard to the state of facts. But when in that state of things the Government throws down the challenge before them; proposes to invest this ecclesiastical body, or even the committee or commission of it, with powers never before entrusted to an ecclesiastical body, but which will infallibly be quoted in support of high clerical pretensions in other quarters; and when in doing that, it does it, as the right hon. and learned lord says, in the sense of strengthening the Established Church, but declining to recognise, for every practical purpose, the existence of those great Presbyterian communities whom you drove out and compelled to become Dissenters, entirely declining to recognise them, except as bodies

from whom you make a certain profit by withdrawing one adherent from them here, and another from them there—that is a challenge, I think, to them to take up a question of the public and national endowment of religion such as was never before issued by a Government under any circumstances, and such as, in my opinion, it is totally inconsistent with prudence and wisdom to issue. If we have been rash—which I do not admit—our rashness will certainly fade into utter insignificance by the side of the gratuitous hardihood of the Government, which, as it appears to me, determines to initiate a religious war in Scotland under the influence of the best motives, but under circumstances the most slippery and dangerous.'

Mr. Disraeli, by whom, in the conduct of business, Mr. Gladstone's absence had been especially felt, congratulated the right hon. gentleman upon his re-appearance, and expressed the general feeling of the House, when he said that all had missed him. He hoped his appearance that night would not be a solitary one. Replying to Mr. Gladstone's arguments, he denied that this was an abolition of patronage; it was merely an alteration in the mode of selecting ministers, and in what they had done the Government had acted upon precedent. With reference to Mr. Gladstone's defence of his Irish Church policy, the Premier expressed a hope that his epitaph would not include the disestablishment of any other church. The second reading of the bill was carried by 307 to 109 votes.

The next important speech by Mr. Gladstone this session was that delivered on the Public Worship Regulation Bill. This measure, as introduced by the Archbishop of Canterbury, into the House of Lords, in its amended form, provided that to the bishop should be given that directory power as to worship which, from sundry places in the Canons and in the Prayer Book, would seem to have been intended in the constitution of the church. He was to be guided by the advice of a board of assessors, clerical and lay. Supposing that any one parishioner, or the rural dean, or the archdeacon, should think that the practices of a given incumbent with regard to public worship amounted to a grievance, he should have a right to go to the bishop and state it as such. If the bishop should think it was a matter that ought to be inquired into, he should call his assessors together; and if that tribunal should condemn the act or acts in question, the bishop would issue his monition. But the incumbent might be allowed an appeal to the archbishop with a board of assessors, whose decision should be final.

Having passed the Lords, the bill came down to the Commons, and its second reading was moved by Mr. Russell Gurney. During the first night of the debate, Mr. Gladstone rose and addressed the House in a speech which, according to the daily journals, fairly electrified the assembly. He began by the declaration that he had never approached any question with more embarrassment than this, and he had been constrained to quit

his retirement to point out the false issue which had been laid before Parliament, and to dispel the delusions and the ignorance which prevailed throughout the country in regard to this bill. The difficulty under which Parliament laboured was increased by the history of the bill, which he traced from the first announcement of it by some 'clever fellow' in the columns of a daily paper, and also by the departure from the usual practice that the heads of the Church and of the State should concur in any legislation for the Church. His great objection, however, to the bill was its interference with liberty and with the variety of customs which had grown up in different parts of the country, though he also took exception to the omission of the bishops from the bill, and to the payment of the Judge's salary from the funds of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. He considered that Ritualism was the smallest part of the question, and with regard to the eighth clause of the bill, which defined the offences to be dealt with, he insisted that by strictly and uniformly enforcing the Rubrics, any indiscreet or fussy bishop would be enabled to root out local usages, traditions, and customs in the celebration of public worship; and the variations from the Rubric, whether of omission or commission, he maintained ought not to be interfered with. Mr. Gladstone enlarged upon the inconveniences of enforcing strict uniformity. For example, the Rubric required the catechising of children at the afternoon service, it required the Athanasian creed to be read thirteen times in the year, and it was very doubtful whether the present Hymnology of the Church was in accordance with the Rubrics. The right hon. gentleman also mentioned the separate or single administration of the consecrated elements as another matter in which strict uniformity could not be enforced. Then followed this passage, perhaps the most striking in the speech:—

'I, for one, will make no objection to any expenditure of time which the House is prepared to make in order to discuss the question; I will not be the man to raise the cry of difficulty or inconvenience; but I shall be the man from stage to stage of the bill, as far as it may be necessary, to point out the real nature of the work we are doing, to endeavour to assist the House in sifting these proposals to the bottom, and in dissipating and dispelling the gross illusions which possess the country, and, to a great extent, as it appears to me, the mind of the right hon. and learned gentleman, with regard to the provisions and probable operation of the bill. . . . I think I have shown the House that inconvenience must arise from the very first slip of judgment on the part of a bishop who may allow an improper suit to proceed. Well, then, the House may say fairly—"Do not you think something ought to be done?" and I think the idea that something ought to be done is what weighs upon the minds of most men. I will tell you what I think ought to be done in principle. The House can do nothing without acknowledging how much we owe to the great mass of the clergy of the Church of England for their zeal and devotion. For eighteen years I was a servant of a very large body of them. My place is now most worthily occupied by another; but I have not forgotten, and never can forget, the many sacrifices they were always ready to make, and the real liberality of mind which upon a thousand occasions they have

shown. But even that is a thing totally insignificant in comparison with the work which they are doing. You talk of the observance of the law. Why, sir, every day and night the clergyman of the Church of England, by the spirit he diffuses around him, by the lessons he imparts, lays the nation under a load of obligation to him. The eccentricities of a handful of men, therefore, can never make me forget the illustrious merit of the services done by the mass of the clergy in an age which is beyond all others luxurious, and, I fear, selfish and worldly. These are the men who hold up to us a banner on which is written the motto of Eternal Life, and of the care for things unseen which must remain the chief hope of man through all the vicissitudes of his mortal life.'

After this eloquent tribute to the clergy, Mr. Gladstone observed that there was imposed on him the duty of saying something about what ought to be done in this matter—at least in principle. He had accordingly embodied his ideas on the subject into six resolutions, which he proceeded to read to the House as follows:—

'1. That in proceeding to consider the provisions of the bill for the Regulation of Public Worship, this House cannot do otherwise than take into view the lapse of more than two centuries since the enactment of the present Rubrics of the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England; the multitude of particulars embraced in the conduct of Divine service under their provisions; the doubts occasionally attaching to their interpretation, and the number of points they are thought to leave undecided; the diversities of local custom which under these circumstances have long prevailed; and the unreasonableness of proscribing all varieties of opinion and usage among the many thousands of congregations of the Church distributed throughout the land.

2. That this House is therefore reluctant to place in the hands of every single bishop, on the motion of one or of three persons howsoever defined, greatly increased facilities towards procuring an absolute ruling of many points hitherto left open and reasonably allowing of diversity, and thereby towards the establishment of an inflexible rule of uniformity throughout the land, to the prejudice, in matters indifferent, of the liberty now practically existing.

3. That the House willingly acknowledges the great and exemplary devotion of the clergy in general to their sacred calling, but is not on that account the less disposed to guard against the indiscretion, or thirst for power, or other faults of individuals.

4. That the House is therefore willing to lend its best assistance to any measure recommended by adequate authority, with a view to provide more effectual securities against any neglect of or departure from strict law which may give evidence of a design to alter, without the consent of the nation, the spirit or substance of the established religion.

5. That, in the opinion of the House, it is also to be desired that the members of the Church, having a legitimate interest in her services, should receive ample protection against precipitate and arbitrary changes of established customs by the sole will of the clergyman and against the wishes locally prevalent among them; and that such protection does not appear to be afforded by the provisions of the bill now before the House.

6. That the House attaches a high value to the concurrence of her Majesty's Government with the ecclesiastical authorities in the initiative of legislation affecting the established Church.'

Sir William Harcourt said they had all been under the wand of the Great Enchanter, and had listened with rapt attention as he poured forth the wealth of his incomparable eloquence; but the speech they had just heard could only be described as a powerful plea for universal Nonconformity, or optional conformity. The chief thing to be done was to reassert the unalterable attachment of the people of England to the principles of the Reformation. The debate was adjourned, and on the 13th Mr.

Disraeli said that Mr. Gladstone's resolutions could only point to one conclusion—the abolition of that religious settlement which had prevailed in this country for more than two centuries, and on which depended much of our civil liberty. Such propositions ought at once to be brought under discussion, and if the second reading of the bill were voted after the conclusion of the pending debate, he would give Mr. Gladstone an opportunity of bringing forward his six resolutions on the motion for going into committee. The debate was resumed on the 15th. Mr. Walter thought that the grievances of which Mr. Gladstone complained —even the compulsion to read the Athanasian Creed and the Prayer for the Church Militant—were as nothing compared with the Ritualistic practices against which the bill was directed. The discussion was closed by Mr. Disraeli, who said that the object of the bill was to put down Ritualism; and if Mr. Gladstone did not know whas Ritualism was, he was in a very isolated position.

The Government thus clearly adopted the bill, and the second reading was carried without a division. It soon became evident that Mr. Gladstone's resolutions were distasteful to the bulk of his own supporters, the whole House in fact being practically unanimous in its desire to arrest the progress of Ritualism. On the following day, accordingly, Mr. Gladstone announced the withdrawal of his resolutions. The House having passed the second reading of the bill without a division, he could not in fairness, he said, do otherwise than accept that decision as an expression of the desire of the House to proceed to the consideration of the bill in committee, without raising any of those broad questions relating to the grounds and proper limits of legislation which undoubtedly were raised in the resolutions of which he had given notice. Notice had also been given of important amendments which tended greatly to the improvement of the bill. He therefore did not intend to move his resolutions. A collision arose with the Lords upon an amendment carried in the Commons. The chief incidents in the debate in the Lower House were Sir Wm. Harcourt's passage of arms with his former chief, and Mr. Disraeli's description of the Marquis of Salisbury as a man who never measured his phrases, but was 'a great master of gibes, and flouts, and sneers.' Eventually the Commons did not insist upon their amendment, and the bill was read a third time on the 3rd of August.

The Public Worship Regulation Bill became law, but how inoperative it has been may be gathered from the fact that Ritualistic practices in the Church are at this moment more flourishing than ever, and in most dioceses are practically suffered to go unchecked.

Mr. Gladstone strongly opposed the Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill, introduced by Lord Sandon. The object of this measure was the transference to the Charity Commissioners of the powers held by the Endowed Schools Commissioners, appointed by the Act of 1689; powers which at the close of the session of 1873 it had been agreed to prolong for another twelve months, the original term of three years having expired. It was further proposed to alter the definitions contained in the former Act, so as to restore to the Church of England the administration of numerous schools in cases where the founder had recognised the authority of a bishop, or had directed attendance on the service of the Church, or had required that the masters should be in holy orders. This bill was regarded by the Liberal party as the first distinct attempt to reverse recent legislation, and to the Nonconformists it was especially obnoxious; for it practically gave to one great religious body the control of schools that were thrown open to the whole nation by the policy of the last Parliament. The principles of the measure—which thus went far beyond the transfer of the powers of the Endowed Schools Commissioners to the Charity Commissioners—gave rise to considerable agitation.

Accordingly, when the order for the second reading came on, Mr. Forster moved the rejection of the bill. The more he studied it, he said, the more he felt convinced that it was a step backward. He could adduce arguments which even hon. gentlemen opposite could hardly disregard, to show that the change of policy proposed was unwise, reactionary, and unjust, and the change in administration inexpedient and needless, if not dangerous. He was convinced that the noble lord was attempting to claim for the Established Church—which, after all, was only a denomination, although the largest—schools which really belonged to the nation, and that he was striving so to arrange things that members of that Church should have exclusive control over schools which ought to be open to all classes of her Majesty's subjects. Out of 1,082 grammar schools, 584 were founded before the Toleration Act; 35 were pre-Reformation schools; and 44 were founded during the Commonwealth. Mr. Forster paid a strong tribute to the Commissioners for their services in the cause of education, only ten of their schemes having been challenged in Parliament.

This measure, inequitable, unusual, and unwise as it was, drew forth a strong condemnation from Mr. Gladstone. The Church, he held, had no title to the endowments bestowed on her between 1530 and 1660—when no man could live outside her pale; and her title was in no way strengthened by the fact that the founder had directed Church instruction to be given to the children.

This retrograde legislation was unusual and unwise; for it was a bill for undoing part of the work of the last Parliament. The party which sat opposite possessed, after having been many years in a minority, a large majority; 'but,' continued Mr. Gladstone, 'what I wish to point out is this, that the history of our country for the last forty or fifty years presents to us, as a general rule, this remarkable picture: The initiative of policy in almost every instance—I do not know of even one exception—both of administrative and legislative, was supplied by the Liberal party, and subsequently adopted in prudence and in honesty by the party which is called Conservative. Take the financial, take the colonial, take any of the departments; and I will venture to say you will find that this is a true description of the history of which we have all been witnesses. When the Conservative Government came into power in 1834, and again in 1841, after the first Reform Act had been the subject of a long dispute and much contention, there was absolute security in the mind of the country, and full conviction that the party coming into office would not be so unwise and so unpatriotic as to retrace the steps taken by their predecessors. This is the first instance on record, so far as I have been able to ascertain, of any deliberate attempt being made by a Ministry at retrogression.'

The speaker, nevertheless, went on to make allusion to the case of the Presbyterian Establishment, which had been placed in possession of ecclesiastical patronage in Scotland in the time of William III. A Tory Ministry subsequently came into power, which made an attempt at passing a reactionary bill. This Ministry introduced the measure for the establishment of patronage in the Church of Scotland, which involved the repeal of the previous Act of William III. This was the one solitary instance to which her Majesty's Government could refer. And what an instance!—an instance that brought about the passage of the Act which the same party now proposed to repeal, because it was an Act of retrogression, and because it interfered with the integrity of the Presbyterian constitution. That was the only instance of any similar course that could be adduced in support of the ill-omened bill they were now invited to vote for. If that were so—if it were a most unusual step—it was also as unwise as it was unusual. Mr. Gladstone asked in conclusion:—

'What does this bill amount to? The right hon. gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. R. A. Cross) has said that this is one of the legacies which have been left by the Liberal Government. Yes; there have been a great many legacies left by the Liberal Government. The policy which at present governs every department of the State is part of a legacy left by the Liberal Government. The right hon. gentleman and his party ought to be more grateful for those Liberal legacies on which they will have to live as a Ministry. What are we now asked to do? The majority

of this Parliament is invited to undo the work of their predecessors in office, in defiance of precedents, which I should weary the House by enumerating, so great are their numbers and uniformity. It is rather remarkable that what is now the majority is about to undo an Act which they had never opposed in its passage. I believe that the conditions with reference to schools before the Toleration Act and before the Reformation were carried in this House without a division. I believe I am even strictly correct in saying that this provision was not only agreed to without a division, but without an adverse voice when the question was put from the Chair. Yet they now avail themselves of the first opportunity they have to attempt to repeal what they did not object to when it was before Parliament. Is this wise? Is it politic? Is it favourable to the true interests of the Established Church? . . . What has been the judgment generally passed upon us by foreign authors, men of the highest weight and importance in their respective countries? They have often told truths of which we should not be fully aware from our own observation. What have they told us of their judgment of the course and conduct of the British Legislature? If you consult any one of those great political writers who adorn the literature of their own countries, you will find their language respecting us uniform. When they look at our political constitution they are struck by the multitude of obstructions which for the defence of minorities we allow to be placed in the way of legislation. They are struck by observing that the immediate result is great slowness in the steps we take; but when they refer to the consequences of this slowness they find one great and powerful compensation, and it is that in England all progress is sure. *Vestigia nulla retrorsum.* Whatever has been once decided, whatever has once taken its place in the Statute Book, or has been adopted in our Administration, no feelings of party and no vicissitudes of majorities or minorities are allowed to draw the nation into the dangerous, though they may be the seductive, paths of retrogression. That is the principle to which we appeal, and even were the rights of the case less clear, even were it equitable instead of inequitable, for the Church to make the claims which are made in her behalf by the Government, most unwise would it be on the part of any Administration—and, of all others, most unwise on the part of the Conservative Administration—to give a shock to one of the great guiding principles and laws which have governed the policy of this country throughout a course of many generations, and the solidity and security of which is one of the main guarantees of the interests we possess and the liberty we enjoy.'

Notwithstanding this effective attack upon its leading principle, the bill passed its second stage by a large majority. The numbers were—For the second reading, 291; against, 209—majority for the Government, 82. The Opposition, however, were determined not to let the matter rest. They brought forward a hostile motion on the proposal for going into committee, but this was defeated by 262 to 193. Yet though the bill went into committee, the Prime Minister speedily found that it would be hotly contested, and deemed it unwise to proceed with it in its primal shape. He accordingly announced the abandonment of the foundation clauses, and the restriction of the measure to the mere abolition of the Endowed Schools Commissioners and the transfer of their powers to the Charity Commissioners. Making a confession that might almost seem to prove his incapacity to fill the position he occupied, he admitted that after hours of anxious consideration, the disputed clauses were unintelligible to him. Some days later, in giving the names of the Commissioners who were to take the Endowed Schools business upon them, Mr. Disraeli assumed personally the responsibility for the introduction of the bill.

The weakness of the Premier's position being thus exposed, Mr. Gladstone retorted upon him with great spirit. The nature of a Conservative policy, he observed, was now clearly seen. Mr. Disraeli had said that some of the clauses of the bill were unintelligible to him; this was an important discovery, and it was a pity that it had not been made earlier, as the charge of obstructive conduct might not then have been brought against members on the Opposition side of the House. The pledge of the Premier to call attention to this subject anew in another session of Parliament was a pledge dictated by Ministerial exigencies and by the state of the relations of those in the Cabinet, far more than by any well-weighed consideration of what was to take place in the future. If that was so he thought the Nonconformists, and not they only, but those who attached an enormous value to the principles and methods of stable legislation, had good reason to congratulate themselves upon the present situation. In closing his address Mr. Gladstone said, 'When a great host attempted the invasion of an enemy's country, and was beset by storms, and baffled by adverse winds, the practice was to erect an altar, and to put the knife to the throat of the victim. The Commissioners of the Endowed Schools are, on this occasion, those who have been called upon to submit to the sacrificial knife; and these three gentlemen—most guilty in the opinion of some who have spoken and whom they have perhaps offended; but most innocent, most meritorious, and most patriotic in the judgment of others—are to give up their official existence as an atonement and reconciliation for others, and the great mass of Nonconformist interests throughout the country are, I rejoice to say, to enjoy an absolute immunity from danger; the only price that is paid for all this being the official life of Lord Lyttelton and his colleagues. In saying that, I am very sorry for what the right hon. gentleman calls the policy of her Majesty's Government. The policy of her Majesty's Government with regard to the Endowed Schools of the country has received this most striking, this most triumphant attestation—that three gentlemen who, as the noble lord says, are our friends, are to be displaced from their office in order that three gentlemen who are his friends may be put into office, in order to prosecute, with bated hopes and weakened forces, the difficult duties imposed on them by the country.'

The Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill, in its mutilated form, received the Royal assent in the month of August. It was not a measure to reflect credit upon its authors; and seeing that its original scope had been greatly narrowed, the Government would have done wisely in abandoning it altogether. But this was one of the earliest indications of a determination, on the

part of the Conservative majority, to exercise its power—not always with consideration.

We now come to several addresses which Mr. Gladstone has delivered in recent years on the subject of education. They are typical of other speeches which the right hon. gentleman has at various times made upon the same question, and show the speaker in the favourable light of a friend to liberal culture,—a character to which he has been steadfast since he addressed the students of Liverpool College, at a very early stage in his career. The first of these addresses, which formed, perhaps, the most interesting extra-Parliamentary utterance of the recess of 1872, was delivered on the occasion of the distribution of the prizes to the pupils of Liverpool College. We have already had occasion, in the earlier part of this work, to make a brief extract from that address, but it now demands some further notice. The Premier entered a strong plea on behalf of higher education, and then passed on to refer to the extraordinary and boastful manifestation in this age of ours for the extremest forms of unbelief. After a searching examination of Dr. Strauss's recently published work, *The Old Belief and the New*, Mr. Gladstone tendered this counsel to the students:—

'You will hear much to the effect that the divisions among Christians render it impossible to say what Christianity is, and so destroy the certainty of religion. But if the divisions among Christians are remarkable, not less so is their unity in the great doctrines which they hold. Well nigh fifteen hundred years—years of a more sustained activity than the world has ever before seen—have passed away since the great controversies respecting the Deity and the Person of the Redeemer were, after a long agony, determined. As before that time in a manner less defined but adequate for their day, so ever since that time, amid all chance and change, more, ay, many more than ninety-nine in every hundred Christians have with one will confessed the Deity and incarnation of our Lord as the cardinal and central truths of our religion. Surely there is some comfort here, some sense of brotherhood, some glory in the past, some hope for the times that are to come. On one and only one more of the favourite fallacies of the day I will yet presume to touch. It is the opinion and boast of some that man is not responsible for his belief. Lord Brougham was at one time stated to have given utterance to this opinion, whether truly I know not. But this I know, it was my privilege to hear from his own lips the needful and due limitation of that proposition. "Man" he said, "is not responsible to man for his belief." But as before God one and the same law applies to opinions and to acts, or rather to inward and to outer acts, for opinions are inward acts. Many a wrong opinion may be guiltless because formed in ignorance, and because that ignorance may not be our fault; but who shall presume to say there is no mercy for wrong actions also when they, too, have been due to ignorance, and that ignorance has not been guilty? The question is not whether judgments and actions are in the same degree influenced by the condition of the moral motives. If it is undeniable that self-love and passion have an influence upon both, then, so far as that influence goes, for both we must be prepared to answer. Should we, in common life, ask a body of swindlers for an opinion upon swindling, or of gamblers for an opinion upon gambling, or of misers upon bounty? And if in matters of religion we allow pride and perverseness to raise a cloud between us and the truth, so that we see it not, the false opinion that we form is but the index of that perverseness and that pride, and both for them, and for it as their offspring, we shall be justly held responsible. Who they are upon whom this responsibility will fall it is not ours to judge. These laws are given to us, not to apply presumptuously to others, but to enforce honestly against ourselves. Next to a Christian life, my friends, you will find your best defence against reckless novelty

of speculation in sobriety of temper, and in sound intellectual habits. Be slow to stir inquiries which you do not mean particularly to pursue to their proper end. Be not afraid to suspend your judgment, or feel and admit to yourselves how narrow are the bounds of knowledge. Do not too readily assume that to us have been opened royal roads to truth, which were heretofore hidden from the whole family of man; for the opening of such roads would not be so much favour as caprice. If it is bad to yield a blind submission to authority, it is not less an error to deny to it its reasonable weight. Eschewing a servile adherence to the past, regard it with reverence and gratitude, and accept its accumulations in inward as well as outward things as the patrimony which it is your part in life both to preserve and to improve.'

For the catholicity of its sentiments, however, and the excellence of its counsel, one of the best addresses Mr. Gladstone ever delivered was that spoken in aid of the Buckley Institute and Reading-room, in the recess of 1878. It was specially directed to the working classes. The address covered a wide range of topics, and we can only touch upon those possessing a permanent interest. Referring to the friendly and benefit societies which abound throughout the country, Mr. Gladstone eulogised them for enabling the working population of this country to realise that idea of independence and self-support, which, while very desirable for all men, was most of all honourable, and even noble, in those who depended upon their daily labour for their daily bread. The only thing he exhorted them jealously to watch over was that the societies were based upon principles of sound calculation, so that those who had supported them in their youth and maturity, should not find in old age that their funds had disappeared. Mr. Gladstone's warning derived additional point from the fact that reports had been published of societies unsound in this respect. Touching upon co-operative societies, he hoped that in proportion as the retail dealers of the country came more and more to understand the best mode of carrying on their business—that is to say, of working it upon ready-money principles, instead of long credit—they would be able to compete advantageously with these societies. There were also societies for manufacturing productions, and some for carrying on farms, which would be beneficial by putting, to a certain extent, the working man in the position of the capitalist.

There was a broad liberality of view in the speaker's utterances upon the subject of trades unions, and also on the question of the employment of women. 'What I would always desire,' he said, 'in trades unions, and what I look upon as essential to their full utility is, that those who enter into such combinations shall fully and absolutely respect the liberty of those who do not wish to enter them, and further, that they shall, although it is a difficult lesson for them, adopt large and liberal principles with regard to all the points that touch them in the exercise of their professions. Questions such as the employment of women, the

employment of boys and young men, piecework, &c.—on the whole of these questions they should get rid of narrow and selfish views, and should adopt sound ones. I am bound to say that I think they are often lectured upon these narrow and selfish views by other people in higher stations who are very apt to act upon narrow and selfish views themselves when they can. But that is not the question. Is it the best for themselves? I am convinced that they should be large and liberal in all their views with regard to the employment of labour, because, after all, when men choose to put unnatural and unnecessary restrictions on the labour of women and children, what is that but putting it on the members of their own family, for these women and children are persons in intimate associations with them?'

Mr. Gladstone recognised the necessity for recreation and relaxation, and after alluding to the provision for games and refreshments, which were natural and proper, he touched upon the question of debate. He believed it to be a mistake to suppose that members of the community at large were not fit to meet together and debate like men those matters in which they were able to feel an interest. If they had the truth of confidence in their opinions, they should not be ashamed or afraid to compare them with others.

The last topic dealt with related to the greater facilities for intellectual improvement enjoyed by the working classes of the present day as compared with their predecessors. The materials were better and the access to the means of instruction far easier.

'It was said of Socrates that he called down philosophy from heaven, that the enterprise of certain enlightened publishers has taught them to work for the million, and that is a very important fact. When I was a boy I used to be fond of looking into a bookseller's shop, but there was nothing to be seen there that was accessible to the working man of that day. Take a Shakespeare, for example. I remember very well that I gave £2 16s. for my first copy; but you can get an admirable copy for 3s. Those books are accessible now which formerly were quite inaccessible. We may be told that you want amusement, but that does not exclude improvement. There are a set of worthless books written now and at times which you should avoid, which profess to give amusement; but in reading the works of such authors as Shakespeare and Scott there is the greatest possible amusement in its best form. Do you suppose that when you see men engaged in study that they dislike it? No. There is labour no doubt of a certain kind—mental labour, but it is so associated with interest all along that it is forgotten in the delight which it carries in its performance, and no people know that better than the working classes. I want you to understand that multitudes of books now are constantly being prepared and placed within reach of the population at large, for the most part executed by writers of a high stamp, having subjects of the greatest interest, and which enable you at a moderate price, not to get a cheap literature which is secondary in its quality, but to go straight into the very heart, if I may so say, into the sanctuary of the temple of literature—and become acquainted with the greatest and best works that the men of our country have produced. It is not to be supposed that working men, on coming home from labour, are to study Euclid and works of that character; and it is not to be desired unless in the case of very special gifts; but what is to be desired is that some effort should be made by men of all classes, and perhaps by none more than by the labouring class,

to lift ourselves above the level of what is purely frivolous, and to endeavour to find our amusement in making ourselves acquainted with things of real interest and beauty.'

Mr. Gladstone also delivered an address of great practical value on the occasion of the distribution of prizes at the Nonconformist School at Mill Hill, in June, 1879. In the outset, he impressed two necessary lessons upon the pupils. One was, he said, that those who had received prizes must take good care not to be inveigled by the first-fruits of their efforts into sluggishness, for that was a danger which beset the young, and premature success had been a snare to many. As for those who had not received prizes, the occasion which should inspire caution in others should inspire hope in them. It was upon perseverance that their future enterprise would depend. He therefore exhorted them to bear their disappointment like men, like Englishmen, like Christians. In comparing the relative advantages of Mill Hill School, and the great and wealthy seats of learning in the country, the speaker observed:—

'Do not suppose for a moment that I have come here to renounce my fidelity to those ancient schools whose interests are so deeply seated in my heart. You may not have the advantage—and it ought to be an advantage—of the noble and ancient memories connected with many great schools in the country. They ought to appeal with resistless force to all those who belong to them not to prove unworthy of those great memories, and I rejoice to say it is so—at any rate, in many among them. But, although you must be content with viewing in the future that which those great institutions have been able to do for themselves in the present and past, yet you have your advantages. If you are not sustained by ancient traditions, neither are you hampered by any prejudices which in certain cases may prevail. All that they have achieved is before you. Their great experiences are at your service and command. You have power to appropriate to yourselves every good rule they have made, and you have the power where you are not satisfied with the results to correct them. You have this enormous advantage under the peculiar conditions of this age. You, the authorities of these schools, and you, the boys, have not to contend in the same degree as have the authorities and boys of some of the ancient schools, with the tremendous dangers and temptations which the overflow of money associated with inadequate wisdom produces, not the extravagance of the boys only, but in many instances the more serious evil of parents giving to their boys that which they think will contribute to their happiness, but which, in fact, tends to weaken the fibre of character, to relax manly resolution, to anticipate at an early age enjoyments intended only for manhood. . . . These are great advantages; and that which others possess because their fathers handed it down to them, you, I hope, are gradually and progressively accumulating in order to hand it over to those who may come after you. However, it was a great and bold undertaking to establish a school of this kind in a field which was already occupied by those great institutions so well known to us as the public schools of England. But there was certainly one reason which I cannot shrink from noticing, and which I think constitutes not only the high merit, but the very high merit, of those who set themselves about founding Mill Hill School. . . . I need not say I pay them the highest honour for determining to give this advantage of a public school education, not on a basis merely neutral or negative with regard to religion, but, on a basis which would supply all their wants and enable the pupils, according to the conscientious convictions their parents entertain, and in which they have been reared, to prepare themselves for that Christian life on which they are about to enter. I earnestly hope that upon that basis on which you have begun you will continue to stand. As you have not been ashamed or afraid to face the difficult enterprise of founding

this public school, so I trust you will never be ashamed or afraid of recognising not a generalising and neutralising religion, but a religious teaching fully equal to all the honourable purposes of life.

Following this admirable passage, came a protest against the notion that education was a merely mechanical process; after which Mr. Gladstone spoke earnestly of the great value and importance attaching to the study of natural history. Having cited many other advantages to be derived from it, among them being that power of accurate deduction which is invaluable in the pursuit of every branch of knowledge, he observed, 'We all know how much has been done in the researches of our time by applying the principle of comparison—comparison, for example, of the structure of living bodies as the basis of modern biology, the comparison of the structures of languages as the basis of philology. Depend upon it, then, that the observation and analogy which natural history is continually suggesting, as it is valuable for the purposes of science, so it has a lighter but a most graceful and civilising use in supplying those analogies taken from the seen world and applicable to the unseen, assisting in giving to every work of the mind that grace and beauty which is just as appropriate and desirable, though it may not be so indispensable to it, as are the higher qualities of solidity and truth.' The concluding words of the address had reference to the cultivation of the higher virtues. 'I trust you know what are the qualities you ought to esteem and cherish—that your wish is to lead a life that is manful, modest, truthful, active, diligent, generous, and humble. You ought to take for your motto those wonderful words of the Apostle, where he says, "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report" —everything that is good is to be within your view, and nothing that is not good. I am certain that if you cherish those virtues you will never forget the basis of them, you will never forget where lies their root. I do not mean that in your periodical and your play you are continually to be parading your religious feelings and convictions. These are very deep and solemn subjects, and will grow in the shade rather than in the sunlight. Let them ever be in your minds, as they are indigenous to the root of every excellence. Whatever you aspire to, aspire above all to be Christians and to Christian perfection.'

Mr. Gladstone in his time has played many parts; but in none have his English good sense and manliness, his sagacity, and his deep moral feeling been so conspicuous as in his addresses upon education and kindred subjects. His political friends and opponents alike find here common ground upon which to pay him just

tribute. To the working classes especially have his addresses been most valuable. He has recalled them from the pursuit of social and industrial will-o'-the-wisps, while he has at the same time acknowledged their right to combine in every lawful manner for their well-being and prosperity. He has striven to show that labour, the universal lot of man, is honourable, and that social drones are the most prolific source of danger to the commonwealth. And while he has thus enjoined the value and sacredness of labour, by the wise and useful legislation which he has initiated, he has enabled the working man to treasure up the fruits of that labour, and to make provision for old age. Moreover, he has insisted upon the high and noble results which follow from culture and self-improvement, counselling the toilers in our factories and workshops that these are to be sought not alone for the material advantages they may bring, but for that deeper and richer good which follows upon the development of the mental and moral faculties. Mr. Gladstone has, in fine, ever urged the people onward in the path of real progress, and has shown them how, by self-denying and strenuous effort, they may enjoy for themselves, and extend to others, the blessings of a robust and a Christian civilisation.

CHAPTER XXIV.

RESIGNATION OF THE LIBERAL LEADERSHIP.

Mr. Gladstone definitely resigns the Liberal Leadership—Second Letter to Lord Granville—His Lordship's Reply—Public Opinion on the ex-Premier's Retirement—Speech of Mr. Forster at Bradford—The Liberal Party without a Leader—Claimants for the Post—Election of the Marquis of Hartington—Mr. Gladstone's appearances in the House of Commons—He supports the Burials Bill—Attacks the Budget.

WE have seen, from Mr. Gladstone's letter to Earl Granville, that the Liberal leader held himself at liberty to determine at any time, according as circumstances might dictate to him, whether he could with satisfaction continue in his onerous position as the active chief of the party. His friends, foreseeing the difficulties which must ensue from his withdrawal from the leadership, earnestly desired his continuance in the post where none could well follow him. But his retirement came earlier than was anticipated. Having thrown himself deeply into literary and controversial studies, and finding in the existing aspect of public affairs little hope of being able to render such service to the Liberal party and the country as he desired, Mr. Gladstone resolved on completing the act of resignation to which he had some time before referred as a not distant possibility.

Accordingly, early in January, 1875, he addressed a second letter to Lord Granville, announcing his resignation in decisive and unmistakable terms. 'The time has, I think, arrived,' wrote the ex-Premier, 'when I ought to revert to the subject of the letter which I addressed to you on March 12. Before determining whether I should offer to assume a charge which might extend over a length of time, I have reviewed, with all the care in my power, a number of considerations, both public and private, of which a portion, and these not by any means insignificant, were not in existence at the date of that letter. The result has been that I see no public advantage in my continuing to act as the leader of the Liberal party; and that, at the age of sixty-five, and after forty-two years of a laborious public life, I think myself entitled to retire on the present opportunity. This retirement is dictated to me by my personal views as to the best method of

spending the closing years of my life. I need hardly say that my conduct in Parliament will continue to be governed by the principles on which I have heretofore acted; and, whatever arrangements may be made for the treatment of general business, and for the advantage or convenience of the Liberal party, they will have my cordial support. I should, perhaps, add that I am at present, and mean for a short time to be, engaged on a special matter, which occupies me closely.'

Such a resignation on the part of a great political chief was without precedent; but while many lamented the step, none challenged the right of this eminent statesman to retire after forty-two years of active service. Even with a less brilliant catalogue of legislative achievements than his, it was surely within his own legitimate province to say when the time had come for putting off the political armour, and yielding the command of the Liberal forces into other hands. At the same time, the announcement came with so great a surprise upon the country that for the moment it could scarcely be realised. That he who for a considerable period had been the life and soul of one of the two great political parties in the State should thus suddenly relinquish its control, carried something like consternation into the ranks of those who were anxiously looking for the consolidation of the Liberal party. Efforts were made to induce Mr. Gladstone to reconsider his decision, but in vain; and in formally acknowledging the receipt of the ex-Premier's letter, Earl Granville wrote as follows:—'I have communicated to you in detail the reasons which made me profoundly regret and deprecate the conclusion at which you have arrived. Your late colleagues share these feelings to the fullest extent, and have regretted the failure of their endeavour to persuade you to come to a different decision. We have no doubt that the Liberal party, both in and out of Parliament, will feel as we do on the subject. The observations we have addressed to you are prompted by considerations of public advantage for the future, and not merely by our sense of your great services, and our sentiments of personal admiration and attachment.'

The daily and weekly press, both metropolitan and provincial, were all but unanimous in their expressions of sympathy and regret, and in recognising in Mr. Gladstone's retirement a loss to the nation. Many journals expressed a hope that the resignation was the result of a temporary depression, rather than of a lasting mood of mind; and, while assuming that there would be many occasions when his mind would revert to Westminster, they trusted also that a sense of duty to the nation would bring him back at recurrent intervals to the scene of so many triumphs.

Mr. Bright, in addressing his constituents at Birmingham, alluded to the few disparaging comments made upon the Liberal leader's withdrawal—comments scarcely noticeable amid the general expressions of esteem and regret. 'I will say nothing,' observed the right hon. member for Birmingham, 'in answer to ungenerous things that have been said and done. Of this I am well aware—that Mr. Gladstone, like an old and a noble Roman, can be content with deserving the praises of his country, even though some of his countrymen should deny them to him.'

Mr. Gladstone's retirement did not, of course, signify the end of his Parliamentary career. He would still tender such advice and counsel to his party as he was able, and appear from time to time in his place in the House of Commons. But the nature and meaning of the step could not be disguised. The previous session had witnessed a disorganised Opposition, but another was about to open which would find the party in yet more lamentable plight—without a chief and without a programme. Tributes were paid to the retiring leader in all parts of the country, and by persons of all shades and complexions of political opinion. But the feelings of those who most deeply felt his loss, and most truly assessed its significance, were, perhaps, best interpreted by Mr. Forster, when he remarked that although every one knew Mr. Gladstone's power and eloquence, it was only those who had been brought into close personal contact with him who knew what an example he had set in the absolute sincerity, the absolute want of selfishness or self-seeking in the principles and the manner in which he had conducted political life.* 'It is difficult for any one,' said the member for Bradford, 'who has not been brought into close contact with him, and seen him under occasions of difficulty such as those in which a colleague has seen him—occasions, I must say, not only of difficulty, but even of temptation—it is difficult for any one who has not been in that position thoroughly to realise what an example of purity, of self-sacrifice, and of disinterestedness he has set to politicians throughout the country, and to what an extent he, as far as he has acted, has raised the tone of political life. . . . I have only one word to add, and I think it is not unfitting to mention even in this business assembly, that, although he has thought proper from motives personal to himself, which are sufficient for himself and affecting his own personal life, to withdraw from the active leadership of one of the great parties in the State, yet I do not for one agree that that implies that he will withdraw from party or political life. I am sure that, as men of business—as members of a Chamber of Commerce—we should be the last

* Speech delivered at a meeting of the Bradford Chamber of Commerce.

persons to desire that. He has many claims upon the gratitude of his fellow countrymen for the services he has done them, and although perhaps not one of the greatest of those claims, yet a very great claim, is what he has done for commerce and men of business, by his advocacy of the true principles of trade, and by his introduction of principles of finance which have had the effect of making the taxes less onerous upon tradesmen and upon individuals than they have ever been before. It certainly is not for me to view with anything but with fear and alarm the thought that he could withdraw his talents and his power entirely from political or Parliamentary life. I am sure you will join me in the hope and trust that this will not be the case.' These sentiments were very largely echoed by the Conservatives, and of course entirely so by the Liberals. The former, for many reasons, as sincerely regretted his withdrawal as the latter.

The Liberal party now found themselves with a vacancy, and laboured under some bewilderment how to fill it. They had amongst them two men of genius, Mr. Lowe and Mr. Bright, and some half a dozen others with at least a passable title to statesmanlike qualities. It was known, however, that Mr. Bright would decline the post of leader, if elected; and whenever the name of Mr. Lowe was mentioned, it was invariably received with admissions of his striking intellectual power and ability, but as invariably also followed by a negative shaking of the head. Genius, when erratic, is much more troublesome than mediocrity. By-and-by only four names came to be discussed, viz., those of Mr. Forster, Sir W. Harcourt, Mr. Goschen, and Lord Hartington. The three first-named were subsequently withdrawn, Mr. Forster (whose claims were considered the strongest) writing to Mr. Adam as follows:—'It appears to me that I should not receive that general support without which I ought not to attempt to fulfil the duties of this most difficult though honourable post; and, therefore, though I must not be supposed to anticipate that the choice of the majority of the meeting would fall on me, I feel it my duty to state that, even should it chance to do so, I could not undertake the task.' It was understood that Mr. Gladstone thought the selection of Lord Hartington as his successor the most fitting that could be made under the circumstances. On the 3rd of February, about 140 members of the Liberal party met at the Reform Club to proceed to an election. Mr. Bright was voted to the chair, and Mr. Whitbread moved the following resolution:—'That this meeting desires to express its deep sense of the great loss which the country has sustained in the retirement of Mr. Gladstone from the leadership of the Liberal party.' Mr. Fawcett seconded the

motion, and in paying Mr. Gladstone a high tribute on behalf of his independent supporters, observed:—'When we opposed him, in the very height of his power—and I say this most advisedly—we never admired him more than in the hour of his defeat. I think that he bore that defeat with magnanimity, good feeling, and true nobility of character.' Mr. Villiers then proposed that the Marquis of Hartington should be requested to undertake the leadership of the Liberal party in the House of Commons. Mr. S. Morley, speaking for his own section of the House, seconded the motion, which was as warmly received as the previous resolution expressive of regret at Mr. Gladstone's retirement. Lord F. Cavendish, in responding for the noble Marquis, his brother, said that he would conscientiously, watchfully, and prudently devote his utmost strength and abilities to the service of the party, just as he was prepared to do had their choice fallen upon Mr. Forster or any other person. Mr. Bright referred to the many excellent qualities possessed by Lord Hartington.

Although his lordship lacked the great gifts of his predecessor—and his leadership cannot by any means be placed in comparison with that of his former chief—he lived to defeat the predictions of those who prophesied his failure, and to justify very largely the eulogium of Mr. Bright. Thus ended the brief interregnum in the Liberal leadership in the House of Commons.

Mr. Gladstone's appearances during the session were very infrequent. On more than one occasion, however, he addressed the House with something of his old fire. On the order for the second reading of Mr. Osborne Morgan's Burials Bill, on the 21st of April, he spoke in support of the measure. The bill proposed that, as regards interment in a parish churchyard, the friends of the deceased should have the power to elect what service they would have read over them. Mr. Gladstone, in supporting the second reading of the bill, said he could not give an entirely silent vote. While it was undoubtedly a real grievance that the clergy should be under an obligation to perform the service of the Church of England in cases where they and the parties concerned concurred in the desire that it should not be read, the bill did not profess to deal with that question. His hon. and learned friend had said it was a grievance that those who did not belong to the Church of England should be debarred from the power of having read over their friends the rites distinguishing their own forms of religion, and in that view he (Mr. Gladstone) concurred; but if it were deemed expedient that this grievance should be remedied, provision ought to be made by the bill in case of the attendance of large crowds of persons at the churchyard to hear a service over the deceased, or the address of a popular preacher. The clergy

were responsible for keeping the churchyards in order, and it was a serious question, if a churchyard were to receive damage, as to how the cost for repairing that damage should be met. It would be necessary to provide for that case (should the bill pass its second reading) in committee, and, while he reserved that point, he should give a very cheerful and hearty support to the measure.

Mr. Cross spoke powerfully against the bill, and Mr. Bright still more eloquently in its favour, but it was rejected by a majority of 14, the numbers being—For the second reading, 234; against, 248. This being a Wednesday sitting of the House, the numbers were unusually large. Only one Liberal, Mr. W. H. Forster, voted in the majority; while eight Conservatives—viz., Mr. S. Cave (a member of the Government), Mr. J. P. Corry, Mr. Russell Gurney, the Marquis of Hamilton, Mr. C. E. Lewis, Sir W. Stirling-Maxwell, Mr. C. W. Nevill, and the Hon. A. Walsh—voted in favour of the bill.

Sir Stafford Northcote's budget was viewed with mitigated interest upon its introduction, but on a consideration of Ways and Means in committee, Mr. Gladstone unexpectedly poured in his eloquence upon his successor like a flood. The principal feature in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's proposals related to the National Debt, for the gradual reduction of which he suggested a new kind of sinking fund, involving an annual charge in every budget for £28,000,000. The Chancellor of the Exchequer calculated that by 1885 £6,800,000 of debt would be paid off, and in thirty years' time £213,000,000.

Mr. Gladstone's chief objections were framed against the propositions with regard to post-office savings-banks and friendly societies' accounts, and to the proposed National Debt Sinking Fund. He maintained that the surplus for the ensuing year was over-estimated, and with the deductions which ought to be expected for the charge for the deficiency in friendly societies and savings-banks funds and Irish education, it would be entirely eaten up. Further, the Government ought to have submitted the supplementary estimates before proceeding to strike a balance between the revenue and expenditure of the year, but instead of that it was proposed to vote £185,000 for the reduction of debt, of which sum Government did not possess a single shilling. Mr. Gladstone pointed out three modes of reducing the National Debt, the first by surplus of revenue over expenditure, secondly by terminable annuities, and thirdly by fixed appropriations beforehand. Much had been done towards reducing the debt, and they had not yet, he considered, done enough; but he objected to the present plan to reduce it, because it was unreal, and based upon the supposition that large surpluses

would be received during the next thirty years. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had not one farthing of surplus himself, but presented an imaginary surplus of £500,000 for thirty years to come, for every one of which the surplus was founded on the assumption that future Chancellors of the Exchequer would do the reverse of what he had done. The world had produced wonders, but it never had, and never would, produce a Chancellor of the Exchequer who would have the courage to propose a new tax for the purpose of maintaining a sinking fund. 'History certainly has not produced any such creation; no such *lusus naturæ* has as yet appeared; and I do not think that the Government of a party which justly prides itself on adherence to the traditions of the past, on learning lessons from antiquity, on avoiding vain theories and keeping to the lessons of experience, ought to be the people to delude us by projects such as this into the marshes in which we shall be plunged, instead of remaining upon the safe high road by which we have hitherto travelled.' Mr. Gladstone concluded by describing the proposal as an atttempt to revert to a scheme of proceeding which, however well intended, had been exploded under the combined action of authority and experience.

Sir Stafford Northcote, while failing to answer many of Mr. Gladstone's arguments, replied by quoting Mr. Gladstone, the author of the scheme of terminable annuities, in opposition to Mr. Gladstone, the denouncer of the establishment of an artificial sinking fund for the extinction of the debt. Another attack was subsequently made upon the sinking fund proposition, but the bill in which it was embodied was carried by 189 votes to 122.

Mr. Gladstone supported the Government in their financial proposals with regard to the expenses of the Prince of Wales's visit to India, and also addressed the House on one or two other questions of less general interest which arose during this session. In the autumn he met the Hawarden cottage tenantry, and spoke in his usual felicitous vein, observing that there was nothing more characteristic of life in England than meetings of that description. But, for the time being, it is not in the right hon. gentleman's political or social, but in his controversial, character that we must view him. The questions which were closely occupying him in his semi-retirement were of a religious nature, and these were shortly to receive a full and vigorous exposition.

CHAPTER XXV.

RITUALISM AND VATICANISM.

Ecclesiastical Controversy—Mr. Gladstone's Essay on Ritualism—Modern Roman Catholicism—'Is the Church of England worth Preserving?'—Mr. Gladstone's Answer—Pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees—Papal Infallibility—Effects of the Dogma variously viewed by Roman Catholics—Papal Claim to Civil Allegiance—The Liberal Party and the Roman Catholics—Progress of Roman Catholicism—Replies to Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet—*Vaticanism: An Answer to Reproofs and Replies*—Reiteration of previous Charges—Mr. Gladstone and Cardinal Newman—General Conclusion on the Vatican Claims.

IN the recess of 1874, Mr. Gladstone continued the ecclesiastical controversy which had been initiated some months before in the House of Commons; but he now gave to it broader and deeper issues. There appeared in the October number of the *Contemporary Review* an essay by the ex-Premier, entitled 'What is Ritualism?' This article, which attained an immense circulation, excited the keenest interest. Mr. Gladstone gave this general definition of Ritualism:—'It is unwise, undisciplined reaction from poverty, from coldness, from barrenness, from nakedness; it is overlaying purpose with adventitious and obstructive incumbrance; it is departure from measure and from harmony in the annexation of appearance to substance, of the outward to the inward; it is the caricature of the beautiful; it is the conversion of help into hindrances; it is the attempted substitution of the secondary for the primary aim, and the real failure and paralysis of both.' The writer himself had no personal sympathy with excessive ornamentation in Divine service as a religious principle, but he regarded the question of high ritual as one of æsthetic taste. Herein he was at variance with large numbers of the Protestant section of the community, who saw in Ritualism something more than a mere predilection for ornament and ritual—the inner significance beneath the outer forms. 'The truth is,' Mr. Gladstone observed in one place, 'that in the word Ritualism there is involved much more than the popular mind seems to suppose. The present movement in favour of ritual is not confined to Ritualists, neither is it confined even to Churchmen. It has been, when all things are considered, quite as remarkable among Nonconformists and Presbyterians; not because they have

as much of it, but because they formerly had none, and because their system appeared to have been devised and adjusted in order to prevent its introduction, and to fix upon it even *in limine* the aspect of a flagrant departure from first principles.' Mr. Gladstone enlarged upon the fact that Dissenting chapels now had their crosses, their organs, richly-painted architecture, steeples, stained windows, elaborate chanting, &c.—all which, while perfectly true, had little or no bearing upon the dangers which Ritualism in the Church of England was believed to involve. The writer seemed almost disinclined to grapple with the real tendencies and symbolisms of Ritualism. He admitted, however, that an important connection between high doctrine and high ritual is to be traced to a considerable extent in the Church of England. If we were not the better for more ritual, he observed, we were the worse for it. A general augmentation of ritual, such as that going on around men on every side, if it were without corresponding enhancement of devotion, meant more light, but not more love.

The following passage in Mr. Gladstone's essay roused the indignation of the Roman Catholics to the highest pitch:—'There is a question which it is the special purpose of this paper to suggest for consideration by my fellow-Christians generally, which is more practical, and of greater importance, as it seems to me, and has far stronger claims on the attention of the nation and of the rulers of the Church, than the question whether a handful of the clergy are or are not engaged in an utterly hopeless and visionary effort to Romanise the Church and people of England. At no time since the sanguinary reign of Mary has such a scheme been possible. But, if it had been possible in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries, it would still have become impossible in the nineteenth; when Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith; when she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused; when no one can become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another; and when she has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history. I cannot persuade myself to feel alarm as to the final issue of her crusades in England, and this, although I do not undervalue her great powers of mischief.' This extract demonstrated Mr. Gladstone's courage and strict loyalty to conscience; for the very members of the community of whom he thus indirectly spoke were those from whom he had but recently struck their long-endured political and religious fetters. Yet in quarters where the writer had once been regarded as the champion of religious

and political freedom, he was now fiercely, bitterly, and unjustifiably assailed.

On the question of Ritualism, Mr. Gladstone expressed the view that 'the best touchstone for deciding what is wrong and defining what is right in the exterior apparel of Divine service, will be found in the holy desire and authoritative demand of the Apostle, "that the Church may receive edifying", rather than in abstract imagery of perfection on the one hand, or any form of narrow traditional prejudice on the other.' Beyond this, he formulated no general conclusions, but contented himself by reprinting the six resolutions in which, when the Public Worship Regulation Bill was before the House of Commons, he endeavoured to set forth what appeared to him to offer a safer and a wiser basis of legislation.*

To the numerous criticisms upon this essay, Mr. Gladstone published in the following year a general reply entitled, 'Is the Church of England worth Preserving?'† The writer observed that there had been an expectation that his previous essay might untie or cut the knot of the questions which had been so warmly if not fiercely agitated during the preceding session of Parliament; but he had no such ambitious aim. The season being now tranquil, the question might at length be approached in the temper of the chamber, and not of the battle-field. He deprecated a secession from the National Church, for such an event would operate, with reference to its nationality, like a rent in a wall, 'which is mainly important, not by the weight of material it detaches, but by the discontinuity it leaves.' But it was not only the severance of the Church into two bodies which might precipitate disestablishment; obstinacy and exasperation of internal strife might operate yet more effectively towards the same end. He earnestly urged it upon all the members of the National Church that the more they studied her place and function in Christendom, the more they would find that her unity, qualified but real, was worth preserving. Coming to one of the capital and cardinal points of his case, he expressed his conviction that 'heavy will be the blame to those, be they who they may, who may at this juncture endeavour—whether by legislation or by judicial action, and whether by alteration of phrases or by needlessly attaching doctrinal significance to the injunction or prohibition of ceremonial acts—to shift the balance of doctrinal expression in the Church of England.' To lessen the chances of a misapprehension of his arguments, Mr. Gladstone summed up, in

* These Resolutions will be found in Chapter XXIII.
† See the *Contemporary Review* for July, 1875.

the following propositions, the bearings and purport of his second essay:—

'I. The Church of this great nation is worth preserving, and for that end much may well be borne. II. In the existing state of minds and of circumstances, preserved it cannot be, if we now shift its balance of doctrinal expression, be it by any alteration of the Prayer Book (either way) in contested points, or be it by treating rubrical interpretations of the matters heretofore most sharply contested on the basis of "doctrinal significance." III. The more we trust to moral forces, and the less to penal proceedings (which are to a considerable extent exclusive one of the other), the better for the establishment, and even for the Church. IV. If litigation is to be continued, and to remain, within the bounds of safety, it is highly requisite that it should be confined to the repression of such proceedings as really imply unfaithfulness to the national religion. V. In order that judicial decisions on ceremonial may habitually enjoy the large measure of authority, finality, and respect, which attaches in general to the sentences of our courts, it is requisite that they should have uniform regard to the rules and results of full historical investigation, and should, if possible, allow to stand over for the future matters insufficiently cleared, rather than decide them upon partial and fragmentary evidence.'

Mr. Gladstone gave himself no rest in the ecclesiastical warfare. Within one month from the publication of his essay on Ritualism appeared from his pen a pamphlet on *The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance; a Political Expostulation.* His object now was to justify the assertions in the previous article which had been so much controverted by Roman Catholics. The propositions which occasioned the pamphlet on the Vatican Decrees, and which he now defended, were as follows:—'I. That Rome has substituted for the proud boast of *semper eadem* a policy of violence and change in faith. II. That she has refurbished and paraded anew every rusty tool she was fondly thought to have disused. III. That no one can now become her convert without renouncing his moral and mental freedom, and placing his civil loyalty and duty at the mercy of another. IV. That Rome has equally repudiated modern thought and ancient history.' Mr. Gladstone passed over briefly the first and fourth of these propositions, as they belonged to the theological domain; but, in justifying them, he remarked that no one who had followed the course of the literature of the Romish Church during the past forty years could fail to be sensible of the change in its present tenor. More and more had the assertions of continuous uniformity of doctrine receded into scarcely penetrable shadow. More and more had another series of assertions of a living authority, ever ready to open, adopt, and shape Christian doctrine according to the times, taken their place. With regard to the second branch of his subject, the writer cited a number of propositions respecting the liberty of the press, liberty of conscience, the Papal judgments and decrees, &c., the holders of which had been condemned by the See of Rome during his own generation, and especially within the last twelve or fifteen years. The third proposition by Mr. Gladstone was the most important, as it concerned

the operation of the Romish dogmas on personal and private duty. To this point he accordingly addressed himself at length. 'Is it, or is it not, true,' he demanded, 'that Rome requires a convert who now joins her to forfeit his moral and mental freedom, and to place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another?' Without imputing to any one the moral murder of stifling conscience and conviction, he could not, for one, be surprised that the fermentation which was working through the mind of the Latin Church had as yet (elsewhere than in Germany*) but in few instances come to the surface. Mr. Gladstone proceeded to show that the declarations made by Irish bishops before committees of the Houses of Lords and Commons, previous to the passing of the Catholic Emancipation Act, as well as decrees of councils and declarations of great ecclesiastical authorities in earlier and later times, were at variance with the new claims set up in 1870, and that the Roman Catholic authorities deprecated fifty years ago the very doctrines of allegiance which were now strongly asserted. All the propositions which had been formerly left to the individual conscience had now undergone a change, and been completely reversed. 'The Pope's Infallibility, when he speaks *ex cathedrâ* on faith and morals, has been declared, with the assent of the bishops of the Roman Church, to be an article of faith, binding on the conscience of every Christian; his claim to the obedience of his spiritual subjects has been declared in like manner without any practical limit or reserve; and his supremacy, without any reserve of civil rights, has been similarly affirmed to include everything which relates to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world. And these doctrines, we now know on the highest authority, it is of necessity for salvation to believe.' After a close examination of the character and bearings of the doctrine of Papal Infallibility, Mr. Gladstone thus generally enforced the effects of the dogma :—

'Absolute obedience, it is boldly declared, is due to the Pope, at the peril of salvation, not alone in faith, in morals, but in all things which concern the discipline and government of the Church. Thus are swept into the Papal net whole multitudes of facts, whole systems of government, prevailing, though in different degrees, in every country in the world. Even in the United States, where the severance between Church and State is supposed to be complete, a long catalogue might be drawn of subjects belonging to the domain and competency of the State, but also undeniably affecting the government of the Church; such as, by way of example, marriage, burial, education, prison discipline, blasphemy, poor-relief, incorporation, mortmain, religious endowments, vows of celibacy, and obedience. In Europe the circle is far wider, the points of contact and of interlacing almost innumerable. But on all matters respecting which any Pope may think proper to declare that they concern either faith, or morals, or the Government or discipline

* On more than one occasion it has been reported that Dr. von Döllinger (to whom Mr. Gladstone paid a high tribute) had made his submission on the doctrine of Papal Infallibility; but the learned Doctor himself has emphatically denied this to be the case.

of the Church, he claims, with the approval of a council undoubtedly ecumenical in the Roman sense, the absolute obedience, at the peril of salvation, of every member of his communion. It seems not as yet to have been thought wise to pledge the Council in terms to the Syllabus and the Encyclical. That achievement is probably reserved for some one of its sittings yet to come. In the meantime it is well to remember that this claim in respect of all things affecting the discipline and Government of the Church, as well as faith and conduct, is lodged in open day by and in the reign of a Pontiff who has condemned free speech, free writing, a free press, toleration of nonconformity, liberty of conscience, the study of civil and philosophical matters in independence of the ecclesiastical authority, marriage, unless sacramentally contracted, and the definition by the State of the civil rights *(jura)* of the Church; who has demanded for the Church, therefore, the title to define its own civil rights, together with a divine right to civil immunities and a right to use physical force; and who has also proudly asserted that the Popes of the middle ages with their councils did not invade the rights of princes: as, for example, Gregory VII., of the Emperor Henry IV.; Innocent III., of Raymond of Toulouse; Paul III., in deposing Henry VIII.; or Pius V., in performing the like paternal office for Elizabeth.'

Before such incontrovertible facts as these, and others of equal significance within the public knowledge, it may well have seemed extraordinary to the writer—as indeed it must have done to thousands of other persons—that men of the high intellectual eminence of Cardinals Newman and Manning should have subscribed to the dogmas promulgated from the Vatican. We are driven to the conclusion that such a subscription would have been impossible save under the influence of the strong soporific of casuistry.

Mr. Gladstone demanded in the most specific form, and in the clearest terms, one of two things—either, 'I. A demonstration that neither in the name of faith, nor in the name of morals, nor in the name of the government or discipline of the Church, is the Pope of Rome able, by virtue of the powers asserted for him by the Vatican decree, to make any claim upon those who adhere to his communion, of such a nature as can impair the integrity of their civil allegiance; or else, II. That, if and when such claim is made, it will, even although resting on the definitions of the Vatican, be repelled and rejected; just as Bishop Doyle, when he was asked what the Roman Catholic clergy would do if the Pope intermeddled with their religion, replied frankly, "The consequence would be that we should oppose him by every means in our power, even by the exercise of our spiritual authority."' In the absence of explicit assurances to this effect, Mr. Gladstone was compelled to adopt these conclusions:—'1. That the Pope, authorised by his Council, claims for himself the domain (*a*) of faith, (*b*) of morals, (*c*) of all that concerns the government and discipline of the Church. 2. That he in like manner claims the power of determining the limits of those domains. 3. That he does not sever them, by any acknowledged or intelligible line, from the domains of civil duty and allegiance. 4. That he therefore claims, and claims from the month of July, 1870, onwards,

with plenary authority from every convert and member of his Church, that he shall "place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another," that other being himself.'

The important question now arose that, being true, were the above propositions material? On this point, the author showed that there was not the smallest doubt the temporal power of the Popedom came within the meaning of the words used at the Vatican to describe the subjects on which the Pope was authorised to claim, under awful sanctions, the obedience of the 'faithful.' And it was possible we had here the key to the enlargement of the province of Obedience beyond the limits of Infallibility, and to the introduction of the remarkable phrase *ad disciplinam et regimen Ecclesiæ*. With regard to the inquiry whether his propositions were proper to be set forth by the present writer, Mr. Gladstone answered, that for thirty years, under a great variety of circumstances, in office and as an independent member of Parliament, he had laboured with others to maintain and extend the civil rights of his Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. The Liberal party had sometimes suffered heavily for its ardour in the pursuit of that policy. It was, therefore, only just that he should make the present declaration. Up to 1870, opinion in the Roman Church on all matters affecting civil liberty was free. Mr. Gladstone felt at that time that it was the first and paramount duty of the British Legislature to give to Ireland all that justice could demand. The last debt of the kind was paid by the Irish University Bill of 1873, and the rejection of that measure was due to the influence of the Roman Catholic prelacy of Ireland. 'From that time forward I have felt that the situation was changed, and that important matters would have to be cleared by suitable explanations.'

The writer anticipated the inquiry which his observations would suggest, viz., 'Are they, then, a recantation and regret; and what are they meant to recommend as the policy of the future?' His reply was succinct and plain—of what the Liberal party had accomplished, by word or deed, in establishing the full civil equality of Roman Catholics, he regretted nothing and recanted nothing. He admitted that during the last thirty years the Romish Church had made some progress, but its conquests had been chiefly—as might have been expected—among women.* Roman Catholicism had also made some progress amongst the upper classes. 'The original Gospel was supposed to be meant especially for the poor; but the Gospel of the nineteenth century from Rome courts another

* Recent statistics prove that the progress of the Romish Church in the United Kingdom is by no means commensurate with the growth of the population, or with the progress of some other religious bodies.

and less modest destination. If the Pope does not control more souls among us, he certainly controls more acres. The severance, however, of a certain number of lords of the soil from those who till it can be borne.' As to his own views and intentions in the future, which he described as of the smallest significance, the author declared that he should be guided, as heretofore, by the rule of maintaining equal civil rights, irrespectively of religious differences; and he should resist all attempts to exclude the members of the Roman Church from the benefit of that rule. Mr. Gladstone thus concluded this remarkable pamphlet:—

'The State will, I trust, be ever careful to leave the domain of religious conscience free, and yet to keep it to its own domain; and to allow neither private caprice, nor, above all, foreign arrogance to dictate to it on the discharge of its proper office. "England expects every man to do his duty;" and none can be so well prepared under all circumstances to exact its performance as that Liberal party which has done the work of justice alike for Nonconformists and for Papal Dissidents, and whose members have so often, for the sake of that work, hazarded their credit with the markedly Protestant constituencies of the country. Strong the State of the United Kingdom has always been in material strength, and its moral panoply is now, we may hope, pretty complete. It is not then for the dignity of the Crown and people of the United Kingdom to be diverted from a path which they have deliberately chosen and which it does not rest with all the myrmidons of the Apostolic chamber either openly to obstruct or secretly to undermine. It is rightfully to be expected, it is greatly to be desired, that the Roman Catholics of this country should do in the nineteenth century what their forefathers of England, except a handful of emissaries, did in the sixteenth, when they were marshalled in resistance to the Armada, and in the seventeenth, when, in spite of the Papal Chair, they sat in the House of Lords under the Oath of Allegiance. That which they are entitled to desire, we are entitled also to expect; indeed, to say we did not expect it would, in my judgment, be the true way of conveying an "insult" to those concerned. In this expectation we may be partially disappointed. Should those to whom I appeal, thus unhappily come to bear witness in their own persons to the decay of sound, manly, true life in their Church, it will be their loss more than ours. The inhabitants of these islands, as a whole, are stable, though sometimes credulous and excitable; resolute, though sometimes boastful; and a strong-headed and stout-hearted race will not be hindered, either by latent or by avowed dissents, due to the foreign influence of a caste, from the accomplishment of its mission in the world.'

Few pamphlets, or indeed works of any kind, have created so much public excitement, or attained such an enormous circulation, as this dissertation on the Vatican Decrees. In the course of a few weeks no fewer than one hundred and twenty thousand copies of the pamphlet had been disposed of, and replies innumerable appeared within the same period.* Mr. Gladstone's essay performed one service at least—it demonstrated that there was a want of harmony between the members of the Romish Church themselves on the subject of the Vatican Decrees. For example,

* The following is a list of the chief writers of replies to Mr. Gladstone's essay:—Cardinal Manning, Dr. (Cardinal) Newman, Bishop Ullathorne, Bishop Vaughan, Monsignor Capel, Lord Petre, Lord Herries, Sir G. Bowyer, Lord Robert Montagu, a Monk of St. Augustine's, Ramsgate, Bishop Clifford, Rev. J. Coleridge, Rev. T. B. Parkinson, Monsignor Francesco Nardi, Mr. A. P. de Lisle, Canon Oakley, Mr. Marum, LL.B., Rev. John Curry, Mr. J. Stores Smith, and a Scottish Catholic Layman. A great number of anonymous replies were also published, as well as strictures upon Mr. Gladstone's conclusions, in the Ultramontane press.

Lord Camoys, a well-known Catholic nobleman, declared that he concurred in Mr. Gladstone's views upon the new dogmas of the Church. 'History, common-sense, and his early instruction—said his lordship—forbade him to accept the astounding and novel doctrine of the personal Infallibility of the Pope, even though limited to the domain of faith and morals. He took exception to nothing in Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet but the term 'bloody,' as applied to Queen Mary. 'If the Vatican Decrees were enforced, serious difficulties would arise for the members of the Roman Catholic Church throughout the world. Lord Acton, one of the most intellectual and enlightened of Catholics, claimed that he could be an orthodox Romanist, and yet resist the Vatican Decrees. Mr. Henry Petre likewise repudiated the high Ultramontane views. Other members of the Romish communion, however, such as Lord Herries, Lord Petre, Mr. Stourton, and Mr. Langdale, accepted the Decrees. Upon the appearance of the pamphlet, two prominent Italian journals, the *Osservatore* and the *Voce della Verità*, could scarcely believe it possible that it was Mr. Gladstone who thus attacked the Holy See. They imagined that he had done this deed to clear himself of the suspicion of hidden Catholicism, and the former journal hinted that the essay might have been the result of certain interviews which Mr. Gladstone was known to have had with Dr. von Döllinger.* Both journals further expressed a hope that the offender might be brought ultimately within the pale of the 'true Church,' a consummation scarcely likely to be realised.

Three months after the appearance of his first pamphlet, Mr. Gladstone issued a second, entitled *Vaticanism: an Answer to Reproofs and Replies*. Those who adopted the Ultramontane hypothesis had charged him with insulting the Roman Catholics of Great Britain. Mr. Gladstone repudiated all such intention, but in doing so reiterated his original charges as follows:—'The Vatican Decrees do, in the strictest sense, establish for the Pope a supreme command over loyalty and civil duty. To the vast majority of Roman Catholics they are, and in all likelihood will long in their carefully enveloped meaning remain, practically unknown. Of that small minority who have spoken or fitted themselves to speak a portion reject them. Another portion receive them with an express reserve, to me perfectly satisfactory, against all their civil consequences. Another portion seem to suspend their judgment until it is determined what is a free

* Cardinal Manning and Bishop Ullathorne also supposed Dr. von Döllinger to be in some degree responsible for, or at least cognisant of, the tract on the Vatican Decrees; but Mr. Gladstone afterwards stated that the learned Doctor had no concern, direct or indirect, in the production or publication of the pamphlet, and that until it had gone to the press he was even ignorant of its existence.

Council, what is moral unanimity, what are declarations *ex cathedrâ*, whether there has been a decisive and binding promulgation so as to create a law, and whether the claim for an undue obedience need be considered until some act of undue obedience is asked. A very large class, as it seems to me, think they receive these Decrees, and do not. They are involved in inconsistency, and that inconsistency is dangerous.' He did not censure the supporters of the Decrees: the Alpha and Omega of his desire was to assail the system.

The writer paid a high compliment to his most distinguished antagonist, Dr. Newman. 'In my opinion,' he remarked, 'his secession from the Church of England has never yet been estimated among us at anything like the full amount of its calamitous importance. It has been said that the world does not know its greatest men;* neither, I will add, is it aware of the power and weight carried by the words and by the acts of those among its greatest men whom it does know. The Ecclesiastical historian will perhaps hereafter judge that this secession was a much greater event even than the partial secession of John Wesley, the only case of personal loss suffered by the Church of England since the Reformation, which can be at all compared with it in magnitude. I do not refer to its effect upon the mere balance of schools or parties in the Church; that is an inferior question. I refer to its effect upon the state of positive belief, and the attitude and capacities of the religious mind of England.' After having given an extraordinary impulse to the religious thought of England at a critical period, Dr. Newman lived to be the main, if involuntary, cause of disorganising it in a manner quite as remarkable.

With regard to the character of Dr. Newman's answer, and the replies of other acceptors of the Decrees who wrote in the same sense, Mr. Gladstone could not refrain from saying that the immediate purpose of his appeal had been attained, in so far as that the loyalty of his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects in the mass remained evidently untainted and secure. Dr. Newman's letter to the Duke of Norfolk Mr. Gladstone pronounced to be of the highest interest as a psychological study. 'Whatever he writes, whether we agree with him or not, presents to us this great attraction as well as advantage, that we have everywhere the man in the work, that his words are the transparent covering of his nature. If there be obliquity in them, it is purely intellectual obliquity; the work of an intellect sharp enough to cut

* This thought, so often attributed to a wrong source, appears in Sir Henry Taylor's *Philip van Artevelde*, Act I., sc. 5, 'The world knows nothing of its greatest men.'

the diamond, and bright as the diamond which it cuts. How rarely it is found, in the wayward and inscrutable records of our race, that with these instruments of an almost superhuman force and subtlety, robustness of character and energy of will are or can be developed in the same extraordinary proportions, so as to integrate that structure of combined thought and action which makes life a moral whole!' But his exclusive duty now was concerned with the learned Doctor's tract, and on the general question he must avow that he did not feel the same security for the future as for the present. He could not overlook indications, even in this country, that the proceedings of Vaticanism threatened to become a source of practical inconvenience. With respect to Archbishop Manning, that prelate's satisfactory views on the present rule of civil allegiance had not prevented him from giving his countenance as a responsible editor to the lucubrations of a gentleman who denied liberty of conscience, and asserted the right to persecute when there was the power; a right which, indeed, the Archbishop himself had not disclaimed. But apart from personal questions, do what men might in checking external developments, it was not in their power to neutralise the mischiefs of the wanton aggression of 1870 upon the liberties which up to that epoch had been allowed to private Christians in the Roman communion. 'Even in those parts of Christendom where the Decrees and the present attitude of the Papal See do not produce or aggravate open broils with the civil power, by undermining moral liberty they impair moral responsibility, and silently, in the succession of generations, if not in the lifetime of individuals, tend to emasculate the vigour of the mind.'

In the body of this second essay, Mr. Gladstone proceeded further to sustain and prove his two main propositions—that Rome had reproduced for active service those doctrines of former times which she was fondly thought to have disused; and that the Pope now claims, with plenary authority, from every convert and member of his Church, that he shall place his loyalty and civil duty at the mercy of another, viz., himself. The writer adduced proofs to show that his account of the contents of the Syllabus was accurate, and that he had understated, not overstated, its authority. In the code of Vaticanism, it was unquestionably entitled to obedience. The other topics treated were the Vatican Council and the Infallibility of the Pope, the revived claims of the Pope, the Vatican Council and obedience to the Pope, warrant of allegiance according to the Vatican, and the intrinsic nature and conditions of the Papal Infallibility decreed in the Vatican Council. Mr. Gladstone brought forward a variety of arguments

and proofs in justification of the following general conclusions or assertions:—'1. That the position of Roman Catholics has been altered by the decrees of the Vatican on Papal Infallibility, and in obedience to the Pope. 2. That the extreme claims of the Middle Ages have been sanctioned, and have been revived without the warrant or excuse which might in those ages have been shown for them. 3. That the claims asserted by the Pope are such as to place civil allegiance at his mercy. 4. That the State and people of the United Kingdom had a right to rely on the assurances they had received, that Papal Infallibility was not, and could not become, an article of faith in the Roman Church, and that the obedience due to the Pope was limited by laws independent of his will.' Here are the closing words of the author's eloquent peroration:—'As freedom can never be effectually established by the adversaries of that Gospel which has first made it a reality for all orders and degrees of men, so the Gospel never can be effectually defended by a policy which declines to acknowledge the high place assigned to liberty in the counsels of Providence, and which, upon the pretext of the abuse that like every other good she suffers, expels her from its system. Among the many noble thoughts of Homer, there is not one more noble or more penetrating than his judgment upon slavery. "On the day," he says, "that makes a bondman of the free,

Wide-seeing Zeus takes half the man away."

He thus judges, not because the slavery of his time was cruel—for evidently it was not—but because it *was* slavery. What he said against servitude in the social order, we may plead against Vaticanism in the spiritual sphere; and no cloud of incense which zeal or flattery, or even love, can raise should hide the disastrous truth from the vision of mankind.'

In addition to the publication of these essays on the subject of Vaticanism, Mr. Gladstone contributed a vigorous and searching criticism upon the speeches of Pope Pius IX. to the *Quarterly Review* for January, 1875. The writer's indignation at the Papal assumptions finds full vent in this article, which reviews the chief events in the career of the late Pope, and, in certain aspects, leaves him exposed to the derision of humanity.

It may, perhaps, be taken for granted, that of all forms of controversy the religious is the least effectual in winning converts from one form of belief to another, and to those principles which the respective combatants believe to be in accordance with reason, truth, and justice. Many men practically decline to submit their individual religion to the tests demanded of it; and, therefore,

amongst Roman Catholics, Mr. Gladstone's controversial writings may have had little effect, notwithstanding the cogency of their arguments. But to the rest of the world, at any rate, these essays have afforded substantial aid in demonstrating the hollowness of the Papal pretensions, as well as their insidious and dangerous character.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MR. GLADSTONE'S FINANCIAL POLICY.

Beneficial results of Mr. Gladstone's Financial Legislation—Testimony of Sir Stafford Northcote—Review of Twenty Years of Financial Policy—The Budget of 1853—Compared with Sir Robert Peel's Budget of 1842—The Chancellor of the Exchequer on the Necessity for Retrenchment—Mr. Gladstone on the Financial Policy of the Beaconsfield Administration—Liberal and Conservative Expenditure compared—The General Expenditure of the Country—A growing Deficiency—Taxes remitted by the Gladstone Administration.

THE various budgets for which Mr. Gladstone was directly responsible have been dealt with at length in the order of their introduction into the House of Commons; but it remains now to offer some observations upon the general character and effect of his marvellous financial policy, as well as to contrast it briefly with the policy pursued by his successors. In fulfilling this task, we are fortunately able to fall back upon the compilations and statistics of persons whose authority in matters of finance will scarcely be disputed.

For we shall call as a witness to the beneficial results of Mr. Gladstone's financial legislation no less a person than his whilom pupil, the leader of the Conservative party. In an able, and—so far as finance can be made so—interesting review of twenty important years of financial policy, viz., those extending from 1842 to 1861 inclusively, Sir Stafford Northcote shows the great changes which have been effected in national finance.* Although the right hon. baronet does not, for personal reasons stated, enter largely into a consideration of the very important budget of 1860, his general conclusions upon the financial measures of that and previous years will sufficiently answer our purpose. The period reviewed commences with Sir Robert Peel's imposition of the income-tax in 1842, and extends to the repeal of the paper duties in 1861. As the writer justly remarks, the fortunes of the income-tax, and the work done by its aid, 'give a kind of dramatic unity to this period, which would alone be sufficient to make the study of it

* *Twenty Years of Financial Policy.* By Sir Stafford H Northcote, Bart., M.P. for Stamford. London, 1862.

interesting; but in addition to this, we have, in the course of these twenty years, seen our financial system exhibited in all its bearings; and examples have been given of almost every kind of financial problem.' Passing over the great financial measures of 1842 and 1845—with which Sir Robert Peel's Ministry was associated, and which formed the starting-point of a new financial *régime*—we will come to the year 1853, one of the most important of the whole period dealt with by Sir Stafford Northcote. Mr. Gladstone's analysis of the income-tax in his budget of this year has already been referred to in detail. As Sir Stafford says, 'It is almost impossible to condense this portion of Mr. Gladstone's speech; so consummate is the skill with which the topics are arranged and presented to his audience. Wholly apart from the merits of the scheme he proposes, the speech itself, and especially this part of it, will repay the most careful study as a specimen of persuasive reasoning.' On the general character of this remarkable budget, the same writer observes, 'We miss in it the caution, which is perhaps the most striking feature of the financial plans of Sir Robert Peel; while in its place we meet with a boldness of conception, a love of effect, and a power of producing it, such as we do not find even in the remarkable budget of 1842. Yet it would be unjust to Mr. Gladstone to find fault with him on this account. When we look at the circumstances of the case, we cannot but feel that it was of the utmost importance to the financial prosperity of the country that a stand should be made against that of which Mr. Disraeli had so justly complained—the tendency of the leaders of public opinion to decry and render impossible every mode of raising the necessary revenues; and . . . we may well believe that nothing less than a striking scheme like that which Mr. Gladstone brought forward would at that time have sufficed to save the finances from the most serious confusion.' Moreover, 'had not events occurred which led to a large increase of our expenditure before the arrival of 1860, his calculations would have been nearly or quite verified; that is, provided the House had abstained for the whole seven years from demanding any new remissions of taxation.' With regard to the Crimean War, Sir S. Northcote observes that it revealed to us many imperfections in our military system; but the strain on our finances brought to light nothing but their soundness and their vigour. 'Could we have borne that strain as we did,' he asks, 'if it had not been for the life which Sir Robert Peel first infused, and which Mr. Gladstone afterwards renewed, in our fiscal system, and but for which 1854 might have found us struggling with an overwhelming deficiency, or inextricably entangled in the toils which must attend a reconstruction of the income-tax? It was well for

England, in this respect at least, that we had set our house in order before the day of trial came upon us.' Mr. Gladstone could desire no better tribute than this to his capacity as a Finance Minister. In assessing the general result of the financial policy pursued from 1842 to 1861—in which Mr. Gladstone had so large a share—Sir Stafford Northcote arrives at the conclusion that the condition of every portion of the community has been greatly improved by the new policy.

With regard to the financial policy which prevailed after Mr. Gladstone's retirement from office, the right hon. gentleman himself described it in an article entitled 'The Country and the Government.'* Complaining of the pretensions and theatrical policy of the existing Administration, he remarked that it could not be had without paying heavily for the decorations and stage accompaniments. 'The stock of courage which our Ministers possessed was lavishly expended, partly in act and partly in word, for the management of their transactions beyond sea. The consequence has been that for domestic duties, and for the first of all domestic duties, after allegiance to the Throne—namely, the duty of maintaining a just balance between income and charge, and of relieving the future at least by moderate present sacrifices —they have not so much as an ounce of courage left. The result has been a financial policy such as all the Ministries of the last forty years would have disdained; and, what is even worse, the invention of a group of false financial doctrines, unknown to our annals, to cover the shortcomings, the miscarriages, and the malpractices of recent finance.' Mr. Gladstone also pointed out that in some cases the advocates of the Ministry had resorted to the simple but effectual plan of pure falsification. One journal, for example, stated that the expenditure of 1873-4 was £77,044,852, and the income £76,788,167—thus showing a deficiency of £256,685; whereas the expenditure was £76,466,000, and the revenue £77,335,000, showing a surplus of £869,000. Another journal affirmed that since the Conservatives had been in office they had paid in *Alabama* claims £3,196,875; whereas the *Alabama* claims were paid in 1873-4, the last year of Liberal finance. A table had also been constructed—and it had even been employed by a Minister of State—showing, not the comparative expenditure, but the comparative taxation of the Liberal and Conservative Governments since the year 1869. This table gave as the amount of taxation per head for the five years during which the Liberal Government were in office £10 7s. 0¾d., and the

* See the *Nineteenth Century* for August, 1879.

amount per head for the five years during which the Conservative Government was in office as £10 3s. 0¾d., leaving a balance of 4s. per head in favour of Lord Beaconsfield. 'Upon this principle,' wrote Mr. Gladstone, 'any scapegrace in St. James's-street, with a small annual allowance, and an immeasurable length of unpaid bills, could prove himself, by showing the small amount he had *paid* from year to year, to be the most thrifty of men. The economy of a State is to be measured not by the liabilities it discharges, but by the liabilities it incurs.' The writer further pointed out that the Liberal Government began with a high taxation because of the high scale of charge it inherited from the Tories, and of the four millions or thereabouts due for the Abyssinian war, which was also handed over to them. 'This rate of taxation they reduced by more than two shillings per head, while applying large sums to the reduction of debt; while encountering the highest price for supplies that had ever been known; and while meeting a large increase of military expenditure in 1870, which was forced upon them solely by the policy of two great foreign powers.'

Let us now look at the general expenditure of the country. In 1873-4—less the *Alabama* claims, which had no connection with the transactions of the year—the gross annual expenditure stood at £73,270,000; in 1878-9 it stood at £85,407,000. Excluding charges of collection, the amount for 1873-4 was £66,800,000, and for 1878-9, £77,457,000; showing an increase of £10,657,000. Looking only to that portion of the charge which is both annual and subject generally to the option of Parliament, Mr. Gladstone stated the case thus:—Last year of Liberal expenditure, less *Alabama* claims, 1873-4, £41,853,000; last year of Tory expenditure, 1878-9, £51,817,000—showing an increase of £9,964,000, or, in round numbers, ten millions of money, 'mainly due to the policy and the profusion of the Ministry.' This sum represents a proportional augmentation of nearly twenty per cent., or one-fifth, in five years. 'Aided by the heavy fall in the prices of all materials requiring to be purchased for the public service to the extent of £1,600,000, the Government at the commencement of the year presented military and naval estimates which showed reductions of £2,008,000 and £1,524,000 respectively; desirous obviously that the grey hairs of this Parliament might go down to the grave in better odour than that which environed it in the days of its vigour. But it is now evident that the demands of the Zulu war must dissipate the fond expectations thus raised. The charge (still unknown) for 1879-80 is more likely to exceed than to fall short of that for 1878-9, and the choice before us seems to

lie between heavy and discreditable deficit and fresh taxation. The annual surpluses available for the reduction of debt, which averaged more than three and a quarter millions during the five years of the late Government, sank during the first three years of the present Ministry to half a million, and during the two last have been replaced by deficits of £2,640,000 and £2,292,000 respectively.'

According to the *Statistical Abstract of the United Kingdom*, published by the Board of Trade, the following figures show the actual amount of national expenditure for which the Liberals were responsible during five years of power under Mr. Gladstone: —1870, £68,864,752; 1871, £69,548,539; 1872, £71,490,020; 1873, £70,714,448; and 1874, £76,456,510. The expenditure for 1874 embraced a sum of upwards of £3,000,000 paid in settlement of the *Alabama* claims. The expenditure during five years of Tory rule was as follows:—1875, £74,328,040; 1876, £76,620,773; 1877, £78,125,227; 1878, £82,403,495; and 1879, £85,407,789. The army and navy estimates during the Liberal *régime*—that is, from 1869 to 1873—yield a total of £149,273,630; the same estimates during the Conservative *régime*—viz., from 1874 to 1878—gave a total of £166,013,989. Nor does this excess of nearly seventeen millions include the enormous sums that were voted for war purposes. In thirteen years during which the Liberals held office, between 1857 and 1878, they repealed or reduced taxes to the amount of £42,816,329, and laid on taxes to the amount of only £3,050,086, showing a balance in their favour of £39,766,243. The Conservatives, in their nine years of power during the same period, reduced taxation by £6,270,123 only; while they imposed new taxes to the amount of £12,374,050, thus leaving a balance against them of £6,103,927.

The financial history of the past quarter of a century has surely taught the nation the vast superiority of a policy of peace, progress, and retrenchment over that of a 'spirited foreign policy.' War is sometimes necessary for the maintenance of national rights and the vindication of national honour, and no true Englishman would be wanting in patriotism at such a crisis; but who would venture to affirm that history will acquit England of all responsibility for the wars which Lord Beaconsfield waged in her name?

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE EASTERN QUESTION.

Mr. Gladstone's Views on the Eastern Question—The Rising in the Herzegovina—The Andrassy Note—Conference of the Emperors at Berlin—England and the Berlin Memorandum—The Massacres in Bulgaria—Indignation in England—Servia and Montenegro declare War against Turkey.—The English Fleet despatched to Besika Bay—Mr. Disraeli and the 'Bulgarian Atrocities'—Mr. Baring's Corroboration of the Outrages in Bulgaria—Publication of Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet—The Writer's Demands—The ex-Premier's Address on Blackheath—The Policy of Europe—Necessity for Co-operation between England and Russia—Lord Beaconsfield at Aylesbury—Turkey agrees to an Armistice—The Constantinople Conference—Great Meeting at St. James's Hall on the Eastern Question—Speech of Mr. Gladstone—Letter from Mr. Carlyle—Failure of the Conference at Constantinople—Parliamentary Debates on the Eastern Question—Mr. Gladstone's Reply to Mr. Chaplin—Appeal on the General Question—Protocol signed at the English Foreign Office—Rejected by Turkey—Declaration of War by Russia—Great Debate in the House of Commons—Mr. Gladstone's Five Resolutions—Eloquent Speech of the Mover—The First Resolution defeated—The ex-Premier at Birmingham and Holyhead—Elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University—Course of the Russo-Turkish War—Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone—Another Debate in the House of Commons—Panic on the Stock Exchange—Treaty of San Stefano—The Bases of Peace—Objected to by England.

PERHAPS no period of Mr. Gladstone's career has been the subject of so much animadversion as that in which he made his series of public utterances upon the complications in Eastern Europe. It has frequently been urged against the late leader of the Liberal party that his views upon foreign affairs were narrow, contracted, and impracticable; and yet it was by no means unreasonable to suppose that his much-canvassed 'bag and baggage' policy with regard to Turkey would prove to be the only permanent solution of the Eastern Question, as it specially affected the Christian provinces of the Ottoman Empire. It is not our purpose, however, to show either that Mr. Gladstone has invariably been right or that his opponents have invariably been wrong, in the attitude they have respectively assumed at the various stages of this vexed and intricate question. The time is too near for a final deliverance upon the subject, and more than any other, probably, it is one which it will be wise to leave to the unbiassed judgment and the calm arbitrament of history. At the same time, we cannot pass to the mere retrospect of facts which it is our intention only to give, without recalling to general recollection how closely many

of the earliest predictions of Mr. Gladstone upon the Eastern Question have been verified and fulfilled.

Before dealing with those addresses in which Mr. Gladstone roused in so remarkable a degree the feelings of the English people in favour of the oppressed nationalities of Turkey, we will rapidly recapitulate the events which led to the great conflict in the East of Europe. Turkish oppression, which had long prevailed in its worst forms, at length resulted in an outbreak in the Herzegovina. This insurrectionary movement began on the 1st of July, 1875, and, without tracing its gradual stages, it will be sufficient to state that it ultimately led to an open and formal conflict with the Ottoman Government. This movement was as the letting out of waters, and in a short time the Eastern Question was re-opened in all its fulness. The cruel oppression of the Herzegovinian peasantry by their Mahommedan landlords, was the first stage in the new phase of that question for which the wisest diplomatic minds in Europe saw no settlement save by the adoption of thoroughly root measures. Hostilities ensued, and in January, 1876, the Herzegovinians gained a victory over the Turks. A few days later, the Austrian statesman, Count Andrassy, drew up a Note containing a scheme of reforms in favour of the insurgents of Herzegovina; and this being communicated to the Porte by the Austrian, Russian, and German Ambassadors, it was accepted by the Sultan's Government on the 6th of February. Early in May, however, another insurrection broke out in several Bulgarian villages, and this was followed a week afterwards by the atrocities at Batak, committed by Bashi-Bazouks—atrocities which sent a thrill of horror throughout Europe. Affairs had become so serious that on the 11th of May, the Emperor of Russia, accompanied by Prince Gortschakoff, arrived at Berlin to confer with Count Andrassy, the Emperor William, and Prince Bismarck, on the Eastern Question generally. On the 22nd, in both Houses of the English Parliament, Ministers announced that they had been unable to concur in the Memorandum drawn up at the Berlin Conference—an intimation which caused considerable surprise throughout the country. The public feeling was not calmed when it became known two days later that the British fleet in the Mediterranean had been ordered to Besika Bay. By the 28th of June the insurrection in Bulgaria was suppressed, and on the 10th the Sultan Abdul Aziz was deposed at Constantinople. He was succeeded by Murad V., who issued an imperial Hatt, stating that he desired a Government which should best guarantee the liberties of all. In consequence of the changed condition of affairs, on the 9th of June Mr. Disraeli stated in the House of Commons that the Berlin Memorandum would not

be presented, and that the steps taken by her Majesty's Government in Turkish affairs were such as he believed would lead to the maintenance of an honourable peace.

How far these optimist views were justified was speedily shown by events which we now look back upon with horror. Within a fortnight only from Mr. Disraeli's declaration, England was moved with indignation at the revelations published in the *Daily News* from its correspondent at Constantinople, respecting the massacres in Bulgaria by the Moslems. Thousands of innocent men, women, and children, it was stated, had been slaughtered; at least sixty villages had been utterly destroyed; the most terrible scenes of violence had been committed; and a district once the most fertile in the empire had been completely ruined. Crimes had been committed on a scale unknown in Europe for many years. Forty girls were shut up in a straw loft and burnt, and outrages of the most fearful description were committed upon hundreds of unfortunate captives.

While the whole heart of Great Britain was stirred, it was left for an English Prime Minister to grow jocular upon cruelties and sufferings almost unparalleled in the world's history. In the House of Commons, in answer to an interpellation upon the Bulgarian massacres, Mr. Disraeli expressed his belief that the outrages committed by the Turkish troops had been exaggerated; while as to the torture of impalement (which had caused universal disgust and anger), he had only to remark that an Oriental people generally terminated their connection with culprits in a more expeditious manner! Mr. Disraeli's belief, however, was as unfounded as his witticism was callous and heartless, for the substantial accuracy of the statements in the *Daily News* was afterwards duly attested.

Before the end of June, Prince Milan left Belgrade and joined his army on the frontier. In a proclamation issued to his people, he declared that, since the insurrection broke out in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the situation of Servia had become intolerable. Notwithstanding his neutral attitude, the Porte had continued to send military forces and savage hordes to the Servian frontier. 'To remain longer in moderation,' said the Prince, 'would be weakness.' The Montenegrins next united with Servia in declaring war against Turkey. The Servians were defeated near Novi Bazar, in Bosnia, on the 6th of July, with considerable loss. It is unnecessary to follow the fortunes of the warfare now set on foot between Turkey and the insurrectionary provinces. Debates in the House of Commons on the progress of events in the East were of frequent occurrence, and on the 30th of July—in answer to Mr. Glad-

stone, who had defended the Crimean War, and expressed his strong desire for the restoration of the European concert in the East—Mr. Disraeli explained that the despatch of the Fleet to Besika Bay implied no threat to anybody: it was not sent to protect the Turkish Empire, but the British Empire. On the following day Mr. Gladstone again returned to the subject, and Mr. Disraeli rejoined that the Berlin Memorandum had nothing to do with the present war, which was one of aggression. The policy of the English Government, he said, had been approved by the other Powers. Lord Derby and other members of the Ministry had previously defined this policy as one of strict neutrality. On the 11th of August Mr. Disraeli made his last speech in the House of Commons. It was one distinguished by much of his old brilliancy and power, and was delivered during the debate raised by Mr. Evelyn Ashley on the Eastern Question. He explained that he had not denied the existence of the 'Bulgarian atrocities,' but that he had no official knowledge of them. In answer to Sir W. Harcourt, he affirmed that we were not responsible for what occurred in Turkey, nor were the Turks our especial *protégés*. The Premier announced that the duty of the Government at that critical moment was to maintain the Empire of England, and they would never agree to any step that hazarded the existence of that Empire. On the morning after this speech it was publicly announced that Mr. Disraeli would immediately be elevated to the peerage under the title of Earl of Beaconsfield.

Parliament was prorogued on the 15th of August, and shortly afterwards appeared the official report of Mr. W. Baring, corroborating the reported outrages in Bulgaria. After strict investigation, Mr. Baring came to the conclusion that no fewer than 12,000 persons had perished in the sandjak of Philippopolis! But the most fearful tragedy during the whole insurrection was the one at Batak. A large number of people, probably about 1,000 or 1,200, took refuge in the church and churchyard. The church was a solid building, and resisted all attempts by the Bashi-Bazouks to burn it from the outside. They consequently fired in through the windows, and, getting upon the roof, tore off the tiles, and threw burning pieces of wood and rags dipped in petroleum among the mass of unhappy human beings inside. At last the door was forced in, the massacre completed, and the inside of the church burnt. Hardly any one escaped out of the fatal walls. The scene for some time afterwards beggared description. The massacre at Batak was the most heinous crime which has stained the history of the present century; and Mr. Baring added that for this exploit the Turkish leader, Achmet Agha, had received the Order of the Medjidie.

Mr. Gladstone deemed it high time that the voice of England should be heard upon these infamous deeds, and in September published a pamphlet entitled *Bulgarian Horrors, and the Question of the East.* He urged that England should aim at the accomplishment of three great objects, in addition to the termination of the war, viz., 1. To put a stop to the anarchical misrule, the plundering, the murdering, which still desolated Bulgaria; 2. To make effectual provision against the recurrence of the outrages recently perpetrated under the sanction of the Ottoman Government by excluding its administrative action for the future not only from Bosnia and the Herzegovina, but also, and above all, from Bulgaria; 3. To redeem by such measures the honour of the British name, which in the deplorable events of the year had been more gravely compromised than he had known it to be at any former period. 'Let us insist,' he said, 'that our Government, which has been working in one direction, shall work in the other, and shall apply all its vigour to concur with the other States of Europe in obtaining the extinction of the Turkish Executive power in Bulgaria. Let the Turks now carry away their abuses in the only possible manner; namely, by carrying off themselves. Their Zaptiehs and their Mudirs, their Bimbashis and their Yuzbachis, their Kaimakams and their Pashas, one and all, bag and baggage, shall, I hope, clear out from the province they have desolated and profaned. . . . If it be allowable that the executive power of Turkey should renew at this great crisis, by permission or authority of Europe, the charter of its existence in Bulgaria, then there is not on record, since the beginnings of political society, a protest that man has lodged against intolerable misgovernment, or a stroke he has dealt at loathsome tyranny, that ought not henceforward to be branded as a crime.'

A few days later, Mr. Gladstone followed up his pamphlet by an address to his constituents on Blackheath. This speech not only furnished a watchword for the campaign which followed, but is amongst the most eloquent and impassioned of the ex-Premier's political orations. The speaker was received with the greatest enthusiasm, and at various points in his address the meeting was literally carried away by the strength of its emotions. Referring to the massacre at Glencoe, the atrocities of Badajoz, the revolt of Cephalonia, and the more recent revolt in Jamaica, Mr. Gladstone said, 'To compare those proceedings to what we are now dealing with, is an insult to the common-sense of Europe. They may constitute a dark page in British history, but if you could concentrate the whole of that page, or every one of them, into a single point and a single spot, it would not be worthy to appear

upon one of the pages that will hereafter consign to everlasting infamy the proceedings of the Turks in Bulgaria.' With regard to the policy to be pursued, and the terms to be offered to the Turk, he would say to the latter, 'You shall receive a reasonable tribute; you shall retain your titular sovereignty; your empire shall not be invaded; but never again while the years roll their course, so far as it is in our power to determine, never again shall the hand of violence be raised by you; never again shall the dire refinements of cruelty be devised by you for the sake of making mankind miserable in Bulgaria.' Passing on to the question how this effectual prevention was to be secured, Mr. Gladstone said it could only be done with safety by the united action of the Powers of Europe. The mind and the heart of Europe must be one in this matter. The assent of Russia, Germany, Austria, France, England, and Italy was not only important, but indispensable, to entire success and satisfaction. Yet there were two Powers whose position was such that they stood forth far before the rest in authority, in the means of effectually applying that authority, and in responsibility upon this great question, viz., England and Russia. Enlarging still further upon this point, Mr. Gladstone observed:—

'I am far from supposing—I am not such a dreamer as to suppose that Russia, more than any other country, is exempt from selfishness and ambition. But she has also within her, like other countries, the pulse of humanity, and, for my own part, I believe it is the pulse of humanity which is now throbbing almost ungovernably in her people. Upon the concord and hearty co-operation—not upon a mere hollow truce between England and Russia, but upon their concord and hearty cordial co-operation—depend a good settlement of this question. Their power is immense. The power of Russia by land for acting upon these countries as against Turkey is perfectly resistless; the power of England by sea is scarcely less important at this moment. For I ask you what would be the condition of the Turkish armies if the British Admiral now in Besika Bay were to inform the Government of Constantinople that from that hour, until atonement had been made—until punishment had descended, until justice had been vindicated—not a man, nor a ship, nor a boat should cross the waters of the Bosphorus, or the cloudy Euxine, or the bright Ægean, to carry aid to the Turkish troops?'

This address drew forth a reply from Lord Beaconsfield. Speaking at Aylesbury, he admitted that the Ministerial policy was unpopular, but went on to describe the conduct of his opponents as worse than any Bulgarian atrocity: he strongly condemned the 'designing politicians who take advantage of sublime sentiments, and apply them for the furtherance of their sinister ends.' This language, though endorsed in some quarters, was warmly denounced as painful and extraordinary trifling in others.

Lord Derby directed Sir Henry Elliot, our ambassador at Constantinople, to lay the results of Mr. Baring's inquiry into the Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria before the Sultan and to demand the punishment of the offenders. This demand, however, prac-

tically went unenforced. On the 1st of November, Turkey, under pressure from Russia, agreed to an armistice of eight weeks. On the 2nd, the Emperor of Russia pledged his sacred word of honour to the English ambassador, in the most serious and solemn manner, that he had no intention of acquiring Constantinople; and that, if necessity compelled him to occupy a portion of Bulgaria, it would only be provisionally, and until the peace and safety of the Christian population were secured. He desired the ambassador to dispel the cloud of suspicion and distrust which had gathered in England against Russia. Notwithstanding these pacific assurances, on the 9th Lord Beaconsfield delivered a warlike speech at the Ministerial banquet at the Guildhall. Apprised of the tenor of his speech, the Czar stated on the following day at Moscow that, if the Porte did not accede to his demands, Russia would be prepared to act independently.

Lord Salisbury arrived at Constantinople on the 5th of December, to attend the Conference, and on the 8th a great meeting took place at St. James's Hall, for the purpose of discussing the Eastern Question. The Duke of Westminster occupied the chair at the afternoon conference, which was addressed by representative men connected with the army, with letters, and with religion, including Mr. Anthony Trollope, Professor Bryce, Mr. Richard, Sir T. F. Buxton, Sir G. Campbell, the Rev. Dr. Allon, and Sir H. Havelock. The evening meeting, which was presided over by Lord Shaftesbury, was addressed by the ex-Premier, Canon Liddon, Lord Waveney, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Fawcett, Mr. E. A. Freeman, and others. Mr. Freeman, referring to one interpretation of the doctrine of British interests, said, 'Perish the interests of England, perish our dominion in India, sooner than we should strike one blow, or speak one word on behalf of the wrong against the right.' Professor Fawcett said they had been enjoined to 'forgive and forget,' but they could never forget that England's present rulers had done all that they could do to associate the name of England with the most abominable cruelties that ever disgraced Europe, and with the most detestable Government that ever afflicted mankind. There was one Minister at least who ought never to be forgiven, and that was the present Prime Minister. The chief interest of the proceedings, however, centred in the speech which it was known that Mr. Gladstone would deliver. When the right hon. gentleman rose, he was received (as at Blackheath) with almost unbounded demonstrations of applause. After declaring that no change of the public sentiment of England had taken place on this question, and repudiating the assertion that the conveners of that meeting had any desire to embarrass the Government, he expressed what he

believed to be the general feeling and knowledge of the Conference —that the power and reputation and influence of England had, for a long period of time within the past twelve months, and in regard to that enormous question, been employed for purposes and to an effect directly at variance with the convictions of the country. Lord Beaconsfield, he observed, had made several speeches, but it was not until his latest utterance at Aylesbury that he appeared conscious that England had duties to perform towards the Christian populations of Turkey. 'In that speech I recognise first of all this admission, that we had duties towards the subject populations—an acknowledgment which we were never able to obtain during the session. Not one word, not one syllable, to that effect, could we draw from the lips of the Minister. The first declaration of it, if I remember aright, was made by Sir Stafford Northcote, in some speech in the north, in which he said, "Of course, we are all aware of our duties to the Christian populations of Turkey." I am extremely glad that they were aware of it; but I am not the less sorry that during the whole session of Parliament, and during the whole of the correspondence that filled the Blue-books, the recognition of that obligation is, so far as I know, nowhere to be found.'

After making this effective point, Mr. Gladstone turned to the Conference, and expressed a fervent hope that Lord Salisbury's instructions were not in accordance with the Guildhall speech, but that his lordship's own clear sight and generous instincts would have free scope at Constantinople. He also trusted that the Plenipotentiaries would insist on the future independence of the provinces, or at least of such a mediate autonomy as would insure them against arbitrary injustice and oppression. The speaker, in his peroration, referred to the work indicated, not merely as a worthy deed, but as an absolute duty. 'It is a case of positive obligation, and, under the stringent pressure of that obligation, I say that, if at length long-suffering and long-oppressed humanity in these provinces is lifting itself from the ground, and beginning again to contemplate the heavens, it is our business to assist the work. It is our business to acknowledge the obligation, to take part in the burden, and it is our privilege to claim for our country a share in the honour and in the fame. This acknowledgment of duty, this attempt to realise the honour, is what we at least shall endeavour to obtain from the Government; and with nothing less than this shall we who are assembled here be, under any circumstances, persuaded to say "Content."'

Mr. Carlyle, who had been invited to join the Conference, wrote a letter in which he said, 'The only clear advice I have to give is, as I have stated, that the unspeakable Turk should be

immediately struck out of the question, and the country left to honest European guidance, delaying which can be profitable or agreeable only to gamblers on the Stock Exchange, but distressing and unprofitable to all other men.' One excellent effect of this public agitation had been to convince the Government of the reality of the grievances of the Christian populations of Turkey, and of the necessity for stronger measures than they had at first contemplated. The Conference at St. James's Hall would have had an even deeper and wider influence, however, but for the fact that the result of the diplomatic Conference at Constantinople was being awaited with considerable anxiety, and yet at the same time strong hopefulness, by the English people.

The Constantinople Conference met on the 23rd of December, and just as a stringent scheme of reform and guarantees had been drawn up, the Plenipotentiaries were informed of the promulgation of a new Ottoman constitution. On the 30th, the Porte announced that it had a counter-proposition to make. This was not then produced, and matters dragged their slow length along until the 20th of January, 1877, when the Conference closed. The Turkish Government had rejected the proposals of the European Powers. These proposals had been reduced to two, viz., an International Commission nominated by Europe without executive powers, and the appointment of Valis (governors-general) by the Sultan for five years, with the approval of guaranteeing Governments. Less than these demands the Powers would not accept, but they were rejected by the Ottoman Government as 'contrary to the integrity, independence, and dignity of the Empire.'

During the recess Mr. Gladstone spoke on several occasions upon the all-absorbing topic then agitating the public mind. At Hawarden he dwelt upon the condition of Turkey, and pleaded that it was the wretched Turkish system, and not the Turks themselves, whom we should judge. He hoped that a remedy might be found for the existing melancholy condition of things. When the Constantinople Conference failed, the right hon. gentleman, alluding to this 'great transaction and woeful failure,' threw the responsibility of the situation on the Government. In an address to the electors of Frome he referred strongly to the tremendous responsibility of Ministers; and in a speech at the Taunton Railway-station, he said, with reference to the injunction to himself and his friends to mind their own business, that the Eastern Question was their own business. As to the treaties of 1856 being in force, his opinion upon this point was given in one sentence—Turkey had entirely broken those treaties and trampled them under foot. If the treaties were in force, we were

bound to Turkey by a several as well as a joint guarantee. But it was ridiculous to say that these treaties were in force as between Turkey and ourselves.

Parliament opened on the 8th of February. In the House of Lords, in reply to a powerful speech by the Duke of Argyll, the Premier said he believed that any interference directed to the alleviation of the sufferings of the Turkish Christians would only make their sufferings worse. He asked for a calm, sagacious, and statesmanlike consideration of the whole subject, never forgetting the great interests of England, if it was to have any solution at all. In the House of Commons, during the debate on the Address, Mr. Gladstone said that he was prepared to stand by every statement he had made in the autumn; and on the 16th he initiated a debate upon the Eastern Question generally, but with special reference to our treaty obligations. The right hon. gentleman demanded the entire freedom of England from any obligation to the Porte, and enlarged upon the contradictory declarations of recent negotiations, Foreign Office documents, Queen's Speech, and Ministerial orations. The country, he maintained, must be left absolutely free to act upon the dictates of policy, justice, and humanity. Mr. Gathorne Hardy said that if the Eastern knot were difficult to untie, the time had not yet arrived for England to apply the sword to cut it. The Government, without being obliged to go to war with Turkey, were pledged to maintain the faith of treaties which they had no right to violate.

During the animated debate which ensued, Mr. Gladstone furnished another proof of his claim to be accounted, perhaps, the readiest and most effective debater of his time. Having been taken to task by Mr. Chaplin, he retorted in an impromptu speech, which, for incisiveness and effect, can never be forgotten by those who listened to it. Mr. Chaplin complained that Mr. Gladstone and a certain portion of the Liberal party had endeavoured to regulate the foreign policy of the country by pamphlets, by speeches at public meetings, and by a so-called National Conference, instead of leaving it in the hands of the Executive Government. One of two things he maintained the right hon. gentleman must do—he must either make good or withdraw his assertions; there was no other course which it was open to a man of honour to follow. The Speaker, being appealed to, ruled that the last expression exceeded the limits of Parliamentary discussion. The hon. member withdrew it, but concluded by expressing his regret that the right hon. member for Greenwich had, during the recess, done so much to impair that respect and esteem which they on all sides felt for him in that House, and to shake

to its foundation the great and splendid reputation of a man whom England had long learnt to regard, and as he and all admitted him to be, among the greatest of her sons. He moved the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. Chaplin speedily discovered how profound had been his mistake in bearding the lion of debate. Mr. Gladstone at once rose; and, in seconding the motion for adjournment, expressed his surprise that for the first time in a public career extending over nearly half a century, he should be accused of a disinclination to meet his opponents in fair fight. Why had not the hon. gentleman attended those public meetings of which he complained? As far as he (Mr. Gladstone) was concerned, it was perfectly well known to Liberals and Tories alike that he had shrunk from meeting the public on this question. 'But such is the depth and strength of the sentiment which has taken possession of the mind and heart of England in reference to this question that I, in my poor and feeble person, simply because I have been associated with that sentiment, have felt it almost impossible to avoid the manifestation of this almost unexampled national and popular feeling.' After a scathing rebuke of Lord George Hamilton, who had twice interrupted the course of his speech, Mr. Gladstone thus returned to Mr. Chaplin:—'He says, sir, that I have been an inflammatory agitator, and that, as soon as I have got into this House, I have no disposition to chant in the same key. But before these debates are over—before this question is settled—the hon. gentleman will know more about my opinions than he knows at present, or is likely to know to-night. I am not about to reveal now to the hon. gentleman the secrets of a mind so inferior to his own. I am not so young as to think that his obliging inquiries supply me with the opportunities most advantageous to the public interest for the laying out of the plan of a campaign. By the time the hon. member is as old as I am, if he comes in his turn to be accused of cowardice by a man of the next generation to himself, he probably may find it convenient to refer to the reply I am now making, and to make it a model, or, at all events, to take from it hints and suggestions, with which to dispose of the antagonist that may then rise against him.' Mr. Gladstone was glad that there was a tremendous feeling abroad upon this Eastern Question. He had been told that by the pamphlet he wrote, and the speech he delivered, he had done all this mischief, and agitated Europe and the world; but if that were the case, why did not the hon. gentleman, by writing another pamphlet, and delivering another speech, put the whole thing right? If he (the speaker) had done anything, it was only in the same way that a man applies a match

to an enormous mass of fuel which had been already prepared. Before his pamphlet appeared, Lord Derby had telegraphed to Sir Henry Elliot that the outrages committed by the Turkish troops had roused an universal feeling of indignation in all classes of English society. It was the nation that led the classes and the leaders in this matter, and not the classes and leaders who led the nation. 'I will tell the hon. gentleman,' continued Mr. Gladstone, 'something in answer to his questions, and it is that I will tell him nothing at all. I will take my own counsel, and beg to inform him that he shall have no reason whatever to complain, when the accounts come to be settled and cast up at the end of the whole matter, of any reticence or suppressions on my part.' As to what he (the speaker) had told the people of Taunton, it was briefly this—that it was absolutely necessary to watch the policy of the Government; that in the acts, in the language, and in the tendency of Lord Salisbury he had great confidence; but that he did not know whether the Government had one policy or two policies. Mr. Gladstone concluded his spirited retort with this appeal upon the general question:—

'We have, I think, the most solemn and the greatest question to determine that has come before Parliament in my time. It is only under very rare circumstances that such a question—the question of the East—can be fully raised, fully developed and exhibited, and fully brought home to the minds of men with that force, with that command, with that absorbing power, which it ought to exercise over them. In the original entrance of the Turks into Europe, it may be said to have been a turning point in human history. To a great extent it continues to be the cardinal question, the question which casts into the shade every other question, and the question which is now brought before the mind of the country far more fully than at any period of our history, far more fully than even at the time of the Crimean War, when we were pouring forth our blood and treasure in what we thought to be the cause of justice and right. And I endeavoured to impress upon the minds of my audience at Taunton, not a blind prejudice against this man or that, but a great watchfulness, and the duty of great activity. It is the duty of every man to feel that he is bound for himself, according to his opportunities, to examine what belongs to this question, with regard to which it can never be forgotten that we are those who set up the power of Turkey in 1854; that we are those who gave her the strength which has been exhibited in the Bulgarian massacres; that we are those who made the treaty arrangements that have secured her for twenty years from almost a single hour of uneasiness brought about by foreign intervention; and that, therefore, nothing can be greater and nothing deeper than our responsibility in the matter. It is incumbent upon us, one and all, that we do not allow any consideration, either of party or personal convenience, to prevent us from endeavouring to the best of our ability to discharge this great duty, that now, at length, in the East, has sprung up; and that in the midst of this great opportunity, when all Europe has been called to collective action, and when something like European concert has been established—when we learn the deep human interests that are involved in every stage of the question—as far as England at least is concerned, every Englishman should strive to the utmost of his might that justice shall be done.'

These eloquent words were followed by protracted cheering—cheering at which the Chancellor of the Exchequer himself said he could not feel surprised. Another debate on the Eastern Question took place before the recess, on a motion, by Mr. Fawcett, affirming the necessity of obtaining adequate securities for

the better government of Turkey. Sir H. Drummond Wolff read extracts from speeches by Mr. Gladstone on the Crimean War and the Cretan Insurrection, to show that whereas he now refused the Turks even a twelvemonth's respite, and acknowledged none but humanitarian motives, he then contemplated Turkish reform must be the work of a generation, and that the duty of neutrality was superior to that of humanity. Upon this Mr. Gladstone showed that his assailant had used garbled extracts from old speeches, which were susceptible of a different interpretation being put upon them. In a correspondence with Sir Henry Elliot, Mr. Gladstone also vindicated himself from an erroneous interpretation that had been put on his 'bag and baggage' declaration, which, he explained, did not mean turning the Turks out of Europe, but that all the civil, military, and police authorities should leave the country.

A Protocol was signed at the English Foreign Office, on the 31st of March, stating that the Powers proposed to watch carefully, by means of their representatives at Constantinople, and their local agents, the manner in which the promises of the Ottoman Government were carried into effect. If their hopes should once more be disappointed, and if the condition of the Christian subjects of the Sultan should not be improved in a manner to prevent the return of the complications which periodically disturbed the peace of the East, they thought it right to declare that such a state of affairs would be incompatible with their interests, and those of Europe in general. The Turkish Government replied that it was not aware how it could have deserved so ill of justice and civilisation as to see itself placed in a humiliating position without example in the world. On the 24th of April war was declared by Russia, the Czar's manifesto giving as the reasons for this step the refusal of guarantees by the Porte for the proposed reforms, the failure of the Conference, and the rejection of the Protocol. England, France, and Italy issued proclamations, on the 1st of May, enjoining strict neutrality in the war then pending between Turkey and Russia.

On the 7th, a great debate was opened in the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone. Disappointed with the course of the negotiations, and incensed at the attitude of Turkey, he had given notice that he should move the following resolutions:—

'First: That this House finds just cause of dissatisfaction and complaint in the conduct of the Ottoman Porte with regard to the despatch written by the Earl of Derby on September 21, 1876, and relating to the massacres in Bulgaria. Second: That until such conduct shall have been essentially changed, and guarantees on behalf of the subject populations other than the promises or ostensible measures of the Porte shall have been provided, that Government will be deemed by this House to have lost all claim to receive either the material or the moral support

of the British Crown. Third: That in the midst of the complications which exist, and the war which has actually begun, this House earnestly desires the influence of the British Crown in the Councils of Europe to be employed with a view to the early and effectual development of local liberty and practical self-government in the disturbed provinces of Turkey, by putting an end to the oppression which they now suffer, without the imposition upon them of any other foreign dominion. Fourth: That bearing in mind the wise and honourable policy of this country in the Protocol of April, 1826, and the Treaty of July, 1827, with respect to Greece, this House furthermore earnestly desires that the influence of the British Crown may be addressed to the promoting the concert of the European Powers in exacting from the Ottoman Porte, by their United authority, such changes in the Government of Turkey as they may deem to be necessary for the purposes of humanity and justice, for effectual defence against intrigue, and for the peace of the world. Fifth: That a humble Address, setting forth the prayer of this House, according to the tenor of the foregoing resolutions, be prepared and presented to her Majesty.'

These Resolutions were, of course, on the face of them, hostile to the Government, and it was found that many members of the Liberal party declined to give them their support on the ground that they pledged England to a joint policy of force with Russia. When the time came for moving them, therefore, Mr. Gladstone announced that he accepted a verbal amendment of the second resolution, which in its amended form simply declared that Turkey had forfeited all claim to support, moral and material. The last three resolutions would not be proceeded with. Sir John Lubbock, who had given notice to move the 'previous question,' now said he should not do so, but would cordially support the amended resolutions. A long preliminary discussion ensued upon the altered condition of affairs, but ultimately the standing orders were postponed, and Mr. Gladstone rose to propose his resolutions in their altered form.

He began by alluding to the enormous number of manifestations of the opinion of the country, reports of nearly one hundred meetings having reached him that morning. With regard to the resolutions passed at these meetings, in more than nineteen cases out of twenty their general scope had been in correspondence not merely with the first two of his resolutions, but with the whole. Coming then to the general question, Mr. Gladstone, with clear and tempered eloquence, discussed the resolutions in their entirety, affirming their justice. He exposed the different views prevailing in the Cabinet, though the Government had never disclaimed their ill-omened phrase of promised 'moral support' to Turkey. The conduct of the Government for eighteen months back had been more deplorable than the conduct of any Government since the Peace of Vienna, and its position had been most ambiguous. The public mind had been prepared for war, and Lord Derby's answer to the Gortschakoff Circular was redolent with the old odious doctrine of 'moral support.' With regard to our expostulations and remonstrances, the Porte, which well understood the force of words, knew that our expostulations

began in words and that they ended in words; and it was time that the people of England and the people of Turkish Christian provinces should begin to understand as much. If we went no further than this, the work must pass into the hands of others. Reviewing the history of the atrocities, Lord Derby's despatch, and the existing deplorable condition of the provinces, he insisted that the guilt must be fixed, not on the minor instruments, but on the Turkish Government, which had caused and encouraged the massacres. The Christian subjects of the Porte had been led by the conduct of the British Government to look upon Russia as their best friend, and we had forced upon the Czar the task of redeeming them from oppression. Mr. Gladstone next showed how firmly and vigorously a Liberal Government had acted in the case of the Syrian massacres; and giving what he believed to be the true interpretation of the treaty of Kainardji, he contended that the Crimean War deprived the Christians of a safeguard which we were bound to make good to them. He steadfastly adhered to the whole of his resolutions, but, though he could not understand why they should not in their entirety receive the support of Lord Hartington, he had come to the conclusion that it would not be expedient or becoming in him to ask the Speaker to go through the idle form of putting each of them in succession from the chair.

Mr. Gladstone asked, in conclusion, whether, with regard to the great battle of freedom against oppression then going on, we in England could lay our hands upon our hearts, and in the face of God and man say, 'We have well and sufficiently performed our part'? Then came this noble peroration:—

'Sir, there were other days when England was the hope of freedom. Wherever in the world a high aspiration was entertained or a noble blow was struck, it was to England that the eyes of the oppressed were always turned—to this favourite, this darling home of so much privilege and so much happiness, where the people that had built up a noble edifice for themselves would, it was well known, be ready to do what in them lay to secure the benefit of the same inestimable boon for others. You talk to me of the established tradition and policy in regard to Turkey. I appeal to an established tradition, older, wider, nobler far—a tradition not which disregards British interests, but which teaches you to seek the promotion of these interests in obeying the dictates of honour and justice. And, sir, what is to be the end of this? Are we to dress up the fantastic ideas some people entertain about this policy and that policy in the garb of British interests, and then, with a new and base idolatry, fall down and worship them? Or are we to look not at the sentiment, but at the hard facts of the case which Lord Derby told us fifteen years ago—viz., that it is the populations of those countries that will ultimately possess them—that will ultimately determine their abiding condition? It is to this fact, this law, that we should look. There is now before the world a glorious prize. A portion of those unhappy people are still as yet making an effort to retrieve what they have lost so long, but have not ceased to love and to desire. I speak of those in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Another portion—a band of heroes such as the world has rarely seen—stand on the rocks of Montenegro, and are ready now, as they have ever been during the 400 years of their exile from their fertile plains, to sweep down from their fastnesses, and meet the Turks at any

'odds for the re-establishment of justice and of peace in those countries. Another portion still, the 5,000,000 of Bulgarians cowed and beaten down to the ground, hardly venturing to look upwards, even to their Father in Heaven, have extended their hands to you; they have sent you their petition, they have prayed for your help and protection. They have told you that they do not seek alliance with Russia or with any foreign Power, but that they seek to be delivered from an intolerable burden of woe and shame. That burden of woe and shame—the greatest that exists on God's earth—is one that we thought united Europe was about to remove, but to removing which, for the present, you seem to have no efficacious means of offering even the smallest practical contribution. But, sir, the removal of that load of woe and shame is a great and noble prize. It is a prize well worth competing for. It is not yet too late to try to win it. I believe there are men in the Cabinet who would try to win it if they were free to act on their own beliefs and aspiration. It is not yet too late, I say, to become competitors for that prize, but be assured that whether you mean to claim for yourselves even a single leaf in that immortal chaplet of renown, which will be the reward of true labour in that cause, or whether you turn your backs upon that cause and upon your own duty, I believe for one that the knell of Turkish tyranny in these provinces has sounded. So far as human eye can judge, it is about to be destroyed. The destruction may not come in the way or by the means that we should choose; but come this boon from what hands it may, it will be a noble boon, and as a noble boon will gladly be accepted by Christendom and the world.'

The debate was continued for five days. In the course of it, Mr. Cross stated that now that war had broken out, absolute neutrality was the rule of the Government, and neither side would have either moral or material support from England. Conscious of their strength, the Government would watch the course of events, and, if an opportunity offered for interposing their good offices, they would not allow it to pass. These Ministerial assurances appeared to satisfy a large party in the House and the country. The speakers for and against the resolutions included most of the able men of both parties. Mr. Courtney, Mr. Chamberlain, and other advanced Liberal members spoke strongly against the Government, and Mr. Walter strongly regretted that they had not used the power of coercion earlier, affirming that public opinion would have enforced it if only the Bulgarian massacres had preceded the Berlin Memorandum. Mr. Roebuck (type of Liberals so-called) rendered a service to the Government which was gratefully accepted, and delivered a speech against the resolutions. The one sentence in this address, perhaps, which is now best worth preserving is that in which he described Mr. Gladstone as 'a man whom the country has believed to be one of its greatest and most deserving and most patriotic Ministers at one time or another—a man endowed with great ability, with vast power, with a winning manner, and whose influence in this House has been almost illimitable.' Men like Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Roebuck failed to perceive that in this Eastern Question (as in many others in the past) it was his high moral courage and loftiness of purpose which had given Mr. Gladstone this 'almost illimitable' influence, and that were now urging him forward in 'the cause of oppressed humanity.'

The Chancellor of the Exchequer insisted that all idea of concerted action was now out of the question; but Lord Hartington maintained that the resolutions pointed to the only true policy that ought to guide the action of the Government. In summing up the debate, Mr. Gladstone passed in review many of the speeches delivered, and pointed out that Mr. Cross's assurances (of which he approved) were in direct contradiction to Lord Derby's despatch. He did not believe that the time for an authoritative interference by combined Europe had gone by. Such an interference was the only satisfactory settlement that could be arrived at. He denied emphatically that coercion meant war. The shortest way to put an end to the conflict and stop bloodshed would be by drawing a naval cordon round Turkey, and neutralising the Turkish fleet. In concluding, the right hon. gentleman said:—

'We are engaged in a continuous effort; we roll the stone of Sisyphus against the slope, and the moment the hand shall be withdrawn, down it will begin to run. However, the time is short; the sands of the hour-glass are running out. The longer you delay, the less in all likelihood you will be able to save from the wreck of the integrity and independence of the Turkish Empire. If Russia should fail, her failure would be a disaster to mankind, and the condition of the suffering races, for whom we are supposed to have laboured, will be worse than it was before. If she succeeds, and if her conduct be honourable, nay, even if it be but tolerably prudent, the performance of the work she has in hand will, notwithstanding all your jealousies and all your reproaches, secure for her an undying fame. When that work shall be accomplished, though it be not in the way and by the means I would have chosen, as an Englishman I shall hide my head, but as a man I shall rejoice. Nevertheless, to my latest day I will exclaim—Would God that in this crisis the voice of the nation had been suffered to prevail; would God that in this great, this holy deed, England had not been refused her share!'

For Mr. Gladstone's first resolution there appeared 223; against, 354. Six Liberals voted with the Government, and only one Conservative (Mr. Newdegate) against them. Sixteen Conservatives were absent, and twenty Liberals; while nineteen Home Rulers voted with the Government, and eleven with Mr. Gladstone. It was matter of complaint that English statesmanship at this time was not at a very high level, but the country generally was for the moment content with a policy of watchfulness and strict neutrality.

Before the session closed Mr. Gladstone addressed a large meeting at Bingley Hall, Birmingham, on the Eastern Question and the present condition of the Liberal party, and in the autumn he paid a visit to Ireland. On his return to Holyhead, in obedience to the demand of those who had gathered to receive him, he referred to the great question yet uppermost in the minds of the people. He still expressed his belief that Turkey would have yielded to the concerted action of Europe, and noticed the change in the tone of the Government, which was shown by the careful omission in the Premier's speech of the old phrase, 'the indepen-

dence of Turkey.' Again he protested strongly against the country being dragged into war, and warmly eulogised the Nonconformists for the consistency and unanimity with which they had insisted on justice to the Eastern Christians. Political feeling at this time entered into everything; but Scotland remained true to Mr. Gladstone. It was not without significance, perhaps, that in November he was elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University by a large majority in all the nations, his opponent being the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Beaconsfield was the retiring Lord Rector, and the Conservatives nominated Sir Stafford Northcote as his successor. The polling gave the following result—For Mr. Gladstone, 1,153; for Sir S. Northcote, 609.

We shall not follow the course of the Russo-Turkish war, which is matter of familiar history. The splendid bravery of Osman Pasha and other Turkish generals could not avert the fortunes of war, which, speaking generally, may be said in this instance to have resulted righteously. The Russians were doubtless guilty of atrocities, most of which were, perhaps, inseparable from Oriental warfare, yet none the less to be deplored; but nothing can for one moment be alleged against them to compare with the deliberate and continuous system of massacre and outrage pursued by the Turks when as yet there was not even the poor excuse of open war to plead in their behalf. And there would probably have been fewer even of these Russian outrages had it not been for the sentiments of indignation and retaliation which it is difficult at such times, and under the influence of vindictive feelings, altogether to repress. Turkey suffered irremediable defeats by the fall of Kars and Plevna, and the Russian capture of the Schipka Pass. On the 23rd of January, the Turkish Plenipotentiaries at Adrianople received instructions from the Porte to accept the bases of peace as submitted to them in writing by the Grand Duke Nicholas.

At a meeting of Oxford undergraduates, held on the 30th of January, 1878, to celebrate the formation of a Liberal Palmerston Club, Mr. Gladstone strongly condemned the sending of the British Fleet into the Dardanelles. He was afraid it would be found that it was a breach of European law. He had been accused of being an agitator, and with regard to the last eighteen months that was true. To his own great pain, and with infinite reluctance, but under the full and strong conviction, he might say of political old age, for the last eighteen months he might be said to have played the part of an agitator. His purpose had been to the best of his power, day and night, week by week, month by month, to counterwork what he believed to be the purposes of Lord Beaconsfield. The proposed vote of credit,

Mr. Gladstone said, was the most indefensible proposition that in his time had ever been submitted to Parliament. Lord Beaconsfield, replying to this and other speeches of his rival, at a banquet held at the Riding School at Knightsbridge, described him as 'a sophistical rhetorician, inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity, and gifted with an egotistical imagination that can at all times command an interminable and inconsistent series of arguments to malign his opponents and to glorify himself.' This description of Mr. Gladstone's eloquence bears no inconsiderable resemblance to a passage in Lord Macaulay's *Edinburgh Review* article, but the language of the former lacks the clearness and simplicity which distinguish that of the great Whig historian.*

The Government having asked for a vote of credit, a long discussion ensued in the House of Commons early in February. Mr. Gladstone, while willing to allow bygones to be bygones, said that the vote could not possibly give the Government the strength of an undivided nation. He regretted having to play such a prominent extra-Parliamentary part, and, though he had never impugned anybody's motives, not a single speech had been made in which the worst motives were not attributed to himself. The vote would not strengthen the hands of the Government, nor was it needed for any endangered British interests, and with ordinary military estimates of £26,000,000, we were surely already on a footing of equality with other Powers. The vote was, moreover, a complete violation of the constitutional rule that no burden should be placed on the people without its necessity being proved. Besides, to usher in a Conference with the clash of arms would destroy its peaceful character. He next specified the points upon which the Government should insist at the Conference, and in which they would have the support of the Opposition. Interference with the freedom of the Danube, by a cession of Roumanian territory, should be resisted; the claims of the subject races to freedom and good government should be supported; but there was no reason why Bulgaria should not be content to pay a tribute, seeing that she had relied on the efforts of others for her liberty. Great Britain ought to act as the champion of the Hellenic provinces, and the Government should be content to join with the other Powers in regard to the Straits. In order to secure unity and concord, and to unite a now divided nation, Mr. Gladstone

* In this Knightsbridge speech, also, Lord Beaconsfield strongly attacked Mr Gladstone for his alleged personalities. Being courteously requested by his rival to furnish references to these personalities, his lordship excused himself for searching over the speeches of two years and a half, but admitted that the word 'devilish' had not been used by Mr. Gladstone, either in the Oxford speech or elsewhere. This was the only reparation Mr. Gladstone could obtain.

suggested that the Government should postpone the proposed vote for a time, with liberty to renew it if the Government thought fit; and he added that an address should be presented to her Majesty from both Houses, expressing their readiness to support the Government in bringing about a permanent peace at the Conference, recognising the promise which the Government had given to obtain good terms for Turkey, but expressing a hope that the influence of the country would be used to obtain liberty and good government for the Christian subjects of the Porte.

Before the debate closed, a serious panic occurred on the Stock Exchange, in consequence of a report that the Russians were advancing on Constantinople. On the 7th, however, the Chancellor of the Exchequer read a telegram from Prince Gortschakoff, declaring that there was not a word of truth in the telegrams, but that orders had been given to the Russian troops in Europe and in Asia to stop all hostilities. Next day it was announced that a portion of the British Mediterranean fleet had been despatched to Constantinople. The vote of credit was ultimately carried by 328 against 124. The Marquis of Hartington and other prominent Liberals refrained from voting. On the 3rd of March a treaty of peace between Russia and Turkey was signed at San Stefano. The treaty consisted of twenty-nine articles, of which the following were the chief:—Turkey agreed to pay a large war indemnity; Servia and Montenegro were to acquire their independence, and to receive accessions of territory; Bulgaria was to be formed into a new Principality with greatly extended boundaries, and to be governed by a prince elected by the inhabitants; the navigation of the Straits was declared free for merchant vesssels both in time of peace and war; fifty thousand Russian troops would occupy Bulgaria for about two years, until the formation of a Bulgarian militia, whose strength would be fixed by Russia and Turkey; Batoum, Ardahan, Kars, and Bayazid, with the territories comprised, were to be ceded to Russia; a treaty was to be concluded between Turkey and Roumania, and the latter was to demand her indemnity from the Porte; and finally, Russia, not wishing to annex territory, was to receive the Dobrudscha, in order to cede it to Roumania in exchange for the Roumanian portion of Bessarabia.

These terms were regarded as oppressive by her Majesty's Government, who demanded that the whole treaty should be submitted to the proposed Congress at Berlin.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FOREIGN POLICY—1878-79.

Calling out of the Reserve Forces—Circular to Foreign Courts—Results of the Berlin Congress—Reception of the English Plenipotentiaries in London—'Peace with Honour'—Despatch of Indian troops to Malta—The Act condemned by Mr. Gladstone as unconstitutional—Dangers of Government Policy—Mr. Gladstone at Bermondsey—The Anglo-Turkish Treaty an 'Insane Covenant'—Debate on Eastern Affairs in the House of Commons—Speech of the ex-Premier—Work of the Berlin Congress reviewed—English Hostility to Greece—Our Responsibilities in Asiatic Turkey—Lord Beaconsfield's Imperial Policy—Mr. Gladstone at Rhyl—Lord Beaconsfield at the Lord Mayor's Banquet—A 'Scientific Frontier' in India—The Frontier criticised by Mr. Gladstone—The Representation of Greenwich—Farewell Visit of the ex-Premier—Important Speech at Plumstead—'Personal Government'—The Afghan War—Its Origin—Responsibility for the War—It is debated in the House of Commons—The War eloquently condemned by Mr. Gladstone—Proposed Vote of Censure on the Government defeated—Debate on the Greek Question—Mr. Gladstone advances the Claims of Greece

TOWARDS the close of March, 1878, the chances of the meeting of the Berlin Congress seemed to be very shadowy, and the public uneasiness in England was intensified by the step which the Government took of calling out the reserve forces of the country. In consequence of this decision of the Cabinet, Lord Derby resigned his position as Minister for Foreign Affairs. Explaining his reasons at length in the House of Lords, his lordship said that although the conclusions at which the Cabinet had arrived were of a grave and important nature, they did not, in his opinion, necessarily and inevitably lead to a state of war. Three days afterwards, the Marquis of Salisbury, the new Foreign Minister, issued a circular to Foreign Courts, in which he said, 'Neither the interests which her Majesty's Government are specially bound to guard, nor the well-being of the regions with which the Treaty deals, would be consulted by the assembling of a congress whose deliberations were to be restricted by such reservations as those which have been laid down by Prince Gortschakoff in his most recent communication.' A long diplomatic correspondence ensued, but at length the Congress met at Berlin on the 30th of June, the English Plenipotentiaries being the Earl of Beaconsfield and the Marquis

of Salisbury. One month later, the Treaty of Berlin was signed, and the Congress closed. Some modifications were effected on the original Treaty of San Stefano. The Balkan mountains formed the southern frontier of Bulgaria, and to Austria was entrusted the task of occupying Bosnia and the Herzegovina in the interests of Europe. Full liberty was left to Austria in regard to the organisation of the provinces. Montenegro received the seaport of Antivari, and a considerable increase of territory. Servia's frontier was also extended; and the Porte was requested to negotiate a rectification of the Greek frontier. Russia was to receive that portion of Bessarabia detached by the Treaty of 1856, and to cede in return the Dobrudscha to Roumania, including Silistria and Magnolia. Batoum, Kars, and Ardahan were ceded to Russia; and a war indemnity of £47,500,000 was to be charged after guaranteed loans and anterior hypothecations.

For their share in negotiating this treaty, the English representatives received a popular ovation on arriving in England, and rewards from the Sovereign followed. Addressing the crowd from a window of the Foreign Office on his arrival in London, Lord Beaconsfield said, 'Lord Salisbury and myself have brought you back peace, but a peace, I hope, with honour, which may satisfy our Sovereign and tend to the welfare of the country.' It has been pointed out, however, that at this very time the envoy of Russia (whose policy we believed ourselves to be circumventing) was entering the Afghan capital; so that, although there was peace on the Bosphorus, as a direct result of our Eastern policy war broke out in Afghanistan. The phrase 'peace with honour' became the watchword of the Conservatives, but it became also the occasion of much ridicule subsequently, in consequence of the disturbed state of Europe, and the difficulties which arose in the fulfilment of the Berlin Treaty. Certainly, if any Power had reason to congratulate itself upon the result of the Berlin Congress it was Russia, who had substantially obtained her demands. The Greeks, whom we ought to have supported, were practically left in the hands of Turkey, with what result is well known.

Though Mr. Gladstone had retired from the leadership of the Liberal party, the Government found in him a sleepless critic of every development of its Eastern policy. During the debate on the calling out of the Reserves, he recapitulated arguments which he had used out of doors against the retrocession of Roumanian Bessarabia, and against other points of the treaty. But he saw no ground for war, nor any reasons for declining to attend the Congress.

The very day after Parliament had adjourned for the Easter recess, it was announced that the Ministry had ordered the Indian

Government to despatch some 7,000 native troops to Malta. This important proceeding gave rise to every kind of controversy, political, legal, and constitutional. In deciding upon this step, Lord Beaconsfield had undoubtedly strained the Statute, which required that a vote of Parliament should provide for the outlay in the employment of these troops. His lordship, however, depended upon the action of the majority to endorse his policy; and this docility the majority continued to show under other circumstances, and upon other questions. The employment of the Indian troops was warmly debated in the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone, in an animated speech, declared that the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been guilty of an unconstitutional act in concealing in his budget a heavy item of expense which he knew was to be incurred. Government also ought to have consulted the House upon the expenditure before incurring it; they had violated the Bill of Rights and the Indian Government Act. The right hon. gentleman thus exposed the dangers of the Government policy :—

'The Crown obtains from Parliament the right to raise 135,000 and odd men, and is strictly limited as to the use of those men. But within two or three hours, by telegram, she has in another quarter of the world 200,000 or 300,000 men, which, if the Government like, may be doubled, with no control from voting the number, and no control from voting the money, and no control from a Mutiny Act to expire next April. This vast force, having none of these restraints, and unlimited in respect of number and backed by a treasury filled with more than fifty millions a-year, is at the will of those gentlemen on the benches opposite, without their saying why or wherefore. Is that to be the state of things under which we live? I do not listen for a moment to the plea that there is no practical danger Will we consent to part with the securities that the Constitution gives us? The question is not whether we will rush right into the midst of danger, but whether we will tread within an inch of it. Do we think that liberty is a thing so safe at all times, and under all circumstances, that the sentinels of the Constitution may occasionally go to sleep? Is that the view entertained by the House of Commons? It may be that this division will prove that we have less liberty now than we had in 1865 or even in 1775. . . . I think it is our duty, from generation to generation, not to abandon or suffer to be impaired the ancient and ancestral liberties of the country, and to regard with the utmost jealousy every security which has been thought wise by the great sages of the community in past times for the purpose of guaranteeing the maintenance of the Constitution. The majority in favour of these proceedings will be an historical fact of cardinal importance, and it is our duty to run the risk of a vote. It will be a great evil and a national calamity, but there is one evil greater—one calamity deeper still, and that is, that the day should come when at any rate the minority of the House of Commons should shrink from its duty and fail to use every effort in its power to bring to the knowledge of the people the mode in which, and the circumstances under which, its liberties are being dealt with by its representatives.'

The men who complained that Mr. Gladstone strained the Constitution by the Purchase Warrant, supported in overwhelming numbers this far clearer violation of the Statute. There voted for the Government, 347; against, 226. The Ministerial majority (which had been puzzled by the publication in the *Globe* of the famous Anglo-Russian Agreement, and by the course of diplomacy generally) could not allow its faith in the Beacons-

field Administration to be shaken by anything—not even by this latest exhibition of a high-handed policy, in ordering the Indian troops to Malta. For a member to differ from this policy was almost to incur the imputation of caring nothing for the honour of his country. The Marquis of Salisbury compared his relative and predecessor, the Earl of Derby, to Titus Oates; and Mr. Hanbury gravely brought a charge of treason against Mr. Gladstone for an article in the *Nineteenth Century*. The right hon. gentleman said he was 'not greatly concerned' in the matter; and the Conservative party itself thought Mr. Hanbury was going a little too far in his abortive motion.

On the 20th of July Mr. Gladstone addressed a meeting of Liberals in the Drill Hall, Bermondsey. In the outset he pointed out the importance of working on such a plan of organisation as that upon which the Southwark Liberals had based their action, and showed that the Liberal party had failed to pay such attention to this subject as it deserved. Too many amongst them were actuated by mere sectional views. There never had been a time when the differences between the various sections were more broadly pronounced, or more plainly declared. While they had the opportunity, and before the Dissolution, which could not be very long postponed, they ought to take measures for obtaining what they thought they did not now possess, viz., a fair representation in Parliament of the party to which they belonged. Glancing back over the legislation of the past five sessions, he contended that the Liberals were now fully justified in judging the Government by its acts; and the time had come when it would be well for the people to have the opportunity of expressing an opinion upon them. Coming to the Anglo-Turkish Treaty, Mr. Gladstone pointed out the serious obligations which devolved upon England under it, and added, 'There is but one epithet which, I think, fully describes a covenant of this kind. I think it is an insane covenant. I have known well the most eminent statesmen of the last forty years. I have known them on both sides of politics. I was in my early life a follower of Sir Robert Peel and of the Duke of Wellington, and of Lord Aberdeen; and although I regret some things that I did, and have altered some opinions that I then held, yet, in point of honour and public duty, I am not in the least ashamed of any act of my public life. I do not think that the country ever had more honourable public servants; and, moreover, I will venture to say, particularly of Sir Robert Peel and Lord Aberdeen, that I have known under the name of Liberals men much less Liberal than they. But, gentlemen, what I wish to say is this, that having known them on the other side—and having known well and

worked with such men as Lord Russell, Lord Palmerston, Lord Lansdowne, and many more now called to their account—I do not believe that there is one of those—I am perfectly confident that there never was one of those—men who, under any circumstances, would have been induced to put his hand to such an arrangement as that which to our shame, as I think now, has gone forth under the name of the Anglo-Turkish Convention.' Stronger language, however, followed as Mr. Gladstone described the course of the English Government upon the subject of the treaty:—

'It is perfectly well known that if Russia is to attack India, which I for one believe to be a perfectly chimerical idea, she must attack India through the heart of Asia, and that is not through Asia Minor—it is on the other side of the Caspian, on the other side of Persia, far away from Asia Minor, and our defending Turkey in Asia Minor against Russia has no imaginable connection with driving Russia off the road to India, so that the absurdity of the arrangement is gross; but it has other qualities worse than its absurdity—its duplicity. I say that it has been a work of duplicity, and what I tell you here I hope to restate next week—that this is an act of duplicity of which every Englishman should be ashamed. Why, what have we been doing? Why has the country been kept in hot water since the Treaty of San Stefano was signed? Because we insisted that no part of that treaty could be established without the consent of Europe unless it affected the interior of the Turkish Empire, and we must have it brought before Europe. It was brought before Europe, accordingly, without reserve, and at that very time we ourselves, without the consent of Europe, were framing a secret engagement with Turkey—which interfered at every point with the Treaty of San Stefano—an act of duplicity which, I am sure, has never been surpassed, and, I believe, has rarely been equalled in the history of nations.'

Mr. Gladstone said he had heard the remark that the Turkish Convention was concluded because it was necessary to do something. Possibly it was necessary to do something for the credit of the Government, and it remained for the people to decide whether the credit of the Government ought to be sustained at such a price. He rejoiced to think that these most unwise, extravagant, unwarrantable, unconstitutional, and dangerous proceedings had not been the work of the Liberal party; but he grieved to think that any party should have been found in England to perform such transactions.

Shortly before the close of the session a great debate arose in the House of Commons, extending over the whole range of Eastern affairs, the Treaty of Berlin, the Anglo-Turkish Convention, the acquisition of Cyprus, the claims of Greece, &c. The Marquis of Hartington opened this debate by proposing the following resolution:—'That, whilst this House has learned with satisfaction that the troubles which have arisen in the East of Europe have been terminated by the Treaty of Berlin, without a further recourse to arms, and rejoices in the extension of the liberty and self-government of some of the populations of European Turkey, this House regrets that it has not been found practicable to deal in a satisfac-

tory manner with the claims of the kingdom of Greece, and of the Greek subjects of the Porte; that by the assumption, under the Anglo-Turkish Convention, of a sole guarantee of the integrity of the remaining territories of Turkey in Asia, the military liabilities of this country have been unnecessarily extended; that the undefined engagements entered into by her Majesty's Government in respect of the better administration of these provinces have imposed heavy responsibilities upon the State, whilst no sufficient means have been indicated for securing their fulfilment; and that such engagements have been entered into and responsibilities incurred without the previous knowledge of Parliament.'

Mr. Gladstone's speech on this occasion, delivered on the second night of the debate, has been described as 'a long and eloquent address, unsurpassable for its comprehensive grasp of the subject, its lucidity, point, and the high tone which animated it throughout.' After some reference to the observations of the preceding speaker, Lord Sandon, Mr. Gladstone referred to the Premier's attack upon him at Knightsbridge, observing that he reflected with considerable pleasure and comfort upon the fact that it gave a much better account of him than was given in a speech delivered by the same noble earl at Aylesbury about two years ago. He (the speaker) admitted that he had strongly denounced the Ministry, but he denied that the fact that he had declared the policy of the Government to be a dishonouring policy for the country constituted a personal provocation, or could be rightly regarded as a personal attack. If criticism of this kind was forbidden, they might as well shut the doors of the House. 'The liberty of speech which we enjoy, and the publicity which attends our political life and action are, I believe, the matters in which we have the greatest amount of advantage over some other countries of the civilised world. That liberty of speech is the liberty which secures all other liberties, and the abridgment of which would render all other liberties vain and useless possessions.'

Passing then to graver matters, Mr. Gladstone said that he had been unable to discern for many months past any danger to the existence of the peace which was re-established at San Stefano, excepting in the opinions and the warlike preparations of her Majesty's Government. Sketching in general outline the work accomplished by the Congress at Berlin, the right hon. gentleman said that before the late war there were not less than 17,000,000 of people who were subjects of the Ottoman Empire, in absolute or qualified subordination; and out of these not less than 11,500,000 had undergone a total change in their relations. After this it was a little difficult to lay down the doctrine that there had been no partition of Turkish territory. 'We have, indeed, been told

that the rule of the Sultan in Europe has been concentrated exactly in the same sense in which a man's body is concentrated when his limbs have been amputated. It is reduced, curtailed; it is hemmed in on every side by absolute or qualified freedom. If that be concentration, it is concentrated; but not otherwise.' Taking the whole of the provisions of the Berlin Treaty together, he thankfully and joyfully acknowledged that great results had been achieved in the diminution of human misery, and towards the establishment of human happiness and prosperity in the East. Yet he could not shut his eyes to the fact that the Sclavs, looking to Russia, had been freed; while the Greeks, looking to England, remained with all their aspirations unsatisfied. Russia had obtained the sanction of Europe to her territorial conquests, and established, free from all European interference, her title to a large war indemnity. Discussing the conduct of the British Plenipotentiaries at the Congress, he found that, as a general rule, they took the side opposed to that of freedom:—

'I say, sir, that in this Congress of the Great Powers the voice of England has not been heard in unison with the institutions, the history, and the character of England. On every question that arose and that became a subject of serious contest in the Congress, or that could lead to any important practical result, a voice had been heard from Lord Beaconsfield and Lord Salisbury which sounded in the tones of Metternich and not in the tones of Mr. Canning, or of Lord Palmerston, or of Lord Russell. I do not mean that the British Government ought to have gone to the Congress determined to insist upon the unqualified prevalence of what I may call British ideas. They were bound to act in consonance with the general views of Europe. But within the limits of fair difference of opinion, which will always be found to arise on such occasions, I do affirm that it was their part to take the side of liberty; and I do also affirm that as a matter of fact they took the side of servitude.'

Mr. Gladstone complained that there had been a persistent hostility, limited only by the more favourable desires of others, on the part of England to the pretensions of Greece. With regard to the agreement made between Lord Salisbury and Count Schouvaloff, he should be glad to know in what manner the Government reconciled the conclusion of that agreement with the distinct professions upon which they had been standing for three or four months before in the face of Europe, or with that perfect good faith which ought to prevail in all the transactions of the Powers. Coming to the Anglo-Turkish Convention, the right hon. gentleman said it appeared to him that the acquisition of Cyprus was the Alpha and the Omega of that convention. With regard to the English responsibilities in Asiatic Turkey devolving upon us through the convention, he asked what were the reasons for this unheard-of, this mad undertaking. Not one of the leading English statesmen of the last forty years, from the Duke of Wellington downwards, would for one moment have consented to look at such a scheme

as had been contrived and accomplished in the dark by the present Government. The cession of Cyprus violated both the letter and the spirit of the Treaty of Paris; and if Turkey was entitled to give Cyprus to England by secret treaty, was she forbidden to give over Mitylene to Russia by another and equally secret agreement? We had altered the Treaty of 1856, behind the back of Europe, by establishing a sole protectorate, and a single-handed right of intervention in Asiatic Turkey, and by assuming the administration and occupation of the island of Cyprus. The Powers of Europe had reason to complain of our conduct. Dealing next with the treaty-making power of this country, as bearing upon the dignity and the rights of Parliament, Mr. Gladstone said it had been endured because it had been uniformly used with moderation, with careful regard to precedent, with a just estimate of the rights of the people, and with due knowledge of the existing sense and convictions of the people. But when it ceased to be so used, it was a power that became intolerable. These most recent proceedings of the Administration, if persevered in, would undoubtedly end in raising controversies with respect to that power which all should be desirous to avoid. Mr. Gladstone thus concluded his speech:—

'We are perplexed with the apprehension that as long as these proceedings continue to be sustained by a majority in this House, and as long as the country has had no opportunity of passing its final and conclusive judgment, they will be repeated and renewed, from time to time, as may seem good to the Ministers in power. More and more damage will thus be done both to the great name and honour of this country, and to the prerogatives and rights of Parliament, bound up, as they are, with the liberties of the people. First, we have the setting up of British interests, not real but imaginary. Then, we have the prosecution of those supposed British interests, by means of strange and unheard-of schemes, such as never occurred even to the imagination of statesmen of other days. Then we have those strange and unheard-of schemes, prosecuted in a manner which appears, as I conceive, to indicate a very deficient regard to the authority of the law of Europe, and to that just respect which is due to all foreign Powers. Then we have, associated with this grievous lack, a disregard, a neglect—it may, perhaps, even be said a contempt—for the rights of Parliament. Lastly, along with all this, we create a belief, rather strengthened than weakened by the evident absence of any eagerness on the part of her Majesty's Government to give us financial information, that the result of those operations of the Government, so unsound in their foundation, so wild in their aims, is likely to be an increase of responsibility, with no addition, but rather a diminution of strength; a loss of respect abroad; a shock to constitutional instincts and practices at home; and also an augmentation of the burdens which are borne with such exemplary patience by a too confiding people.'

But notwithstanding his powerful speech, when the vote came to be taken it was found that the Ministerial phalanx was unbroken. The numbers were—For Lord Hartington's resolution, 195; against, 338. Amongst other descriptions of Mr. Gladstone's address, the *Spectator* said it was 'a terse and vivid specimen of statement, argument, and denunciation,' and added, upon the debate generally, that 'reason, prudence, and patriotism

have hardly ever in our time been voted down with so little show of argument, or even of plausible suggestion.' 'For the first time in a hundred years,' said the same journal in reviewing the session, 'at a very great crisis of English history, Parliament has been treated as Napoleon III. used to treat his Senate and *Corps Législatif*, as a mere supplement to the Crown and Administration, instead of as the keystone of the Constitution.' The Government was omnipotent; and the Conservative majority performed its bidding with unwavering patience and submission.

Lord Beaconsfield's Imperial policy proceeded apace.* Russia had been successful in Europe, but the Government conceived a plan by which they hoped to checkmate her in Asia. When we say that a war was forced upon Afghanistan, we are endeavouring to use the impartial language which we believe will be used by history. With regard to this unhappy country, England repeated her oppressive policy of forty years ago. Acting upon the impression that Shere Ali was the secret friend of Russia, we sought grounds for quarrelling with him. A strong nation never lacks pretences of affront when it has to deal with a weak one, and England was not long in precipitating hostilities with the Afghans upon grounds miserably weak and inadequate. It was the war of 1838-41 which rankled in the minds of the rulers of Afghanistan, and made them steadily resolve to refuse British Residents, which they had a perfect right to do. The rejection of Sir Neville Chamberlain's Mission, so far from being unprovoked, was the reply of the Ameer to English policy, which had long projected an advance into his territory. In furtherance of this policy, on the part of Lord Beaconsfield's Government, the Viceroy was instructed to find some pretext for despatching a Mission to the Ameer. The result of our subsequent proceedings is well known. Even when the Ameer was ready to make concessions, the opportunity was denied him. We went to war with Afghanistan; Shere Ali lost his life; we concluded the Treaty of Gandamak with his succes-

* Various are the renderings and definitions of an 'Imperial' policy; but we may supplement the observation of the *Spectator*, given above, by the following passage from Mr. S. Laing's address to his constituents, which is doubtless representative of Liberal opinion generally on this matter:—'When I talk of an Imperial policy I attach a distinct meaning to the words. I mean a policy which in its fundamental ideas and modes of proceeding resembles that of the last French Empire, a policy which trades upon national vanity and national prejudices, and seeks by a series of national surprises to divert attention from domestic matters, and prop up the fortunes of a dynasty or a Ministry.' Mr. Laing further remarked that since Lord Derby's retirement from the Cabinet, the history of England had 'read like the chapters of a sensational novel or the scenes of a stirring melodrama;' and he added that he had done what he could 'to assert the foreign policy of Canning against that of Castlereagh, of Gladstone against that of Beaconsfield.' These words are the more significant as coming from one who a few years ago opposed Mr. Gladstone, and they demonstrate, moreover, a close approximation of sentiment amongst the various classes of Liberals throughout the country.

sor, Yakoob Khan, whereby the English Government secured its demands. But the old and ineradicable hatred of the Afghans to the British led—ostensibly through other pretexts, of course—to the massacre of Sir Louis Cavagnari and his escort at Cabul. We have now discovered that the people of Afghanistan do not receive us as deliverers from their own rulers; and although we may take swift vengeance upon them for recent events, and procure a temporary settlement of affairs, what policy can we adopt to ensure that such settlement shall be a lasting and a permanent one? India may not only prove fatal to the existence of the present Ministry—which is responsible for the late and present Afghan wars—but may yet bring the severest chastisement which our national pride has received. All Englishmen hope that such a catastrophe may be averted; but if Justice be immutable, and it be impossible to divert her from her course, we have yet much to answer for in regard to Indian policy.

With respect to the war waged with Shere Ali, Lord Lawrence—who in this case may be fairly taken as the representative of those most thoroughly acquainted both with this and other Indian questions—appealed to the Government to arrest their action; but Lord Beaconsfield replied that the press was not the place in which to discuss these matters, although the Premier himself had conduced to this by his Parliamentary reticence. Mr. Gladstone, however, could not remain quiescent under the adventurous policy of the Premier. Speaking at Rhyl, he condemned the Ministerial action which, having first made the Queen an empress, then manipulated the prerogative in a manner wholly unexampled in this age, and employed it in inaugurating policies about which neither the nation nor the Parliament had ever been consulted.

The right hon. gentleman went on to say that he did not throw upon the Government the full responsibility for those times of almost unexampled depression from which England suffered in 1878-9: but he contended that the erratic policy of the Government had greatly aggravated the hardness of those times. He asked how commerce could flourish when no exporter knew whether war might not break out before his merchandise reached the port to which it was consigned; and he asserted that every £10,000,000 spent unproductively in needless military or naval expenditure really represented a loss of double the amount—for £10,000,000 productively invested would have produced another £10,000,000 worth of wealth and something more.

Mr. Gladstone's arguments, however, might as well have been addressed to empty air. The Conservative majority did not feel—or felt it by comparison only in an infinitesimal degree—the pressure of the times, and they had imbibed an idea that the

honour of England must be protected. By many persons it was considered that it had never really been assailed; but the Beaconsfield Administration having on several occasions declared it to be in danger, there was no lack of readiness to vote men and money to defend it. So the order was given for distant peoples to be attacked, English blood to be spilt, the burdens of the people (already too heavy) to be swollen, and the future liabilities of this country to be enormously increased.

At the Lord Mayor's Banquet, in November, Lord Beaconsfield explained, with regard to our Indian difficulties, that the Government were not apprehensive of any invasion of India by its north-western frontier; but the frontier was a 'haphazard and not a scientific one,' and the Government were desirous of obtaining a really satisfactory frontier. It is difficult now to understand Lord Beaconsfield's desire to obtain a 'rectification of frontier' except on the ground of buttressing up his Administration, and, by keeping the nation in a fever of excitement, thus to prevent a fierce introspective light from being brought to bear upon his policy. Mr. Gladstone, in writing to the Bedford Liberal Association, pertinently asked the question, why, if an invasion from the north-west were considered impracticable, the frontier there should be described as unscientific, and how any foe could so embarrass and disturb our dominion as to put us to great expense on a frontier which it was impossible for him to invade? The right hon. gentleman thus continued:—'What right have we to annex by war or to menace the territory of our neighbours, in order to make "scientific" a frontier which is already safe? What should we say of such an act if done by another Power? Our frontier, we are told, causes anxiety to our Viceroys. I ask, which among the Viceroys who have taken and quitted office, and sometimes life, with so much honour, since we reached our North-Western Frontier, have recommended such a rectification? Upon the whole, I must say that the great day of "sense and truth," instead of relaxing the reserve unhappily maintained, has added a new, and, to all appearance, a dangerous, mystery to those which before prevailed; has left us more than ever at the mercy of anonymous paragraphs; and is, so far, likely to increase rather than dispel the gloom which is settling on the country. That we are bound to observe and promote the observance of the Treaty of Berlin there is no doubt. We should do it with better grace if we had not ourselves broken the Treaty of Paris, and violated the honourable understanding under which the Powers met in Congress, by the Anglo-Turkish Convention.' Mr. Gladstone went on to observe that the best barrier against Russia was to be found in the establishment of local liberties that men will value, and will fight for,

and will not willingly surrender either to Russia or to any other Power. He also referred to the apparent inaction of the Government in relation to the report of the Rhodope Commission, and regretted their indifference to a commercial distress greatly intensified by their own reckless expenditure. But the only effective criticism upon the Government, he observed, would be the criticism of the polling booths.

To that appeal, however, the Government did not submit themselves. England was shortly afterwards at war with Shere Ali, the Ameer having declined to receive an English mission. This was no new decision, however, as we have seen, nor ought it fairly to have been construed as an insult to us, seeing that the Ameer had always protested against receiving a British Envoy.

Mr. Gladstone having announced his intention of retiring from the representation of Greenwich at the next election, on the 30th of November he paid a farewell visit to his constituency. At a luncheon given at the Ship Hotel by the Liberal Association, the right hon. gentleman proposed the toast of 'Prosperity to the Borough of Greenwich Liberal Association,' and in doing so enlarged upon the necessity for Liberal union. The Liberals, owing to their dissensions, gave twenty-six votes to their opponents in 1874. Now when they remembered that Governments had been carried on for years with a smaller majority than twenty-six, they would see how important the subject of organisation became. With regard to the Birmingham plan, he warned Liberals against its precipitate or imperfect adoption. Whenever a minority only of the party in any town joined such an association, it was plain that that town was not yet ripe for the introduction of the new system; and if the plan continued to be forced under those circumstances, more harm than good must result from the false application of the principle. In the evening Mr. Gladstone attended a great public meeting in the Plumstead Skating Rink. On his entrance the whole audience rose and cheered for several minutes. An address was presented to the ex-Premier expressing regret at the severance of his connection with the borough of Greenwich, and the pride which the borough would ever feel at having been associated with his name and fame.

Mr. Gladstone began his reply by an allusion to Lord Beaconsfield's phrase of five years ago, respecting 'harassed interests.' At present he (the speaker) knew of only one harassed interest, viz., the British nation. The question how the country was to be governed should occupy the people at the next election. Although he protested against the words 'personal government' being taken to imply that the Sovereign desired to depart from the traditions of the Constitution, he charged her Majesty's

advisers with having insidiously begun a system intended to narrow the liberties of the people of England, and to reduce Parliament to the condition of the French parliaments before the great Revolution. Replying to the charge that he and his supporters were the friends of Russia, Mr. Gladstone showed that it was the Government who had been the real friends of that Power, having brought her back to the Danube, from which she was driven in 1856; left it in her power to make herself the liberator of Bulgaria; and, by the device of creating the province of Eastern Roumelia, had given her an opportunity for intriguing pretty effectively among that portion of the Bulgarians still left under the rule of the Sultan.

The Afghan war was dwelt upon with great fulness. Mr. Gladstone, having expressed his fear that it was a wholly unjust war, pointed out that it had been waged by the Government in furtherance of a settled intention on its part to force the Ameer to receive European Residents in his cities, contrary to the treaty arrangements entered into with him, and in opposition to his known preference for native agents. He denied that the late Government had refused to give conditional assistance to the Ameer, and also that the Viceroy was instructed to postpone the subject. In 1874, as was proved from a despatch by Sir R. Pollock, the Ameer leaned as much as ever on the British Government. The Ameer gave as his reason for refusing to receive an English mission at all four letters which had been addressed to him in a threatening tone by the Commissioner of Peshawur, at the instance of the Viceroy; and these letters were omitted from the Blue-book. If Russia sent a Mission to Cabul, why had we not called Russia to account? asked Mr. Gladstone.

'If an offence has been committed, I want to know whose has been the greater share of that offence? The Ameer was under no covenant that he was not to receive a Russian Mission; we were under a covenant with him not to force on him a British Mission. He was under no covenant not to receive a Russian Mission; Russia was under a covenant with us to exercise no influence in Afghanistan. If there was an offence, whose was the offence? The offence, if any, was committed by the great and powerful Emperor of the North, with his eighty millions of people, with his 1,400,000 or 1,500,000 soldiers, and fresh from his recent victories, and not by the poor, trembling, shuddering Ameer of Afghanistan, with his few troops, over which he exercises a precarious rule. But now, having received from the Czar of Russia the greater offence, we sing small to Russia, and ask her to withdraw her Mission; and when she says it is only a Mission of courtesy, we seemingly rest content, but we march our thousands into Afghanistan. Anything so painful and so grievous has not come under my notice.'

The responsibility for this war he threw absolutely upon the Cabinet; but Parliament would shortly be asked what it thought of these transactions, and he was not sanguine as to the reply. However, the appeal to Parliament was not the final appeal. Mr. Gladstone maintained that we had departed from the manners of

our forefathers; the policy of the Beaconsfield Government was not what had been adopted by Lord Chatham and Mr. Burke, and by Lord Derby, when he appealed to both Houses of Parliament in 1857. In concluding his address, Mr. Gladstone said:—'It is written in the eternal laws of the universe of God that sin shall be followed by suffering. An unjust war is a tremendous sin. The question which you have to consider is whether this war is just or unjust. So far as I am able to collect the evidence, it is unjust. It fills me with the greatest alarm lest it should be proved to be grossly and totally unjust. If so, we should come under the stroke of the everlasting law that suffering shall follow sin; and the day will arrive—come it soon or come it late—when the people of England will discover that national injustice is the surest road to national downfall.'

A brief sitting of Parliament was held in December, when a long debate ensued upon the war in Afghanistan. Mr. Whitbread moved the following amendment to the Address:—'That this House disapproves the conduct of her Majesty's Government, which has resulted in the war with Afghanistan.'

Mr. Gladstone followed up his vigorous speech to his constituents by one quite worthy of it from his place in the House of Commons. There were three points, he said, on which the public decision as to the nature of this war ought to rest. First, the extraordinary confusion and inconsistencies of the evidence on which the Government had framed their case for this unjust and disastrous war; secondly, the extraordinary and prolonged secresy in which a policy had been enveloped, the earlier disclosure of which would have put Parliament on its guard, and elicited remonstrances which must, in all probability, have stopped the war; thirdly, the direct evidence of injustice in relation to the origin of the war, the deliberate breach with the policy of forbearance towards Afghanistan, the alarming menaces addressed to the Ameer of Afghanistan both by words and deeds, the mildness of the remonstrance with Russia, into whose arms we had driven the Afghan prince, and the severe retribution which we were visiting upon the *protégé*, whilst we complacently accepted the explanations of the patron, on condition, of course, that we were permitted to flog the *protégé* without interference from the patron. The right hon. gentleman then drew a striking picture of the miseries and perils to which the last Afghan war had led, and pressed home, with renewed force, the chief conclusions of his Plumstead speech. In answer to Lord John Manners, who had declared that the war must be prosecuted until Shere Ali had made due submission, Mr. Gladstone asked what would be

done if the Ameer, instead of making submission, followed precedent, and disappeared? In that case, how long should we have to keep an army of occupation? The principal official documents contained the most gross misstatements of facts, involving reckless negligence. There was no ground whatever for alleging that at the Peshawur Conference it became evident that the Ameer was dissatisfied with his relations with us. So far from being discontented, he begged us to let things alone. Such was the position of affairs up to the end of 1876; and if the papers relating to the Peshawur Conference had been laid before Parliament shortly after its close, he ventured to say we should have had no Afghan war. When the Ameer was ready to make concessions, the opportunity was denied him, the Conference was hastily closed, the promises of Lords Mayo and Northbrook were revoked, measures of hostility were adopted, Quettah was occupied, and our native agent was withdrawn from Cabul. Lastly, not the least discreditable act of the English Government was their treating the reception of the Russian Mission as an offence, and their visiting it with punishment at the very time when they had accepted the transparent pretext of Russia that their Mission to Cabul was within the meaning of the arrangement made with the late Government. The Russians forced the Mission upon Shere Ali, who unwillingly accepted it. The Russians, however, asked permission before sending their envoy; but we did not do so, and the Ameer's subordinates had no authority to let our Mission pass. Now Ministers called that an insult which was merely the result of the grossest blundering. Further, they had tamely acquiesced in Russia's new and unfounded claim to send to Cabul missions of courtesy under the convention with the late Government. Mr. Gladstone, in his peroration, spoke earnestly and eloquently upon the historical and moral aspects of the question:—

'You have made this war in concealment from Parliament, in reversal of the policy of every Indian and Home Government that has existed for the last twenty-five years, in contempt of the supplication of the Ameer, and in defiance of the advice of your own agent, and all for the sake of obtaining a scientific frontier. We made war in error upon Afghanistan in 1838. To err is human and pardonable. But we have erred a second time upon the same ground, and with no better justification. This error has been repeated in the face of every warning conceivable and imaginable, and in the face of an unequalled mass of authorities. May heaven avert a repetition of the calamity which befell our army in 1841! . . . I remember a beautiful description of one of our modern poets of a great battle-field during the Punic wars, in which he observed that for the moment Nature was laid waste and nothing but the tokens of carnage were left upon the ground; but day by day and hour by hour she began her kindly task, and removed one by one and put out of sight those hideous tokens, and restored the scene to order, to beauty, and to peace. It was such a process that the Viceroys of India had been carrying on for years in Afghanistan. I now ask—is all this to be undone? The sword is drawn, and misery is to come

upon this unhappy country again. The struggle may perhaps be short. God grant that it may be short! God grant that it may not be sharp! But you, having once entered upon it, cannot tell whether it will be short or long. You have again brought in devastation and again created a necessity which, I hope, will be met by other men, with other minds, in happier days; that other Viceroys and other Governments, but other Viceroys especially—such men as Canning, Lawrence, Mayo, and Northbrook—will undo this evil work in which you are now engaged. It cannot be undone in a moment, although the torch of a madman may burn down an edifice which it has taken the genius, the skill, the labour, and the lavish prodigality of ages to erect.'

This powerful speech greatly impressed both sides of the House, but the majority—not, it was believed, without some compunction—endorsed the policy of the Government. In the course of the debate, Mr. Leatham made a witty comparison. The Cabinet, he said, reminded him of the gentleman who, seeing his horses run away, and being assured by his coachman that they must drive into something, replied, 'Then smash into something cheap!' The discussion closed with very able speeches by Lord Hartington and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the vote of censure was defeated by 328 votes to 227. On a motion by the Government that the revenues of India should be applied for the purposes of the war, Mr. Fawcett moved an amendment to the effect that it would be unjust that the revenues of India should be applied to defray the extraordinary expenses of the military operations being carried on against the Ameer of Afghanistan. Mr. Gladstone seconded the motion, and observed that it was the people of England who had had all the glory and all the advantage which had resulted from the destruction of the late Government, and the accession to office of the present Administration; and it was they who must measure all the *pros* and the *cons*, and who must be content, after having reaped benefits so immeasurable, to encounter the disadvantage of meeting charges which undoubtedly the existing Administration would leave behind it as a legacy to posterity. For Mr. Fawcett's amendment there voted 125; against, 235—majority for the Government, 110.

England gained her ends in the Afghan war, and humiliated Russia; but there are those who naturally predict that the direct result of our policy will be further Russian advances in Central Asia. Russia, they urge, will never rest until she has strongly established herself upon the Afghan frontier. Meanwhile, we may repress the Afghans by force, but hostile measures will never make them friendly to us.

Early in the session of 1879 the Greek question came before the House of Commons on the following motion by Mr. Cartwright:—'That, in the opinion of this House, tranquillity in the East demands that satisfaction be given to the just claims of

Greece, and no satisfaction can be considered adequate that does not ensure execution of the recommendations embodied in Protocol 13 of the Berlin Congress.' Mr. Gladstone, in supporting this motion, said he was sanguine enough to believe that even in the present House of Commons there might be found a disposition on the part of many hon. members to encourage the first legitimate aspirations on the part of the Hellenic races after freedom, and he hoped that the declaration of the Government would be such as to give satisfaction to the House and to the country. The Treaty of Berlin contained recommendations which were valuable and important in the interests of the liberty and happiness of Greece, and, so far as he knew, there was yet no evidence whatever that the English Government—the whole of whose traditions were connected, inseparably connected, with freedom—had acted energetically in support of the provisions of that treaty. The Porte had gone back upon its usual resources of craft, and inert but obstinate resistance, and every device that ingenuity could suggest had been used to evade giving effect to the recommendations of the Treaty of Berlin. Our Government had given a pledge to the Government of Greece to support and to advance, within reasonable limits, the territorial claims of Greece. That pledge, down to the present time, remained entirely unredeemed; but there was time for us to redeem it. It certainly was not redeemed at the Congress. There was now no one of the European Powers antagonistic to the claims of Greece. France laboured, and had always consistently and energetically done so, to promote them, and their complete success depended upon the conduct of Her Majesty's Government. He (Mr. Gladstone) wished to convey to the House his opinion that the claims on the part of the Greek Kingdom and the Greek races were very strong claims indeed. We had now got rid of the superstition that all these Greek and Christian populations of Turkey would fling themselves into the arms of Russia. The time that had elapsed for the fulfilment of our promise to Greece was already too long, and there was no justification for it. After reviewing the greatly improved condition of Greece—with its free press, an increasing population, a trade and a marine enormously augmented, and a flourishing University—Mr. Gladstone said, 'I do not contend that the civilization of Greece is effective for all purposes; on the contrary, the Greeks are behindhand, and have so much to do that their resources may be strained in the accomplishment of their objects. The Government will not give countenance, I hope, to coloured and unfair representations of the condition of Greece, but will join us in deprecating them.'

The character of England was undoubtedly tied to the redemption of its pledge given to Greece, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer said the matter was one which was engaging, and which would continue to engage, the earnest sympathy and full attention of Her Majesty's Government, and he trusted that this assurance would satisfy the House. The motion was rejected.

In the course of a debate raised by Sir Charles Dilke, towards the close of July, on the obligations of Turkey under the Treaty of Berlin, Mr. Gladstone again earnestly enforced the claims of Greece. The right hon. gentleman observed that 'Greece, weak as she may be, is yet strong in the principles in which she rests. She has the assertions made by the Turkish Government; she has the strong sympathy of the populations concerned; she has the assertion of the uselessness of these populations to the Sultan; she has on record the engagements by this country, now some thirteen months ago, promising our careful consideration, which is well known to mean the favourable consideration of some of her territorial claims.'

The recent course of England upon the Greek Question furnishes a very unsatisfactory chapter in our history. Our duty to the Hellenic race was clear, and more strenuous efforts should have been made for its fulfilment. So long as this question remains unsettled, what but war can be expected between Turkey and Greece? But there are even wider aspects in which this Greek question may be viewed. Panhellenism would unquestionably be a powerful counteracting force in Eastern Europe to Panslavism. The dream, no doubt, is sanguine, but a Greece which should include the present territory, together with Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, and the Archipelago as far as the shores of Anatolia, has always received the sympathy and adhesion of a large section of Greek patriots.

On the 29th of December, 1879, Mr. Gladstone completed his seventieth year. Birthday addresses of congratulation were presented to him on the occasion by his friends at Liverpool, and by the Greenwich Liberal Association. The leading daily and weekly journals vied in their warm tributes to him for his long and eminent public services. The veteran who had successfully passed through one electoral campaign was destined in a few months to appear in another and a yet more remarkable one.

CHAPTER XXIX.

MR. GLADSTONE'S MISCELLANEOUS WRITINGS, ETC.

Characteristics of Mr. Gladstone's Essays—Articles on the Life of the Prince Consort—The County Franchise—'Kin Beyond Sea'—Personal and Literary Essays—Wedgwood and his Work—Mr. Gladstone on Art—Its Relations to English Manufactures—Historical and Speculative Essays—'*Ecce Homo*'—Articles on Foreign Questions—'Germany, France, and England'—'The Hellenic Factor in the Eastern Problem'—'Aggression in Egypt'—Miscellaneous Essays—'England's Mission'—Mr. Gladstone on the Policy of the Ministry—Home Questions awaiting Settlement—Speech at Chester—Charges against the Government—Effects of Lord Beaconsfield's 'Imperial' Policy—Close of the Survey of Mr. Gladstone's Literary and Political Career.

THE plenitude and variety of Mr. Gladstone's intellectual powers have been the subject of such frequent comment that it would be superfluous to insist upon them here. On the political side of his career his life has been as unresting and active as that of any other great party leader; and if we regard him in the literary aspect, we are equally astonished at his energy and versatility. Putting out of view his various works upon Homer, his miscellaneous writings of themselves, with the reading they involve, would entitle their author to take high rank on the score of industry with the majority of the literary craft. As a writer, indeed, fluency may be said to be his besetting sin. Great ideas do not come either to the world or to individuals in battalions; they are the product of thought, action, comparison. So while we stand amazed at the infinity of topics which have received Mr. Gladstone's attention, we do not always acquire from his essays that high dry light which it is the privilege of the greatest critics to shed upon the subjects and the men they undertake to interpret. Further, it has been remarked that his writing is often vigorous and trenchant, his phrases not unfrequently happy and well-turned; but a distinctive style, such, for instance, as Lord Macaulay's, he has not. The essays remind the reader more of the flowing eloquence and the declamation of a Burke, than of the massiveness, the dignity, and the majesty of a Bacon.

The whole of Mr. Gladstone's miscellaneous writings—with

the exception of essays of a strictly controversial and classical kind—have been collected in a uniform edition.* The first volume has no fewer than four articles upon the life and character of the Prince Consort, two of them being based upon Mr. Martin's life. The critic writes sympathetically upon the virtues of the Prince, who was deserving of the eulogy passed upon him, and who undoubtedly raised the life of the Court, and the influence and usefulness of our highest institution, to their highest point. He also laments the loss which society has sustained from the slackening of that beneficial action to which the Prince so powerfully contributed. These essays are followed by three papers on the County Franchise, being a response to the deliverances of Mr. Lowe upon this subject.

The last essay in this volume, 'Kin Beyond Sea,' is one for which Mr. Gladstone was taken severely to task by many English journals, on its appearance originally in the *North American Review* for September, 1878. Reading through this essay now after the excitement it created has calmed down, it seems to us to contain much food for reflection for Englishmen. Mr. Gladstone is not alone in taking the following view of the future of America, and we should do well to heed the advice with which he closes :—'She will probably become what we are now, the head servant in the great household of the world, the employer of all employed; because her services will be the most and ablest. We have no more title against her than Venice, or Genoa, or Holland has had against us. One great duty is entailed upon us, which we, unfortunately, neglect; the duty of preparing, by a resolute and sturdy effort, to reduce our public burdens, in preparation for a day when we shall probably have less capacity than we have now to bear them.' Again, 'the England and the America of the present are probably the two strongest nations in the world. But there can hardly be a doubt, as between the America and the England of the future, that the daughter, at some no very distant time, will, whether fairer or less fair, be unquestionably yet stronger than the mother.' Mr. Gladstone argues in support of this position from the concentrated continuous empire which America possesses, and the enormous progress she has made within a century. The writer's brief review of the British Constitution, and his summary of possible dangers which may beset the mother country, are deserving of careful consideration, especially when we reflect that these things have driven one who is perhaps better acquainted with them

**Gleanings of Past Years.* In Seven Volumes. London : 1879.

than most students of the Constitution to this general conclusion :—'We of this island are not great political philosophers; and we contend with an earnest but disproportioned vehemence about changes which are palpable, such as the extension of the suffrage, or the re-distribution of Parliamentary seats, neglecting wholly other processes of change which work beneath the surface, and in the dark, but which are even more fertile of great organic results.'

The second volume consists of essays exclusively personal and literary. The author discourses both pleasantly and profitably upon such differently constituted beings as Blanco White, Giacomo Leopardi, Bishop Patteson, Dr. Norman Macleod, Macaulay, Tennyson, and Wedgwood. While we could willingly linger over each of these names, it is only to the last that we can give attention.

Most valuable, perhaps, of all these gleanings of a personal character is the address on Wedgwood, originally spoken at Burslem, Staffordshire, on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the Wedgwood Institute. We not only meet here with many true and beautiful things about art, but with much sound advice calculated to be of profit to all classes of British workmen. Considering the products of industry with reference to their utility, their cheapness, their influence upon the condition of those who produce them, and their beauty, Mr. Gladstone conceives it to be in the last-named department that we are to look for the peculiar pre-eminence, he does not scruple to say the peculiar greatness, of Wedgwood. The association of beauty with convenience is not a matter light and fanciful; beauty is not an accident of things, it pertains to their essence; it pervades the wide range of creation; and wherever it is impaired or banished we perceive proofs of the moral disorder which disturbs the world. God hath made everything 'beautiful in his time.' 'Among all the devices of creation, there is not one more wonderful, whether it be the movement of the heavenly bodies, or the succession of the seasons and the years, or the adaptation of the world and its phenomena to the conditions of human life, or the structure of the eye, or hand, or any other part of the frame of man—not one of all these is more wonderful than the profuseness with which the Mighty Maker has been pleased to shed over the works of his hands an endless and boundless beauty.' England has long taken a lead among the nations of Europe for the cheapness of her manufactures; and Mr. Gladstone believes that if the day is ever to come when she shall be as eminent in true taste and beauty as she is now in economy of production, that result will

probably be due to no other single man in so great a degree as to Wedgwood. In the words of his epitaph, he 'converted a rude and inconsiderable manufacture into an elegant art and an important branch of national commerce.' Unaided by the national or the royal gifts which were found necessary to uphold the glories of Sèvres, of Chelsea, and of Dresden, he produced works truer, perhaps, to the inexorable laws of art than the fine fabrics that proceeded from those establishments. The lessons to be deduced from a career of toil, and one devoted to the highest ends like Wedgwood's, are admirably pointed out and enforced. Mr. Gladstone's address especially deserves praise for its insistence upon the great truth that the mean and the lowly are not divorced from the beautiful.

In an address delivered at Chester,* Mr. Gladstone once more spoke concerning art in its relations to English manufactures. He denied that the promotion of excellence for its own sake was a visionary idea; for every excellence that was real, whether it related in the first instance to utility or beauty, had got its price, its value in the market. It was an element of strength. In France, the standard of taste, taken as a whole, was very much higher than in England. This was a great national want—a want that had been felt at all times, and a national want that was now specially felt because of the depression of British commerce, and the increased difficulties in finding a way into the markets of many foreign countries. Yet it was a very significant thing that this want should exist, because it was admitted that England is a country which, in the production of beauty in its highest form, showed no deficiency at all. The very highest form in which the beautiful could be produced was that of poetry, and the English poetry of the nineteenth century has been at the head of the poetry of the world. With the English people there was some deficiency in that quality or habit which connects the sense of beauty with the production of works of utility. 'With the English those two things are quite distinct; but in the oldest times of human industry—that is to say, amongst the Greeks—there was no separation whatever, no gap at all, between the idea of beauty and the idea of utility. Whatever the ancient Greek produced he made as useful as he could; and at the same time a cardinal law with him was to make it as beautiful as he could.' In the industrial productions of America there was very little idea of beauty; an American's axe, for example, was not intended to cut away a tree neatly, but quickly. The object was to clear the ground, and that

* Opening of an Art Loan Exhibition, August 11, 1879.

is the history of American industry up to the present time. In England schools of art were producing an excellent effect upon almost every branch of industry. 'We want a workman to understand that if he can learn to appreciate beauty in industrial productions, he is thereby doing good to himself, first of all in the improvement of his mind, and in the pleasure he derives from his work, and likewise that literally he is increasing his own capital, which is his labour.' He looked to the union of beauty and utility in industrial production as the true way to ensure success in our national enterprise and commerce.

Mr. Gladstone's third series of essays are of an historical and speculative character. The articles on *Ecce Homo* are written with considerable eloquence and power. That remarkable work is closely examined, with the object of showing that the method and order of religious teaching may vary, as between the period of first introduction on the one hand, and of established possession and hereditary transmission on the other; that there were seasons in the state of the world, at the period of the Advent, for a careful and delicate regulation of the approaches for the new religion to the mind of man: and that in the matter and succession of the Gospels we may find a succinct testimony to this system of providential adjustment. He next discusses what was the order or economy observed by the Saviour in making known to the world the religion he had come on earth to found. On the great question whether the world has gained on the whole in Christian ages as compared with those of heathenism, Mr. Gladstone cites social changes of a vast and wide range, which decisively settle the problem in favour of Christianity. He concludes his survey by expressing a hope 'that the present tendency to treat the old belief of man with a precipitate, shallow, and unexamining disparagement, is simply a distemper that infects for a time the moral atmosphere; that is due, like plagues and fevers, to our own previous folly and neglect; and that, when it has served its work of admonition and reform, will be allowed to pass away. Towards this result the author of *Ecce Homo*, if I read him right, will have the consolation and the praise of having furnished an earnest, powerful, and original contribution.'

The remaining essays of an historical and ecclesiastical type are 'The Courses of Religious Thought,' 'The Sixteenth Century and the Nineteenth,' and 'The Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion'—the main argument of the last-named paper being suggested by Sir G. C. Lewis's well-known essay upon the same subject.

In the Foreign essays are to be found the letters to Lord Aberdeen on the Neapolitan prisons, which have been already referred to at length in another part of this work. In an article upon 'Germany, France, and England,' contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*, in 1870, Mr. Gladstone pleads for the time when nations shall do to each other as they would wish to be done by. 'The greatest triumph of our time, a triumph in a region loftier than that of electricity and steam, will be the enthronement of the idea of Public Right, as the governing idea of European policy; as the common and precious inheritance of all lands, but superior to the passing opinion of any. The foremost among the nations will be that one which by its conduct shall gradually engender in the mind of the others a fixed belief that it is just. In the competition for this prize, the bounty of Providence has given us a place of vantage; and nothing save our own fault or folly can wrest it from our grasp.' Dealing with 'The Hellenic Factor in the Eastern Problem,' Mr. Gladstone traces the course of British policy with respect to Greece, and redeems the memory of Lord Palmerston from the wrong done it by those who believe or argue that, if now alive, he would have been found to plead the obligation of maintaining the integrity of the Ottoman Power as paramount to the duty of granting to her afflicted subjects simple, broad, and effective guarantees for their personal and civil liberties. In no spirit of unfriendliness to the Porte, Earl Russell and Lord Palmerston wished for the assignment of Thessaly and Epirus to Greece, subject to the conditions of suzerain and tribute. Mr. Gladstone shows that there is an opportunity for England to acquire the lasting gratitude of Greece. 'Of that people who still fondle in their memories the names of Canning and Byron, there are in the Levant, we may safely say, four millions, on whose affections we may take a standing hold, by giving a little friendly care at this juncture to the case of the Hellenic provinces. They want not Russian institutions, but such a freedom as we enjoy. They want for their cause an advocate who is not likely to turn into an adversary, one whose temptations lie in other quarters; who cannot (as they fondly trust) ask anything from them; or, in any possible contingency, through durable opposition of sympathies or interests, inflict anything upon them.' Such a thorough and steadfast friend England has not yet proved herself. Mr. Gladstone relates, in another article, the long struggle of the noble and heroic people of Montenegro against their hereditary oppressors; and he has further something to say anent 'Aggression in Egypt, and Freedom in the East.' He does not hide the difficulties besetting

British encroachments in the East, and by way of reply to the fears and arguments of those who advocate the strengthening of our position in the East, he does not believe that Russian power on the Bosphorus is a practical possibility. But if the worst came to the worst, and Russia accomplished the designs attributed to her, and stopped also the Suez Canal, she would have done nothing more than introduce an average delay of about three weeks into our military communications with Bombay, and less with Calcutta. In time of war, this would not make the difference to us between life and death in the maintenance of our Indian Empire.

Mr. Gladstone's position on Ritualism, and his answer to the question whether the Church of England is worth preserving, have already been defined in a previous chapter. He has reprinted the essays in which he expounded his views on these questions in two volumes, which also contain papers entitled 'Remarks on the Royal Supremacy,' 'Present Aspect of the Church, 1843,' 'Ward's Ideal of a Christian Church,' 'On the Functions of Laymen in the Church,' 'The Bill for Divorce,' and 'Italy and her Church.' These essays are undoubtedly valuable as affording materials to add to the general stock 'from which the religious history of a critical period will have finally to be written.' They do not, however, possess the same general interest as the volume of miscellaneous essays which succeeds them. This volume includes the admirable Inaugural Address delivered to the students of Edinburgh University in 1860; the address on the Place of Ancient Greece in the Providential Order; a Chapter of Autobiography; Probability as a Guide of Conduct, and the very entertaining narrative of the parentage, progress, and issue of the Evangelical movement in England.* Mr. Gladstone's strength does not lie in discovering and exposing the deep roots of those great principles which have governed the growth of nations in the various ages of the world; he rather, by graphic and picturesque antithesis, illustrates the outer effects and manifestations of those principles in national life.

One article by Mr. Gladstone—which does not appear in the collected edition of his essays, on account of its political and controversial character—still claims attention. It does so on the ground of its exposition of the writer's views as to the dangers attendant upon an imperial policy. This article is entitled 'England's Mission.'† The writer was alarmed by recent de-

* This article on the Evangelical movement in England originally appeared in the *British Quarterly Review.*

† See the *Nineteenth Century* for September, 1878.

velopments of English statesmanship. He maintained that 'not peace, not humanity, not reverence for the traditions established by the thought and care of the mighty dead, not anxiety to secure the equal rights of nations, not the golden rule to do to others as we would fain have them do to us, not far-seeing provision for the future, have been the sources from which the present Conservative Ministers have drawn their strength.' On the contrary, 'they are the men, and the political heirs of the men, who passed the Six Acts and the Corn Laws; who impoverished the population, who fettered enterprise by legislative restraint, who withheld those franchises that have given voice and vent to the public wishes, whose policy, in a word, kept the Throne insecure and the empire weak; and would, unless happily arrested in 1832, and again in 1846, have plunged the country into revolution.' They abandoned all idea, such as inspired Sir Robert Peel, that government should live by great measures of legislation framed for the national benefit, and substituted a careful regard to interest and class, from bishops down to beer-houses. This inglorious existence being unable to bear the concentrated force of criticism, however, they sought out a vigorous foreign policy. The first care of the Liberal party has been held to be the care of her own children within her own shores, the redress of wrongs, the supply of needs, the improvements of laws and institutions; but against this doctrine 'the Beaconsfield Government appears to set up territorial aggrandisement, large establishments, and the accumulation of a multitude of fictitious interests abroad, as if our real interests were not enough.' Mr. Gladstone deprecated the multiplication of British possessions beyond the sea, and especially condemned such acquisitions as that of Cyprus, which can never become truly British in character. As every possible road to India threatens to become a British interest, he observed that there was no saying what preposterous guarantees might be proposed for Khiva, or Bokhara, or Badakshan. Nay, as China is a possible road to India, why should it not also have a guarantee? All the old doctrines of statesmanship which should have been jealously guarded by Ministers had been left to the advocacy of unofficial persons. The writer maintained that the Government had, on the whole, opened up and relied on an illegitimate source of power; and that one of the damning signs of the politics of the school is their total blindness to the fact that the central strength of England lies in England. He further complained that 'we have undertaken in the matter of Governments far more than ever in the history of the world has been previously attempted by the

children of men. None of the great continuous empires of ancient or modern times ever grappled with such a task.' Meanwhile, during the prevalence of this lust of empire, what had become of domestic legislation? Mr. Gladstone supplied the following list of questions not (so far) grappled with, and 'the neglect of which amounted, in not a few instances, to positive scandal: 'London Municipal Reform; County Government; County Franchise; Liquor Laws; Irish Borough Franchise; Irish University Question; Opium Revenue; Criminal Law Procedure; Responsibility of Masters for Injuries to Workmen; Reduction of Public Expenditure; Probate Duty; Indian Finance; Working of the Home Government of India; City Companies; Burial Laws; Valuation of Property; Law of the Medical Profession; Law of Entail and Settlement; Corrupt Practices at Elections; Expenses of Election; Reorganisation of the Revenue Departments; and the Currency. In a later article, entitled 'The Country and the Government,' Mr. Gladstone added to these subjects waiting to be dealt with the Laws of Bankruptcy, of Banking, of Distress, of Charities, and Mortmain, Loans for Local Purposes, Game, Distribution as well as Redistribution of Seats, Savings Bank Finance, and the Bright Clauses of the Irish Land Act. Instead of dealing with these matters, the Government of Lord Beaconsfield had raised up as from a virgin soil a whole forest of new questions, in themselves enough to occupy a Parliament and a State which had nothing else to do. Of these new and thorny subjects, he gave the following enumeration, which, while probably incomplete, might suffice for present purposes:—1. Eastern Roumelia; 2. The Greek Frontier; 3. Crete and the other European Provinces of Turkey; 4. The Armenians; 5. Turkey in Asia; 6. Cyprus; 7. Suez Canal Shares and Management; 8. Egyptian Debt; 9. Egyptian Succession; 10. North-west Frontier of India; 11. Supervision of Afghanistan; 12. East Indian Finance; 13. Arms Act, Press Act, and Taxing Legislation of India; 14. Cape—Annexation of the Transvaal: the act of the Beaconsfield Administration; and 15. Cape—Zulu War: the result of the mission of Sir Bartle Frere. Of these, the first three come under the Treaty of Berlin; the fourth, fifth, and sixth under the Anglo-Turkish Convention; the seventh, eighth, and ninth are assumed to result from the purchase of shares in the Suez Canal; while the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth result from the mission of Lord Lytton. After reviewing the home and foreign policy of the Government, the right hon. gentleman compared its claims with those of its predecessor, and said that though there had been times when men of ardent minds had

complained that they could scarcely distinguish between one party and another, assuredly no such complaint could now be made, and the nation must choose between them in the light afforded by the experience of the last six years.

Mr. Gladstone supplemented this indictment by other charges in a speech at Chester.* He maintained, as he had assured the electors of Midlothian, that at no period of his public life had the issues inviting the judgment of the nation been of such profound importance—including the management of finance, the scale of expenditure, and the constantly growing arrears of legislation—as then. 'I hold,' he continued, 'that the faith and honour of the country have been gravely compromised by the foreign policy of the Ministry; that by the disturbance of confidence, and lately even of peace, which they have brought about, they have prolonged and aggravated public distress; that they have augmented the power and interest of the Russian Empire, even while estranging the feelings of its population; that they have embarked the Crown and people in an unjust war; that their Afghan war is full of mischief, if not of positive danger, to India; and that by their use of the treaty-making and war-making powers of the Crown they have abridged the just rights of Parliament, and have presented its prerogatives to the nation under an unconstitutional aspect, which tends to make it insecure.' Mr. Gladstone added that these were the characters he had inscribed on his colours, and he had nailed them to the mast. He again reiterated his charge that the Ministry had played the game of Russia, and had enabled her to take the part which belonged to our forefathers—and which ought to have belonged to us—that of promoting the interests of liberty and justice. With regard to financial matters, Mr. Gladstone said that at the beginning of the year the deficiency stood at six millions sterling, and there would be a deficiency of three and a half millions more at the end of the financial year. It would be a great stroke for the Government if they could postpone the presentation of the bill for expenses until after the dissolution. From the Liberal party had proceeded all the measures which had made the country so great and so strong, that had led to the prosperity which lasted in an unbroken term for such a number of years until this crisis had arrived—a crisis so unhappily prolonged and aggravated as the present crisis had been unhappily prolonged and aggravated by the financial extravagance of the Government, and by that want of confidence which they had introduced into

* Delivered August 19, 1879.

their relations with the different countries of the globe. When the dissolution came, if they did their duty, there was no fear for the Liberals.

This address by the ex-Premier, delivered in his seventieth year, exhibited all the energy and vigour usually associated with a political chief of fifty. It demonstrated that, though he had retired from the leadership of his party, he answered the call to the political battle as the war-horse scents the conflict from afar.

A final word remains to be said upon the Anglo-Turkish Convention and the foreign policy generally of Lord Beaconsfield's Government. The acquisition of Cyprus was his lordship's set-off against the territorial cessions to Russia under the Treaty of Berlin. It was deemed necessary for England to do something at this juncture, and to obtain Cyprus, Lord Beaconsfield even pledged England to that immense responsibility (whose results no man can possibly foresee), the Protectorate over the Turkish dominions in Asia. His lordship had fixed his attention upon Cyprus some time before its cession to Great Britain, for Lord Derby, in explaining the reasons for his secession from the Cabinet, said, 'When I quitted the Cabinet I did so mainly because it was said that it was necessary to secure a naval station in the Eastern part of the Mediterranean, and that, for that purpose, it was necessary to seize and occupy the island of Cyprus, together with a point upon the Syrian coast. That was to be done by means of a Syrian expedition sent out from India, with or without the consent of the Sultan.' Lord Beaconsfield not only pursued a policy now widely recognised under the term 'Imperial,' but he pursued this policy in secret, and showed so great a contempt for Parliamentary and constitutional usage as to take little thought for the nation or its representatives in the House of Commons. The results of his policy were thus described by Mr. Gladstone: —'There is not a nation upon earth with which we have drawn the bonds of friendship closer by the transactions of these last years, but we have played perilous tricks with the loyalty of India, have estranged the ninety millions who inhabit Russia, and have severed ourselves from the Christians of Turkey, Greek and Slav alike, without gaining the respect of the Moslem. And all this we have done, not to increase our power, but only our engagements.' A statesman who neglects every home interest to boast of our power before other nations; who enters upon engagements lightly, and without thinking of the enormous responsibilities they must devolve upon us in the future; who enacts the swashbuckler in foreign politics, and endeavours to flatter us by a sense of our own grandeur—such a statesman, whatever may

be his claims in other respects, is to be dreaded as the most dangerous foe that England could possess.

In the chapters immediately ensuing, we shall reach the close of our survey of Mr. Gladstone's literary and political career. In both aspects the average reader seems to toil after him in vain, so great is his fertility in resource, so extraordinary his power of seizing upon and comprehending the facts and bearings of our foreign and domestic policy, so copious and inexhaustible the eloquence with which he illustrates and enforces his views—whether those views relate to the immortal works of Homer, the scandals of the Neapolitan prisons, the questions raised by *Ecce Homo*, the details of the last budget, the principles which should pervade industrial art, the dogmas of the Romish Church, the duty of man in relation to education and religion, or the policy of the Beaconsfield Administration. The strength and vehemence of his denunciations of the Conservative Government have been occasionally severely commented upon; but it may be observed that strong language is sometimes called for in English politics, provided it be just. Moreover, in addition to the force which Mr. Gladstone's addresses have always derived from the natural ardour of his temperament, they owed at the time spoken of much of their polemical character to his firm and settled conviction that the policy of Lord Beaconsfield's Ministry was derogatory to the honour and interests of England, at home and abroad.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE GENERAL ELECTION OF 1880.—THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

Mr. Gladstone's First Midlothian Campaign—Speeches at Edinburgh, Dalkeith, &c.—Memorable Demonstrations—Dissolution of Parliament—Manifestoes of Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Gladstone—The Second Midlothian Campaign—Speech at Edinburgh—Excitement in Midlothian—Return of Mr. Gladstone—General Result of the Elections—Great Liberal Majority—Resignation of Lord Beaconsfield—Mr. Gladstone again becomes Prime Minister—The Bradlaugh Case: Prolonged Discussions—Irish Questions—The Relief of Distress Bill—Compensation for Disturbance Bill—Rejection of the Measure by the Lords—The Premier's Supplementary Budget—Illness of the Premier—Public Sympathy—Presentation of an Address to Mr. Herbert Gladstone—Address by the Prime Minister—The Lord Mayor's Banquet, 1880—Mr. Gladstone and the Liberals of Greenwich—Lord Mayor's Banquet at the Guildhall, 1881.

In the autumn of 1879 Mr. Gladstone resolved upon contesting Midlothian, and the first speech of the first campaign was delivered in the Music Hall, George Street, Edinburgh, on the 25th of November. On the following day he spoke at Dalkeith, in the very heart of the Duke of Buccleuch's own property. Although the population of the district was to a large extent agricultural, upwards of three thousand persons were present at the meeting. At the Corn Exchange, Edinburgh, Mr. Gladstone subsequently addressed about 4,700 persons, who had assembled from all parts of the country under the auspices of the East and North of Scotland Liberal Associations. More than one hundred Scottish Liberal Associations were represented on this occasion. He next spoke in the Waverley Market, meeting with a reception which, alike from its enthusiasm and from the vastness of the audience—numbering upwards of twenty thousand persons—has never been approached within the walls of any building in Scotland. Between sixty and seventy addresses were presented to the right hon. gentleman. Mr. Gladstone next proceeded to Inverkeithing and Dunfermline, and afterwards to Perth, at all of which places he spoke. The scene at the last-named town was very animated. Dunkeld, Aberfeldy, and Taymouth Castle were visited in turn by the indefatigable traveller, and addresses delivered at each. On the 4th of December he arrived at

Glasgow, and on the following day delivered to the students at the University his address as Lord Rector. In the evening he addressed an immense audience, composed of nearly 6,000 persons, in St. Andrew's Hall, and was most enthusiastically received. His speech on this occasion was concerned with Cyprus, the Suez Canal, India, and Afghanistan. At Motherwell Mr. Gladstone received a number of deputations, and subsequently he was presented with the freedom of the burgh of Hamilton.

At this point the first Midlothian campaign closed. Mr. Gladstone had addressed in the course of a fortnight upwards of 75,000 people, while altogether a quarter of a million persons took some part in the demonstrations everywhere evoked by the mere announcement of an intended visit. The only event comparable with the Liberal leader's progress was the historical visit of Earl Grey to Edinburgh in 1834, and even that did not excite such a thrill of almost national enthusiasm.

On the 8th of March, 1880, announcement was made in the House of Lords by Lord Beaconsfield, and in the House of Commons by Sir Stafford Northcote, of the immediate dissolution of Parliament. The news created great political excitement and activity throughout the country. On the following day the Prime Minister's manifesto appeared, in the shape of a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. His lordship referred to the attempt made to sever the constitutional tie between Great Britain and Ireland, adding, 'It is to be hoped that all men of light and leading will resist this destructive doctrine.' His lordship further said, 'There are some who challenge the expediency of the Imperial character of this realm. Having attempted and failed to enfeeble our colonies by their policy of decomposition, they may now perhaps recognise in the disintegration of the United Kingdom a mode which will not only accomplish, but precipitate that purpose.' With regard to foreign affairs, the Premier said, 'Peace rests on the presence, not to say the ascendency, of England in the councils of Europe.'

Lord Hartington and Mr. Gladstone issued their counter-manifestoes on the 11th. The latter repudiated Lord Beaconsfield's dark allusions to the repeal of the union and the abandonment of the colonies. They were base insinuations, the true purpose of which was to hide from view the acts of the Ministry, and their effect upon the character and condition of the country. At home they had neglected legislation, and aggravated the public distress by continual shocks to confidence. Abroad they had strained the prerogative by gross misuse, had weakened the

Empire by needless wars, and dishonoured it in the eyes of Europe by their clandestine acquisition of the island of Cyprus. The budget was introduced on the 12th of March; but it excited only a languid interest. Graver matters now occupied the public attention. The electoral campaign began with a speech delivered by Mr. Gladstone in Marylebone, in which he announced Lord Derby's definite secession from the Conservative party.

On the 10th of March the right hon. gentleman left London to enter upon his second Midlothian campaign. At King's Cross, before the train left, he expressed the utmost confidence of success, both in Midlothian and elsewhere. At several places where the train stopped he delivered brief speeches, and it was noticed afterwards as a singular fact that at every place where Mr. Gladstone halted and delivered an address the Liberals gained a seat. The first speech on his own account was delivered in the Music Hall, Edinburgh, on the 17th of March. He dealt at great length with various questions of foreign policy, and concluded with these references personal to his opponents and himself:—'I give them credit for patriotic motives; I give them credit for those patriotic motives which are so incessantly and gratuitously denied to us. I believe that we are all united, gentlemen—indeed, it would be most unnatural if we were not—in a fond attachment, perhaps in something of a proud attachment, to the great country to which we belong—to this great Empire which has committed to it a trust and a function given from Providence as special and remarkable as ever was entrusted to any portion of the family of man. Gentlemen, I feel when I speak of that trust and that function that words fail me; I cannot tell you what I think of the nobleness of the inheritance that has descended upon us, of the sacredness of the duty of maintaining it. I will not condescend to make it a part of controversial politics. It is a part of my being, of my flesh and blood, of my heart and soul. For those ends I have laboured through my youth and manhood till my hairs are grey. In that faith and practice I have lived; in that faith and practice I will die.'

Speeches rapidly succeeded each other at Corstorphine, Ratho, Davidson's Mains, Dalkeith, Mid-Calder, Gilmerton, Gorebridge, Pathhead, Penicuik, Stow, and West Calder. In his final speech, delivered at the last-named place, he drew a powerful indictment against the Government, and placed the issue before the country in a strong light. At the close of the campaign all the daily and weekly journals concurred in admiring the indomitable energy and vigour of the orator, who could carry out this great enterprise

when he had already passed the age of threescore years and ten.

It was universally admitted that the Conservatives chose the best period, from their own point of view, for an appeal to the country, and the result of the General Election was consequently looked forward to with much interest and anxiety by the country generally. The keenest interest naturally centred in the Midlothian contest, and when the poll came to be declared, the numbers were found to be as follows:—Gladstone, 1,579; Dalkeith, 1,368. This was by far the largest poll ever recorded in the county, the Liberal candidate going beyond the majority which had secured the seat for the Conservative in 1874. Edinburgh was illuminated in the evening, and everywhere were to be witnessed signs of rejoicing at Mr. Gladstone's victory. The right hon. gentleman was also returned for Leeds by a large majority, but this seat was afterwards filled by his son, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, who had been defeated by Lord George Hamilton in Middlesex. High praise was due to the Midlothian Liberal Association for its energetic promotion of Mr. Gladstone's candidature. While some journals endeavoured to depreciate the significance of the triumph, the *Times* admitted that it was a heavy blow to the territorial influence of the Duke of Buccleuch, hitherto considered supreme in Midlothian.

The result of the elections generally throughout the country exceeded the most sanguine Liberal expectations. When the numbers were finally known, it was seen that 351 Liberals had been returned and 240 Conservatives, as against 351 Conservatives and 251 Liberals in the previous Parliament. Sixty-one Home Rulers were returned as against fifty previously; and the Liberals had thus a majority of fifty over the Conservatives and Home Rulers combined. A Parliament having so large a proportion of Liberal members had not been returned to the House of Commons since the days of the first Reform Bill.

As soon as the result of the elections was known, Lord Beaconsfield proceeded to Windsor, where he had an interview with her Majesty and resigned the seals of office. Lord Granville and Lord Hartington were summoned by the Queen; but as those noblemen were unable to form a Ministry, Mr. Gladstone, who had all along been designated for the office by the Liberal party throughout the country, was sent for. The right hon. gentleman was successful in forming a Cabinet, in which he himself filled the double office of Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Selborne became Lord Chancellor, Earl Spencer Lord President of the Council, the Duke of Argyll Lord Privy Seal, Lord Granville Foreign Secretary, Lord Hartington Indian Secretary,

Sir W. Harcourt Home Secretary, Lord Kimberley Colonial Secretary, Mr. Childers War Secretary, Lord Northbrook First Lord of the Admiralty, Mr. Forster Chief Secretary for Ireland, Mr. Bright Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Mr. Chamberlain President of the Board of Trade. Mr. Fawcett was Postmaster-General, Sir Charles Dilke Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Earl Cowper accepted the office of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, and the Marquis of Ripon was appointed Governor-General of India. Probably no Government ever acceded to office with greater strength than that which now acknowledged Mr. Gladstone as Premier.

The first difficulty in the new Parliament arose in connection with the Indian Budget, in which there was a great deficit instead of a surplus, as had been expected. An extraordinary miscalculation had been made in the cost of the Afghan War, and it was discovered that instead of costing six millions, the war would probably cost at least fifteen. The unfulfilled portions of the Berlin Treaty were also much discussed at this time, while the Bradlaugh difficulty, too, had already appeared in the foreground. The Queen's Speech, read on the 20th of May, referred to the Berlin Treaty, Indian Finance, and the future of South Africa. It also announced that it was not intended to renew the Peace Preservation Act for Ireland, which would expire on the 1st of June. The act for secret voting would be renewed, and bills would be introduced for giving more efficient protection to the occupiers of land against injury from ground game, for determining on a just principle the liabilities of employers for accidents sustained by workmen, and for the extension of the borough franchise in Ireland.

We must now give some attention to the Bradlaugh case. Mr. Charles Bradlaugh, a secularist lecturer and editor, having been elected member for Northampton, presented himself on the third day of the swearing-in of members, with a written claim to be allowed to make a solemn affirmation or declaration of allegiance, instead of taking the oath. This he submitted he had a right to do by the Parliamentary Oaths Act of 1866. Under two later acts he had repeatedly affirmed in the highest Court of Judicature in the realm. As the question raised was a novel and difficult one, the Speaker declined to determine upon Mr. Bradlaugh's claim, and left the matter to the judgment of the House. Accordingly, Lord F. Cavendish, on behalf of the Government, moved the appointment of a Select Committee to consider and report their opinion on the construction of the statutes upon which Mr. Bradlaugh founded his claim. The

House agreed to the appointment of a Select Committee, but on the 11th of May, when a motion was made that the committee consist of nineteen members, Sir H. Drummond Wolff moved the previous question, arguing that the proposal for a Select Committee to inquire into Parliamentary Oaths at that particular stage of the constitution of the House was unprecedented and irregular, and was, if not an infringement, an evasion of the Royal prerogative. This technical issue was discussed, but the appointment of the committee was carried by 171 against 74.

The Select Committee having reported against the claim by a majority of one, Mr. Bradlaugh did not wait to see whether the House would ratify this decision or not, but announced publicly that on the 21st of May he would attend the House in order to take the oath. He said that on taking the oath he would regard himself as bound, not by the letter of its word, but by the spirit which the affirmation would have conveyed if he had been permitted to make it. On the 21st the hon. gentleman presented himself at the table of the House for the purpose of taking the oath or having it administered to him. Sir H. Drummond Wolff interposed, and objected to the administration of the oath to Mr. Bradlaugh, who was thereupon ordered to withdraw till the objection had been heard and decided upon. The ground stated by Sir H. D. Wolff in the resolution which he then moved was that Mr. Bradlaugh had previously claimed the right of making an affirmation, referring to certain statutes, and that the presiding judge at a trial, acting under these statutes, had been satisfied that an oath would have no binding effect on his conscience. By the Common Law of England, Sir H. D. Wolff argued, an atheist was not entitled to take an oath. Mr. Bradlaugh had described himself as an atheist, and was the House to allow that formality to be gone through which the hon. member himself allowed would be a formality and nothing more? The motion was seconded by Mr. Alderman Fowler.

Mr. Gladstone proposed the appointment of a Select Committee to consider and report upon this difficult and delicate question. He pointed out that the question raised by Mr. Bradlaugh's demand was not whether atheists should or should not be excluded from the House of Commons: that was a political and constitutional question. The House might, if it chose, pass a resolution excluding Mr. Bradlaugh, but the question here raised was not one of directly excluding him from the House, but of interfering to prevent him from taking the oath. Was the House competent to do this? Mr. Bradlaugh

presented himself in fulfilment of a duty imposed by statute. If he took the oath in a manner or under circumstances not acquitting him of that statutory duty, he was open to prosecution, and to penalties, recoverable in the courts of justice. But if the House interfered to prevent him from fulfilling his statutory duty, would they be acting within their competence? In dealing with statutory subject-matter, the House was treading upon delicate ground, liable at every step to have its proceedings questioned, and therefore Mr. Gladstone proposed to refer the question of the competence of the House to a Select Committee.

The Opposition, however, were greatly averse from the course suggested, and Mr. Gibson was loudly cheered by Conservatives when he maintained that the House was in a position to decide at once against Mr. Bradlaugh's claim, without the assistance of a Select Committee. He further held that when one of the most solemn forms of the House was about to be treated in a way which many members would regard as a kind of blasphemy, it could not be suggested that there was not an inherent power in that great assembly to interfere and prevent such an occurrence taking place. Sir S. Northcote agreed with Mr. Gibson, but Mr. Bright eloquently begged the House to discuss the question simply as a question of right and of law, and not with reference to religious views. Touching upon the constitutional aspect of the question, he instanced the case of John Wilkes, as one showing the inconvenience and trouble of a contest between the House of Commons and a particular constituency. Ultimately Sir H. D. Wolff's resolution was rejected by 289 to 214. A Select Committee was appointed, with Mr. Spencer Walpole as Chairman, and it commenced its sittings on the 2nd of June. Sir Erskine May and Mr. Bradlaugh himself were examined, and in the end the Committee decided, by a large majority, that Mr. Bradlaugh could not be allowed to take the oath, but appended a recommendation that he should be allowed to make an affirmation at his own risk, subject, that is to say, to the penalties recoverable for taking his seat without the statutory qualification.

This extraordinary case assumed quite a new phase on the 21st of June, when Mr. Labouchere, the senior member for Northampton, moved a resolution in the House of Commons to the effect that Mr. Bradlaugh be permitted to make an affirmation or a declaration, contending that he had a statutory right to do so if he pleased. Sir H. Giffard moved, as an amendment, that Mr. Bradlaugh be not permitted either to make an affirmation or to take the oath. An exciting debate followed,

Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone being appealed to, as religious men, not to throw their shield over 'an infidel blasphemer.' Both answered the challenge. Mr. Bright spoke again on behalf of toleration, and created a storm of disapproval on some benches when he incidentally remarked that to a large extent the working people of the country cared no more for the dogmas of Christianity than the upper classes cared for the practice of that religion. Mr. Gladstone spoke at length. He said the Government did not make a new law under which Mr. Bradlaugh might be admitted, because they believed the existing law to be sufficient. Their duty was very limited; it was to give the House the best advice in their power, and then to leave the matter in the hands of the House. He earnestly begged members not to mix up this question with a religious discussion. If they undertook to interfere for the first time with a gentleman who proposed to fulfil at the table of the House what he considered to be his statutory duty, they might find themselves in either of two conflicts, into neither of which was he (Mr. Gladstone) disposed to enter, not being led thereto by obligation or by precedent. He was not willing to enter into conflict with the courts of law, nor was he willing to enter into conflict with the constituency of Northampton. Mr. Gladstone then recapitulated the facts in the case of Mr. Wilkes, showing how the House of Commons had been compelled to acknowledge its proceedings against him as invalid and unconstitutional. He also traced the progress of religious toleration since 1828, and enforced the statutory right of every legally-elected member to take the oath. Until he had done so, the House of Commons had no jurisdiction over him.

The House carried Sir H. Giffard's amendment by 275 to 230, some thirty Liberals voting against Mr. Labouchere's motion, and a still larger number abstaining from voting. On the following day Mr. Bradlaugh again presented himself at the table of the House, and claimed the right to take the oath. He was ordered to withdraw, but declined to do so, and on the motion of Sir S. Northcote he was taken into the custody of the Serjeant-at-Arms. Next day, however, he was released, and on the 1st of July the difficulty between the constituency and the House was temporarily removed by the passing of a resolution that every person claiming to be a person permitted by law to make an affirmation instead of taking the oath should be allowed to do so, subject to any liability by statute. Mr. Bradlaugh next day made the affirmation and took his seat, and subsequently voted in several divisions. He was, however, served with two

writs, claiming heavy penalties on the ground that he did not belong to the class of persons permitted to affirm. Mr. Bradlaugh was worsted in the law courts, although he carried the case from one court to another, arguing it himself with great ability. However, the case ultimately came before the Court of Final Appeal in the House of Lords, and the previous adverse judgments were reversed. Mr. Bradlaugh thus emerged from his long and anxious legal conflicts with flying colours. But his contest with the House of Commons was yet far from being settled.

Irish questions occupied a great portion of the session of 1880. Mr. O'Connor Power introduced a bill known as the Relief of Distress Bill, which had for its object the Amendment of the Land Act of 1870, by repealing those portions of the ninth section of the Act which limited the discretion of the courts in awarding compensation for disturbance in cases of ejectment for non-payment of rent. Mr. Forster, on behalf of the Government, made concessions in regard to grants in aid of out-door relief. He also announced that, in consequence of the prevailing distress, he would propose to enlarge the discretionary powers of the County Court judge, so that he might, under certain circumstances, give compensation to tenants in certain districts who were ejected for non-payment of rent. This clause was afterwards withdrawn, and the Relief of Distress Bill passed.

Mr. Forster, however, re-introduced the new clause as a separate measure, and it now became famous as the Irish Compensation for Disturbance Bill. Mr. Forster, in explaining the measure, said that under the Land Act a tenant could not be turned out on the expiry of his tenancy at the mere pleasure of the landlord; he had to be compensated. But there was an exception to this. No compensation was to be given to tenants where they were evicted for non-payment of rent, and the question was whether, under the special circumstances of the year, and for the relief of the distressed districts, this exception itself should not be modified. The operation of the measure was to be limited to the end of 1881. Secondly, the defaulting tenant, if evicted, was to be entitled to compensation only under stringent conditions. Further, Mr. Forster contended that where Ulster tenant right prevailed, the tenant was entitled to a larger compensation than a County Court judge could give any tenant under this bill. Evictions had increased, and were increasing, and the measure was absolutely necessary.

Short as the bill was—it was only thirty-five lines in length—yet never was a bill so long in discussion. Three sittings were spent upon it before it passed the second reading; eight sittings

before it got through committee; a sitting was given to its consideration upon Report; and it was warmly debated once more when it was proposed for third reading. The second reading was carried by 295 to 217, and the third reading by 303 votes to 237. A disastrous fate, however, awaited the measure in the House of Lords. It was introduced by Lord Granville, and discussed for two nights on the second reading. Lord Derby was for modifying the bill in committee, but Lord Beaconsfield opposed the second reading, and it was rejected by 282 to 51.

Mr. Gladstone's supplementary budget for this year was brought forward on the 10th of June. The scheme included a new scale of wine duties, and the abolition of the malt tax. As a substitute for the latter, it was proposed to charge a duty of 6s. 3d. upon every barrel of beer, the beer being gauged for the purposes of assessment when it was in the fermenting squares. There was, however, to be an allowance for waste, which would reduce the duty to 6s. Private brewing would now require a licence, and every person in a house under £20 who desired to brew for domestic use was to take out a licence for a few shillings. On the ground of all these advantages, the Chancellor of the Exchequer asked for a penny additional of income-tax to enable him to effect the changes. Mr. Gladstone's proposals gave general satisfaction, and were ultimately carried.

Towards the close of the session of 1880 it was apparent that the heavy burden of public affairs, with its enormous responsibilities, had begun to tell upon Mr. Gladstone, and on the second day of August it became known that he was prostrated by illness. There was at once an outburst of sympathy from one end of the country to the other. The medical reports showed that the Premier was suffering from an attack of fever. From Her Majesty downward inquiries were constantly made as to the patient's health, and so great was the excitement caused by the news of his illness that telegrams from all parts of the Empire and the Continent continually arrived in Downing Street. For ten days Mr. Gladstone was confined to his room, and Downing Street was besieged by distinguished callers. The President of the United States and the King and Queen of the Belgians were amongst those who sent sympathetic messages. In London and the country numerous meetings were held for the purpose of expressing sympathy with the Premier in his illness. Rarely indeed, if ever, has there been witnessed such a general and spontaneous expression of the national sympathy towards a distinguished statesman whose life had been imperilled by illness.

On recovering sufficiently to leave town, the Premier paid a

brief visit to the Dean of Windsor, but went to London on the 13th of August, in order to attend a Cabinet Council. On the 15th he finally returned to Downing Street. As soon as he was approaching a state of convalescence, Mr. (now Sir) Donald Currie, M.P., generously expressed a wish to take the Premier on a sea voyage round the entire coast of England, in his beautifully-appointed steamer the *Grantully Castle*. The offer was accepted, and the voyage which Mr. Gladstone was thus enabled to take operated most beneficially upon his exhausted frame and energies.

On the 2nd of June, 1880, a great meeting was held in Her Majesty's Opera House for the purpose of presenting an address from the Liberals of Middlesex to Mr. Herbert Gladstone, who had made such a gallant fight in that county at the General Election. Mr. W. E. Forster presided, and when the Premier entered the house some time after the meeting began, his appearance was the signal for an outburst of enthusiasm. Before Mr. Gladstone's advent the chairman had paid a high tribute to him for his great abilities and his self-denial in the public service. Mr. Herbert Gladstone having acknowledged the address presented to him, the Premier stood forward, and was received with immense cheering, the whole audience rising to their feet. When quiet was restored, the right hon. gentleman proceeded with his speech. He had felt unable, he said, to resist the invitation to be present at that meeting, and he did not think that a more generous act was ever done by a body so great and so diversified than that of the Liberals of Middlesex in the choice of one who at that time was perfectly untried to become the organ of their feelings and opinions, the champion of their interests and principles, on the great and trying occasion of the election through which the country had lately passed. It was a bold and generous experiment, for which all who bore his name and belonged to the circle of his family were bound to thank them in no formal way, but in the most hearty and earnest sense. But the contest had not been without its uses; for, said Mr. Gladstone, 'we shall be much disappointed if this Parliament —should it be permitted to attain anything like the natural average of Parliamentary life—should dissolve without having secured to you that extension of the county suffrage which, had it been granted before the late election in Middlesex, would, on that occasion, have achieved a very different result.' The speaker then referred to the Midlothian contest at length, and paid a tribute to the energy and spirit of the Liberals of the county. The sound which went forth from Midlothian rever-

berated through the land, and was felt to be among the powerful operative causes which led to the great triumph of the Liberal party.

Mr. Gladstone attended the Lord Mayor's banquet on the 9th of November, 1880, and in consequence of the seriously disturbed condition of Ireland at this time, his speech had been looked forward to with much anxiety. In the course of his observations, the Premier said, with regard to the law affecting landlord and tenant, it would be the duty of the Government carefully to examine it in reference to the wants of Ireland, and if they found occasion to believe that its provisions were insufficient for the great objects connected with the happiness of the people to which they ought to be addressed, they would not scruple to call on the Legislature again to address itself to the subject, in full confidence that they would deal with it in that spirit of equity and justice which had already for a series of years unequivocally marked its proceedings. But there was another and more painful subject. Referring to the party of disorder in Ireland, and the duty of the Government, the Premier said that, anxious as they were for the practical improvement of the land laws, he assured not only his auditors, but those who might become acquainted with the proceedings of that evening, that they recognised also the priority of the duty above every other of enforcing the law for the purposes of order. And if an increase of power were necessary to secure this, they would not fail to demand it.

When the usual Ministerial Whitebait Dinner took place at the Trafalgar Tavern, Greenwich, in August, 1881, the Liberals of the borough of Greenwich took the opportunity of presenting Mr. Gladstone with an illuminated address and a carved oak chair as a token of their esteem and a souvenir of his former constituency. On the cushioned back of the chair were embossed in gold the arms of Mr. and Mrs. Gladstone, with the motto 'Fide et Virtute,' and above, in the midst of some wood-carving representing the rose, the thistle, the shamrock, and the leek, was a silver plate, bearing a suitable inscription.

At the Lord Mayor's banquet at the Guildhall on the 9th of November, 1881, Mr. Gladstone responded to the usual toast, 'The Health of Her Majesty's Ministers.' Since that day twelvemonth, he said, he was glad to discern signs of improvement in regard to Ireland; but the struggle between the representatives of law and the representatives of lawlessness had rendered necessary an augmentation of the executive power. But in the second place there had also been an improvement of the

law. The Legislature had given proof of its disposition to meet every reasonable demand, and to the best of its ability to steadily promote the welfare, on the principle of equal justice, of the whole population of Ireland. He hoped there was nothing now to prevent the Irish people from making a full trial and obtaining the full benefit of the Land Act which had just been placed upon the Statute Book.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE SESSIONS OF 1881, 1882, AND 1883.

The Session of 1881—Coercion Act for Ireland—The Irish Land Bill—Great Speech by the Premier—Death of Lord Beaconsfield—Mr. Gladstone visits Leeds—The Premier at the Guildhall—The Session of 1882—Debates on Procedure—Terrible Condition of Ireland—Assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke—Prevention of Crime Bill—The Arrears Bill—The Budget—Mr. Bradlaugh—Banquet at the Mansion House—Mr. Gladstone's Jubilee—The Session of 1883.

THE session of 1881 was a session devoted almost exclusively to the affairs of Ireland. It was known that Mr. Gladstone intended to bring in a Land Bill, but, unfortunately, before this could be done, so alarming had the condition of Ireland grown that the Government were obliged first to bring forward a Coercion Bill. The measure was naturally distasteful to a Ministry which included such friends of Ireland as Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright; but life and property had become perfectly insecure in the sister island, and such a measure was rendered absolutely necessary.

The bill was introduced by Mr. Forster soon after the meeting of Parliament in January, and it gave rise to protracted debates before it became law. Mr. Gladstone, in his speech on the introduction of the bill, said that as to the complaint that the bill was an infringement of liberty in Ireland and was aimed at the Land League, neither the Land League nor any other person or body in Ireland could be touched by the bill, except so far as it fell within its very stringent definition, according to which no one could be arrested except upon reasonable suspicion that he had been a principal or an accessory to a crime punishable by law, committed in a proscribed district, being an act of violence or intimidation, and likewise, and over and above this, tending to interfere with or disturb the maintenance of law and order. They were not interfering in the slightest degree with liberty of discussion; he would go further, and even say licence of discussion. As to the taunt that the Government were receiving Conservative support, Mr. Gladstone pointed out that

this had rarely attended their Irish policy, and if they received it now it was no fault of theirs. But sad would be the day when the mere reproach of receiving Conservative support could for one moment shake a Liberal Government in giving effect to its deliberate convictions. Dealing next with the Land League, the right hon. gentleman said it had been attempted to compare it with the League against the Corn Laws; but Mr. Bright had completely demolished that miserable argument. It had also been attempted to compare it with the trade unions; but the trade unions marked an onward step in the intelligence and in the love of law and order among the working classes. They had never tainted themselves by either word or act which could bring them into suspicion in connection with the maintenance of law. The leaders of the Land League were now put forward as martyrs on the same platform as O'Connell; but on every occasion in his life-long agitation O'Connell set himself to avoid whatever might tend to a breach of law and order. Mr. Gladstone then showed the necessity of a Coercion Act from the condition of Ireland. In the past year there had been a great increase of crime, and the outrages were agrarian, and not connected with the distress. In the last quarter of 1880, when evictions had almost disappeared, numbering only 152, crime had risen to 1,300 cases. As to the relation of the operations of the Land League to crime, they had been told in that House that the object of the Land League was to prevent persons taking farms from which others had been unfairly and tyrannically evicted. But these limitations disappeared from the speeches of certain members delivered in Ireland, and he justified this position by extracts from the speeches of Mr. Parnell and others. It was a significant fact that agrarian outrages had risen and fallen with the meetings of the Land League. Nothing could be more idle than to confound the agrarian crime of Ireland with the ordinary crime of England, or the agrarian crime of Ireland with the ordinary crime in that country; while there was also to be taken into account the failure of the administration of justice in Ireland. As regarded general crime, Ireland held a high and an honourable place; but how different was the case with agrarian crime! Again referring to the serious miscarriage of justice in Ireland, the Premier said that the Government, in pressing their proposal on the British Parliament, felt that they were acting in a truly national spirit, and that the effect of its being passed into law would be to restore to Ireland the first conditions of Christian and civilised existence.

Mr. Gladstone brought in his Budget on the 4th of April, and

before the week which had witnessed its introduction had closed Mr. Gladstone delivered another great speech, which attested his mastery of details, and his power of expounding and illustrating broad and general principles. We refer to his address on bringing forward the Irish Land Bill, delivered on the 7th of April. The Premier began his exposition of the Ministerial measure by describing it as the most difficult and complex question with which he had ever been called upon to deal. First he examined the grounds on which the Government was required to legislate, which he defined to be the land scarcity in Ireland, the defects which had been developed in the Act of 1870, and the bad conduct of a limited number of landlords. He next discussed the reports of the Richmond and Bessborough Commissions, pointing out that all the commissioners, with one exception, agreed that it was of vital importance to institute a court for the purpose of dealing with the differences between landlord and tenant. This he (the Premier) also held to be inevitable, and it would be the salient point and cardinal feature of the bill. The appeal to it would not be compulsory, but optional. Every tenant in Ireland would have a right to go into the court to have fixed for his holding a 'judicial rent,' which, when fixed, would endure for fifteen years, during which time there could be no eviction of the tenant except for specific breach of certain specific covenants or non-payment of rent. There would be no power of resumption on the part of the landlord during that period even with the leave of the court, and the landlord's remedy would take the form of a compulsory sale of the tenant right. At the conclusion of the statutory term of fifteen years, application might be made to the court for a renewal of tenancy *toties quoties*. If it were renewed, the conditions as to eviction would remain, but the landlord would have a pre-emption of the tenant's right if he wished to sell. Mr. Gladstone next explained the difference between present and future tenancies, showed the retrospective effect of the bill, touched upon the question of leases, and described the composition of the court. Passing to the second part of the bill, after referring briefly to the political and social advantages of a peasant proprietary, he stated that the Land Commission would have power to assist tenants to purchase their holdings, and purchase estates from willing landlords for the purpose of re-selling them, where three-fourths of the tenants were ready to buy. The advances would be three-fourths of the purchase-money, and the tenants would not be precluded from borrowing the remainder. Advances would be made for agricultural improvements, including reclamation of waste lands, to both tenants and companies, and also for

the purposes of emigration, and no limit would be placed on the gross sum to be advanced. Summing up the bill, he said its general outcome would be that increase of rent would be restrained by certain rules, compensation for disturbance would be regulated according to different rates, the right to sell the tenant's interest would be universally established, evictions would only be permissible for default, and resumption by the landlord would be impossible, except for cause both reasonable and grave, which cause might be brought in question before the court. With an eloquent invocation of justice, the Premier concluded a speech which had occupied two hours and a quarter in delivery. It was universally regarded as deserving to be numbered among the greatest of his oratorical achievements.

The debate on the second reading of the Land Bill was very lengthy, extending over a period of three weeks. This stage was carried on the 19th of May, an amendment moved by Lord Elcho having been defeated by 352 to 176, or exactly two votes to one. It was not until a late period of the session that the measure was despatched to the House of Lords. Important amendments made by their lordships in committee seemed likely to cause a collision between the two Houses. An agreement, however, was arrived at with respect to the most important of these amendments, and the Irish Land Bill became law on the 23rd of August. There was thus added to the Statute Book another of those great measures by which Mr. Gladstone will be remembered with gratitude by posterity.

The Premier's old and distinguished political antagonist, Lord Beaconsfield, died on the 19th of April, 1881. Mr. Gladstone proposed to give the deceased statesman the honours of a public funeral in Westminster Abbey, and wrote to that effect to Lord Rowton. The executors of Lord Beaconsfield, however, replied that they had no option but to decline a request which represented the strong feeling existing throughout the country, as his lordship's instructions by will that he was to be buried at Hughenden were most definite and precise. On the 9th of May Mr. Gladstone moved in the House of Commons that an address should be presented to her Majesty praying her to give directions that a monument should be erected in Westminster Abbey to the deceased Earl. The motion was very distasteful to a portion of the Liberal party, chiefly on the ground of the recent foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield. Mr. Labouchere moved an amendment, but Mr. Gladstone's motion was adopted by 380 votes to 54.

In the month of October, 1881, the Premier fulfilled a promise which he had made some time before to visit Leeds, for which

borough he had himself been returned in 1880, but for which his son, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, now sat. Mr. Gladstone delivered several important addresses on subjects which then prominently occupied the public attention, particularly on the land question, local government, Free Trade and Fair Trade.

On the 14th of October, or only a few days after the Leeds demonstrations, the City of London presented a scene of unwonted animation, in consequence of a visit of the Premier to the Guildhall. The occasion of this visit was the presentation of an address from the Corporation to the right hon. gentleman. The Recorder (Sir T. Chambers, M.P.) presented the address, which set forth the long services the Premier had rendered to his country. Mr. Gladstone, in his reply, after some personal references, touched upon Irish obstruction, the condition of the sister country (announcing incidentally the arrest of Mr. Parnell), local government in Ireland, and the position of affairs in South Africa.

The session of 1882, intended by the Government to be devoted chiefly to useful domestic legislation, was destined to be one of excitements and surprises. After the experience of past sessions it was obvious that legislation was imperative upon one subject in particular—namely, Parliamentary procedure. In fact, Mr. Gladstone had intimated on more than one occasion, as we have seen, that the time had fully arrived for dealing with this matter. Accordingly, on the opening night of the session, the Prime Minister laid the proposed new rules of Parliamentary procedure on the table. The *clôture* by a bare majority was to be established in order to secure the power of closing debate by a vote of the House. But before the subject could make any headway, many other questions intervened.

The House of Lords decided upon the extraordinary step of voting a Select Committee to inquire into the working of the Land Act, including the alleged total collapse of the clauses relating to purchase, emigration, and arrears. Lord Granville, however, on the part of the Government, declined to take any responsibility for the proceeding, and the Prime Minister introduced in the Lower House a resolution condemning the proposed inquiry as tending to defeat the operation of the Land Act and as injurious to the good government of Ireland. The opposition evaded a direct challenge upon the issue raised by Mr. Gladstone, but Mr. Gibson moved the previous question, and the Government won by a large majority. But it was subsequently generally acknowledged that some amendment of the Land Act was desirable. The Lords decided to go on with their inquiry, not-

withstanding the vote in the House of Commons, and the fact that the appointment of such a committee was somewhat irregular.

But to return to the Procedure resolutions. These resolutions originally reproduced substantially the rules of urgency framed by the Speaker after the Parliamentary imbroglios of the previous session. But very important alterations were now included. The closure system was to be rendered permanent, and not dependent upon a vote of the House declaring public business urgent. The rule with respect to closing debate was to be applied on the initiative of the Speaker, subject to ratification by the House, by the vote of a bare majority, with certain numerical limitations specially protecting small minorities as distinguished from the regular Opposition. Mr. Gladstone enlarged upon a new feature, which he described as the delegation of work to grand committees for special classes of bills. This and other portions of the closure scheme led to the tabling of an enormous number of amendments. But the debate centred on the first resolution, and to this resolution Mr. Marriott had given notice of an amendment condemning the *clôture* by a "bare" majority. The most conflicting views were apparent on both sides of the House, but on the 30th of March Mr. Marriott's amendment was rejected by a majority of 39 in a very full House. After Easter the debate was resumed on the remaining amendments, but the proceedings were interrupted by important events in Ireland; and it was announced at a later date that, instead of Parliament being prorogued as usual in August, it would be merely adjourned until October, when the Procedure resolutions would be proceeded with in a brief autumn session.

In the early months of this year Ireland was in a terrible condition. Outrages and murders were fearfully rife. Such brutal assassinations as those of Mrs. Smythe and Mr. Herbert had filled England with horror; there was, in fact, nothing less than a social revolution on foot in Ireland. Announcement was made in the first week of May that Earl Cowper had resigned the Viceroyalty. Mr. Forster left the Cabinet because he would not share the responsibility of releasing Mr. Parnell, Mr. Dillon, and Mr. O'Kelly. Lord Spencer was appointed to the Viceroyalty, and Lord Frederick Cavendish succeeded Mr. Forster. But only two days afterwards England was thrilled with sorrow and indignation from one end to the other by the terrible news that the new Chief Secretary, and the Under-Secretary, Mr. Burke, had been murdered in Phœnix Park. This fearful blow

fell with special weight upon Mr. Gladstone, who had long been on terms of the closest friendship with Lord Frederick Cavendish.

A Prevention of Crime Bill of a very stringent nature was now introduced by Sir William Harcourt, and in the course of the debates warm discussions arose over an 'understanding' called 'The Kilmainham Compact,' but Mr. Gladstone successfully defended the position of the Government in regard to its supposed negotiations with Mr. Parnell. The Prevention of Crime Bill was directed against secret societies and illegal combinations, and it was hoped that as the Land League party had expressed horror at the Phœnix Park crime, which was said to be the work of American conspirators, they would allow the measure speedily to become law. But this hope was doomed to disappointment, for the bill was hindered in every possible way. Mr. Bright said it would harm no innocent man, and explained that his doctrine, that 'Force is no remedy,' was intended to apply not to outrages, but to grievances. The House went into Committee on the 25th of May, but in three weeks only seven clauses out of thirty had been agreed to. The bill was enlarged by an important clause giving power to expel aliens from Great Britain as well as Ireland. On the 29th of June Mr. Gladstone announced that the time had come for a prolonged sitting. The House accordingly sat all night through, the Land League party moving amendment after amendment to the seventeenth clause, which dealt with compensation charged in districts stained by undetected crimes. During this memorable sitting, Mr. Parnell and fifteen of his followers were suspended for systematic obstruction. At a later period nine other Irish members were also suspended. The remaining clauses of the bill were then agreed to, after a sitting of twenty-eight hours. The third reading took place on the 7th of July, and the Bill went to the House of Lords. Their lordships passed the measure without amendment, and it received the royal assent on the 12th of July.

The Arrears Bill, another important Irish measure, was introduced by Mr. Gladstone on the 15th of May. Adopting the principle of gift and compulsion instead of that of loan and voluntary arrangement, the bill proposed to give either landlord or tenant power to apply to the Land Court, under certain conditions, for carrying out a composition with the aid of public funds. The conditions were that the tenant should have satisfied the landlord as to the year's rent due for 1881, that he should prove his inability to pay the arrears, and that the holding should be under £30 valuation, subject to which the State would pay

the landlord half the remaining arrears, not in any case exceeding a year's rent, the remainder to be wholly cancelled. The Irish Church surplus, it was estimated, would suffice to meet the charge, but in case of failure the Consolidated Fund would contribute the necessary amount. Important divisions were taken on various points, but the Government were successful in maintaining the principle of the bill, though new clauses were added, giving relief by way of loan and voluntary agreement to tenants between £30 and £50 valuation, and introducing a system of grants to Boards of Guardians in aid of emigration. The bill was read a third time on the 21st of July. Its fate in the House of Lords was much discussed, but the Conservatives did not resist the second reading, and eventually the measure became law.

Mr. Gladstone's Budget this session was introduced on the 24th of April. It was known that there was nothing novel to be expected in the way of financial legislation. The Vote of Credit for the Egyptian Expedition it was proposed to meet by an addition to the income-tax, making it sixpence-halfpenny in the pound for the whole year. The financial proposals were agreed to.

The case of Mr. Bradlaugh once more occupied much of the valuable time of the House. On the 7th of February he had appeared to take the oath, but was prevented from doing so on a motion by Sir Stafford Northcote. Mr. Labouchere was also unsuccessful in his attempt to procure the issue of a new writ for Northampton. Not long afterwards Mr. Bradlaugh caused great surprise by advancing to the table, in defiance of the Speaker's order, and administering the oath to himself. Mr. Gladstone declined to interfere, leaving the majority of the House to deal with the question. Mr. Bradlaugh took his seat, but the House voted his expulsion by 297 against 80. Upon a new election being held for Northampton, Mr. Bradlaugh was again returned. Further proceedings took place in the House, and the Speaker stated that he would carry out the order of the House by excluding the hon. member. Pending legal proceedings, however, Mr. Bradlaugh did not attempt to resist further the authority of the Chair, and this question still remained unsettled when the House separated until October.

In the course of this session Mr. Bright withdrew from the Government on the ground that the intervention in Egypt was a manifest violation of the moral law—a view in which, it is scarcely necessary to say, Mr. Gladstone did not coincide, while deeply regretting his distinguished friend and colleague's resignation.

On the 9th of August, 1882, the Prime Minister attended the Lord Mayor's Banquet at the Mansion House. Replying to the toast of Her Majesty's Ministers, after some preliminary observations, he thus alluded to the campaign in Egypt, which had been much canvassed:—'Let it be well understood for what we go and for what we do not go to Egypt. We do not go to make war on its people, but to rescue them from the oppression of a military tyranny, which at present extinguishes every free voice, and chains every arm of the people of that country.' The Premier maintained that it was a good cause for which they were about to contend—the cause of lawful authority—and he had no doubt their efforts would be crowned with a speedy and complete success.

The confidence expressed by the Prime Minister with respect to the early termination of the war in Egypt was speedily justified by Sir Garnet Wolseley's victory of Tel-el-Kebir. But the future relations of England with Egypt were still left an open subject of discussion and speculation.

On the 9th of November, 1882, Mr. Gladstone attended the usual banquet to Her Majesty's Ministers at the Guildhall. Dealing with public affairs, he drew attention to the settlements of the troubles in the East of Europe; and alluding to the Egyptian difficulty, which was making its appearance twelve months before, congratulated his hearers on its removal by the efforts of our naval and military forces. With regard to Ireland, comparing its condition with that of the previous March, and of October, 1881, he showed that there had been a diminution of agrarian crime to the extent of four-fifths. This happy result had been brought about not by a coercive policy alone, but by the exercise of remedial measures. If the people of Ireland were willing to walk in the ways of legality, England was strong, and generous, and free enough to entertain in a friendly and kindly spirit any demand which they might make.

Mr. Gladstone's political jubilee was celebrated on the 13th of December, 1882. Fifty years before, on that day, he had first been returned to Parliament as member for Newark. The right hon. gentleman received a large number of congratulatory addresses, letters, and telegrams, complimenting him on the completion of his fifty years of parliamentary service.

The session of 1883 opened with excellent prospects touching domestic legislation; but in consequence of unusually prolonged, and in many instances useless, debates, the Government were compelled to abandon several of their secondary measures. The debates on the Address were extremely protracted, but from

these Mr. Gladstone was absent, as the state of his health required him to pass several weeks at Cannes. He returned to England early in March, much invigorated, and at once threw himself with all his old ardour into the Parliamentary strife.

The Government introduced this session an Affirmation Bill, which provided that members who objected to the Oath might have the privilege of simply affirming. The Bradlaugh controversy was still before the country, and the Opposition spoke of this measure as a "Bradlaugh Relief Bill." Sir R. Cross moved its rejection on the second reading, and during the lengthy debate which ensued, Mr. Gladstone delivered a speech in defence of the Bill which deserves to rank amongst his highest oratorical efforts. He demonstrated the justice of the measure, and denied that the Government had rendered any assistance to Mr. Bradlaugh; what they had done was to endeavour to keep the proceedings of the House within the bounds of the law and the Constitution. The Opposition, however, strained every nerve to defeat the Bill; and when the division was taken on the 4th of May, it was found that the measure was lost by a majority of three. The numbers were: for the second reading, 289; against, 292.

The Bradlaugh question was thus once more placed in abeyance, and the Government decided to push forward their Agricultural Holdings Bill, the Corrupt Practices Bill, and other measures.

Upon the inauguration of the National Liberal Club in the month of May, 1883, Mr. Gladstone was the principal speaker at the great banquet held at the Royal Aquarium.

Affairs in Egypt and the death of General Gordon caused the Government much difficulty; but in the session of 1885 Mr. Gladstone was able to add to his great home reforms a new Franchise Act, extending Household Suffrage to the counties, and a new Redistribution Act. Being overthrown by a vote on the Budget, however, Mr. Gladstone resigned, and Lord Salisbury became Premier. But the elections of November, 1885, brought Mr. Gladstone again into power. The Prime Minister brought in a Home Rule measure for Ireland in the session of 1886. Being defeated by a combination between the Liberal Dissentients and the Conservatives, he appealed to the country. The Unionists were victorious at the polls, and Mr. Gladstone once more went out of office. His Home Rule policy, however, on being better understood, began to make progress with the constituencies.

CHAPTER XXXII.

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS—CONCLUSION.

Mr. Gladstone and the Movements of the Time—Personal Characteristics—His Religious Feeling—His Oratory—Its Scope, Variety, and Character—His Studious Habits—Surprising Intellectual Labours—Nature of his Pursuits at Hawarden—Miscellaneous Traits—Relations with the Sovereign—Concluding Remarks.

A BIOGRAPHY of the greatest Commoner of his time would be incomplete without some reference to his personal characteristics. We have had English statesmen whose claims to remembrance have been confined to their eminent political services, and who, beyond those limits, have scarcely possessed a personality in the eyes of their countrymen. With Mr. Gladstone the case is wholly different. In almost every movement of the age he has been a participant, whether that movement be social, scientific, philanthropic, political, or religious; while at some point or other his sentiments and sympathies have impinged upon those of every class in the State. His life, in fact, has been larger and fuller than that of any of his contemporaries; and England will fail to recognise in how great a degree his name is inextricably interwoven with the history of the past fifty years until his eloquence is silent and his presence withdrawn from her midst.

Mr. Gladstone is not only the most versatile orator, the most brilliant debater, and the foremost member of Parliament of his age, but is pre-eminently a Christian statesman. The golden thread of Christian principle runs through all his utterances. There are many conscientious men who would have us believe that they have sounded the heights and depths of Christianity, and found it a superstition and a fable—men by whom religion is accounted at variance with scientific and intellectual progress: yet its power is the deepest and greatest over the individual which the world has ever seen, and let no man contemn or despise its influence upon the national life. Those who divorce politics from morality doubtless see in an unswerving religious belief a hindrance to the development of a statesman in the

questionable paths of chicane and diplomacy; and there is another class who, while not going so far, still look askance upon a too rigid adherence to principle in political matters. But Mr. Gladstone has invariably 'worn his heart upon his sleeve,' and disposed for ever of the idea that tortuousness and subterfuge are necessary to the successful political leader. In these degenerate days, when we may almost adopt, politically, the language of the Prince of Denmark, and say, 'Virtue itself of vice must pardon beg,' Mr. Gladstone has demonstrated that simplicity of character, frankness and unreservedness of speech, and moral sensibility, are not incompatible with true political greatness.

Not content with battling against forms of error, and insisting upon the supreme importance of religious truth, Mr. Gladstone is amongst those who believe in Christianity as a living, vitalising force in the individual, and he has endeavoured practically to illustrate its influence. Those who are most severed from him in these matters will at least do deference to his convictions. His deep and unaffected piety has won for him the esteem of all the various religious bodies with which he has been brought into contact; and it is stated that 'he has been found in the humblest houses, reading to the sick or dying consolatory passages of Scripture in his own soft melodious tones.' His earliest friends, Manning, Bishop Hamilton, William Palmer, Henry Wilberforce, and others, were of a like type with himself; and, had Fortune so willed it, it is not impossible that he who became the first of Liberal statesmen might have become equally illustrious as a divine. Into his private life we shall not enter, but we may mention an incident which occurred some years ago as illustrative of this side of his character. The late Bishop of Winchester (Samuel Wilberforce) was under a promise to give an address to the divinity students at King's College, but failing to attend on account of ill-health, Mr. Gladstone, at an hour's notice, took his place. His address on that occasion has been described to us by one who heard it as earnest and impassioned. Though not an actual sermon, it was based upon the phrase in the Epistle to the Romans, 'The righteousness which is by faith.' The character of that address—to adopt the language of another listener, and one whom it touched into a nobler view of the reality of life and its higher aims—indicated that the speaker possessed the elements of a great preacher. In enumerating the factors which go to make up Mr. Gladstone's influence over his countrymen, the moral and spiritual element must not be forgotten, superfluous as it may appear to some in the sphere of political life.

Of his oratory we have already spoken, but something yet remains to be said of its character and variety. Even while but a youthful speaker at the Oxford Union, we are assured that the earnestness and intensity of his language and bearing were sometimes painful; 'conviction was stamped on every word he uttered.' Yet he was by no means always confident in his own powers. After the speech which virtually turned out the Derby-Disraeli Ministry of 1852, he was asked by Bunsen why he did not speak oftener, when he replied that he was withheld by mistrust in himself, lest he should find too much difficulty in keeping within Christian bounds of moderation, in endeavouring to utter faithfully the truth, and yet avoid all that might be construed into personality. This very earnestness, it will be remembered, at a later period caused Mr. Disraeli to rejoice that there was a good substantial piece of furniture between himself and that political Achilles, his opponent. While on this point we may brush aside the groundless assertion that the Mr. Gladstone had in late years regarded Lord Beaconsfield with a personal antipathy. Such is not the case: as Mr. Gladstone himself has stated, 'antipathy is not a word he can admit or recognise as describing his attitude at any time.'

Of recent years Mr. Gladstone's oratory has been almost unlimited in scope and variety. In addition to the speeches and addresses already specified in their order in the course of this work, it may be mentioned as illustrating his gifts of speech that he has at one time lectured with much critical acumen upon Sir Walter Scott; at another addressed in homely language—yet withal blending the useful and the noble in its sentiments—the aged paupers in St. Pancras Workhouse; upon a third occasion he has urged the claims of Eastern research and exploration, of which he is a warm advocate; on a fourth he has discoursed usefully and profitably upon garden cultivation to the Hawarden Horticultural Society; and on a fifth he has addressed an assembly of Nonconformist divines at the City Temple. Nor have we even yet exhausted the list of his addresses. His voice is of itself a great gift, being rich, full, and sonorous. Speaking generally of his oratory, in certain particular respects he is inferior to Lord Beaconsfield and Mr. Bright, but his eloquence altogether has greater breadth, force, and versatility, than that of any of his contemporaries. The memory of other speeches may grow faint, but the effect of many of Mr. Gladstone's Parliamentary orations must remain indelibly stamped upon the minds of those who heard them. While he has a powerful fund of sarcasm, and is not destitute of a certain kind of humour, who

can equal him in comprehensiveness, in mastery of detail, in moral fervour, and intensity of feeling? He has captivated alike the learned and the illiterate, causing both to thrill beneath the spell of his impassioned and irresistible periods. While the mellifluous flow of his language has charmed the intellect, the elevation of his sentiments has touched the spirit of his auditors, and quickened into vitality the higher emotions of humanity.

The extent of Mr. Gladstone's daily intellectual labours has been matter of very general surprise. That which he has accomplished was, indeed, only possible under strict rule and method. From his earliest years of study each day has seen fulfilled its due share of work. At Oxford he was an exception to undergraduate life, and 'did not break off his morning studies at the regulation luncheon hour of one o'clock. It mattered not where he was, in college rooms or in country mansion; from 10 a.m. to 2 p.m. no one ever saw William Ewart Gladstone. He was locked up with his books. From the age of eighteen to the age of twenty-one he never missed these precious four hours except when he was travelling. And his ordeal in the evening was not less severe. Eight o'clock saw him once more engaged in a stiff bout with Aristotle, or plunged deep in the text of Thucydides.' The habit of assimilating knowledge has been constant with him, in all places and at all seasons, from the first day of his college life until now. He has always been an early man, and—quoting now from an article which appeared shortly after Mr. Gladstone's temporary resignation of the Liberal leadership—'since his retirement in Flintshire, he is, if possible, earlier than before. Shortly after eight o'clock in the morning he walks down to prayers in the village church. Early devotion and breakfast over, the remainder of the morning, till the gong sounds at two o'clock, is devoted to work—to reading, writing, meditation, or to the performance of arithmetical feats which no Cabinet Minister has ever surpassed.' Luncheon over, there is more reading; or, 'if there be visitors in the house, pleasant gossip; or, if the weather be tempting, long walks to be taken, or tough oaks to be hewn. Loving air and exercise, Mr. Gladstone is a singularly temperate man in meat and drink. Still, he is only abstemious, not ascetic. A glass or two of claret at dinner, and sometimes a glass of port, that nectar of orators, satisfy his very moderate requirements for stimulant.' His recreation in retirement is such as befits a strong and muscular frame. Mr. Gladstone wields the axe with the skill of an experienced workman. 'Sawing wood has long been known as an excellent exercise, but it is dull work compared with the pleasure of

striking at a huge tree, putting out of question the possibility of mentally coupling with each well-aimed blow the destruction of a political opponent. In wood-cutting *déshabillé*, so little does the lord of the soil look like himself that he has often been accosted by "practical" hands, and received, meekly as is his wont, a lesson from them, the practical man remaining all the while ignorant of the manner of man he was addressing. In his moments of mental and physical relaxation, the Napoleon of oratory (whose heavy artillery is always brought up at the right moment) and the champion of amateur woodmen vanish into the genial host, whose high spirits break out at every moment, and who is never more rejoiced than when he can play a comedy part on his own or his son's lawn.' Further, it has been observed that the frank and free manner of Mr. Gladstone, his liberality in throwing open Hawarden Park to the public, and the deep interest he takes in all local improvements, 'have made him one of the best beloved of English celebrities. On Sunday morning, as the bells of Hawarden Church ring out through the heavy autumn air, vigorous pedestrians may be observed marching up the hill, their dusty raiment and shiny countenances proclaiming that their walk to church has been a long one. This determination towards Hawarden as a place of devotion is not owing to a dearth of churches in the neighbourhood. There are churches at Mold and elsewhere, but in none of these are the lessons read in the sonorous tones of the Premier of England.'

There are yet other traits to be mentioned. Mr. Gladstone's personal charity is proverbial, but his generosity has not been bounded by pecuniary limits. When oppressed with the cares of State he has turned aside to tender counsel and advice in a thousand ways to those who have desired it, and this when time has been his most precious possession. Nor has he served the State at all selfishly: when Prime Minister he resisted a motion for increase of salary in the House of Commons, and when he left office he sought for no pension, although the numerous claims upon him were understood to have compelled the sale of his very remarkable collection of valuable china and articles of virtu. Those who know him best can best speak of his self-denial and complete unselfishness; but as a proof of his independence of spirit we may mention one incident which is worthy of record in connection with this servant of the people. We have reason to believe that when he retired from office, and made an investigation into the condition of his affairs, Mr. Gladstone discovered that the house in Carlton House Terrace, which he had inhabited for eighteen years, was beyond his means. He therefore parted

with it, and obtained a smaller house in Harley Street. This change from a roomy mansion to one comparatively humble entailed, almost as a necessary consequence, the parting with his collections, though, as we have seen, this was also portion of the prudential plan. The loss of his collections—the accumulation of years—must to Mr. Gladstone have been a great one, for his lively appreciation of art has not been confined to public addresses on that subject; books, china, and pictures are treasures which he has ever regarded with peculiar affection, and which he has always delighted to have around him in lavish profusion. Severely simple in his tastes, courteous to the very humblest in the social scale, ceaseless in his intellectual labours, unswerving in his adherence to principle, and untiring in his efforts for the public welfare—such is the character—not drawn by the pen of flattery—of the Ulysses of the Liberal party.

Touching Mr. Gladstone's relations with the Sovereign, on every occasion when he has had the honour to serve the Queen, and to be thrown into personal intercourse with her, her Majesty has been full of kindness and condescension both towards himself and the members of his family. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to state that the honours and rewards which in England follow long and distinguished political service would have been willingly conferred upon Mr. Gladstone by his gracious Sovereign and Mistress; he has chosen, however, to remain one of the people, and by the people he continues to be regarded as the most illustrious ornament of the House of Commons.

We now approach the conclusion of our task. In Mr. Gladstone's career may be traced a natural progression, marked and definite, from the first of his recorded utterances to the last. With a mind plastic as the age itself, it was impossible for him to stand still. Yet every great accession of conviction has cost him public and private throes of which those who charge him with fickleness and inconstancy know but little. The selfish and unprincipled may claim the merit due to a rigid adherence to principle, but it is the principle of self. The man who labours for others—be it in the political or any other sphere—must prepare for the changing tides of circumstance—must 'know the seasons when to take occasion by the hand.' In finance as in general legislation, Mr. Gladstone's policy has been far-seeing and adapted to the expanding needs of the time. Amongst all the great financial and legislative reforms which owe their initiation to him, and which are now accomplished facts, his bitterest enemies cannot lay their finger upon one conspicuous failure; while he has done more for the internal prosperity of the Empire than any statesman since

Sir Robert Peel. More than this, he has been the leader of the people in the highest and truest sense. The welfare of the nation —both in its material and moral aspect—has been his paramount consideration and desire; and we witness in the self-denying efforts of his life not so much

'The struggle of the instinct that enjoys,'

as

'The more noble instinct that inspires.'

We care not what their party designation be; but it is such men who raise the science of politics above the level of the huckster and the charlatan, and invest it with grandeur and dignity.

THE END.

INDEX.

Aberdeen, Lord, Mr. Gladstone's Letters to, 120, 124; Statement in the House of Lords, 141; Adverse to War, 154; Policy in 1856, 154; Dissensions in the Ministry of, 169-171; Collapse of the Ministry of, 179; Resignation, 179; Mr. Roebuck's Censure on the Ministry of, 190.
Aberdeen, Mr. Gladstone's Speech at, 416, 417.
Abyssinian Expedition, 356, 357; Mr. Gladstone on, 357, 358.
Act, Canadian Indemnity, Mr. Gladstone on, 105.
Acts passed in the Session of 1872, 437, 438.
Address, Mr. Gladstone's First Election, 35; on withdrawing from Newark, 89, 90; to the Oxford Electors, 92, 93; of 1874, Debate on, 466.
Adullamites, Mr. Bright and the, 338.
Advent, Mr. Gladstone on the Times Preceding the, 234.
Æneid, Virgil's, quo 30.
Affirmation Bill, 580.
Afghan War, Mr. Gladstone on the, 540, 541, 543.
Afghanistan and Lord Beaconsfield's Government, 536, 537.
Age, Mr. Gladstone's, and the Movements of his, 581.
Agricultural Depression, 107; Interest Alluded to, 8; Distress, Mr. Disraeli's Motion on, 134.
Alabama Claims, 435; Indirect Claims, 435, 436; Amount of the Award, 437; Sir A. Cockburn on, 437.
Allies, Declaration of War by, 160.
Althorp, Lord, 47; Church Temporalities (Ireland) Bill, 46.
America and England, Relations between in 1856, 203, 204; Debate on, 204, 205; Mr. Gladstone on the Confederate States of, 298, 299; Lord Russell on, 298; Mr. Gladstone on the Future of, 547.
Andrassy Note, The, 509.
Anglo-Turkish Convention, 554.
Anglo-Turkish Treaty, Mr. Gladstone on, 531, 532.
Annual Register, quo 79.
Apis Matina, The Eton, 18.
Aristocracy, The English, 1.
Armistice, Turkey agrees to an, 514.
Arrow, The Case of the, 212.
Art and English Manufactures, Mr. Gladstone on, 548-9.
Asiatic Turkey, Mr. Gladstone on England's Responsibilities in, 534.
Australian Colonies Bill, 109, 110.
Austria and the Eastern Question, 168; Mr. Disraeli on Alliance with, 173; Mr. Gladstone on, 252.
Austro-Prussian War, Mr. Gladstone on, 335, 336.
Autobiography, A Chapter of, 73; Preface, 73; Motives for Writing, 73, 74; Opinion of Church and State, 74; Church of Ireland, 74.

B

Baines, Mr., Borough Franchise Bill, 314.
"Bag and Baggage" Policy, 512.
Balaclava, State of the Hospital at, 175.
Ball, Dr., on the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill, 382.
Ballot Bill, 412, 413; Debate on, 433; Sir W. Harcourt's Amendment, 434; Lords' Amendments, Mr. Disraeli on, 434; Mr. Gladstone on, 434.
Bank Indemnity Bill, Mr. Gladstone on, 314, 315.
Barttelot, Colonel, Motion on the Malt-tax, 313.
Batak, Massacre at, 509, 511.
Beaconsfield, Lord, Speech at Aylesbury, 513; at Guildford, 318, 538; Attack on Mr. Gladstone, 526; Note 526: and Peace with Honour, 529; Imperial Policy, 536; Death of, 574; Monument in Westminster Abbey, 574. See *Disraeli*.
"Bedford Plenipo," the Parody of, 191.
Beer and Bible Cry, 454.
Belgium and the Triple Treaty, 398.
Bentinck, Mr., Attack on Mr. Gladstone, 283.
Berlin, Conference of Emperors at, 509;

Memorandum and England, 509; Treaty, 529.
Bermondsey, Mr. Gladstone's Speech at 531, 532.
Bernal Osborne, Description of the Gladstone Cabinet, 405.
Besika Bay, British Fleet ordered to, 509, 511.
Bills:—Passing of the Great Reform, 32; Althorp's Church Temporalities (Ireland), 46; Hume's University Admission, 47; Lord Russell's Irish Church, 49, 50; Jamaica, 59: Tariffs, 80; Machinery, 83; Dissenters' Chapel, 84; Dissenters' Endowment, 84, 85; Extension of Academical Education in Ireland, 87, 88; Irish Outrage, 92; Lord Russell's Jews Bill, 93, 94; Repeal of Navigation Laws, 97; Parliamentary Oaths, 99, 100; Canadian Indemnity, 105; Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, 107; Australian Colonies, 109, 110; Ecclesiastical Titles, 135, 136; Militia, 136; Excise Duties, 163, 164; for the Enlistment of Foreigners, 173; Divorce, 211; Bank Indemnity, 314; Conspiracy to Murder, 215; Church Rates Abolition, 218; India, 218, 220; Reform, of 1859, 245, 247; Roman Catholic Relief Act Amendment, 253; Paper Duty Repeal, 265; Reform, of 1860, 270, 271; Post Office Savings Bank, 274; Church Rates Abolition, 274; Inland Revenue, 295, 296; Dissenters' Burials, 307; Government Annuities and Life Insurance, 314; Borough Franchise, 314; Habeas Corpus Act (Ireland) Suspension, 334; Abolition of Church Rates, 335; Reform, of 1866, 336; Redistribution of Seats, 346, 347; Franchise, of 1866, 346, 348; Reform, of 1867, 353; Scotch and Irish Reform, 358; Corrupt Practices Prevention, 358; Registration of Voters, 358; Compulsory Church Rates Abolition, 359; Irish Church Suspensory, 369; Irish Church Disestablishment, 375; Irish Land, 388; Elementary Education, 395; Army Regulation, 406; Ballot, 412, 413; University Tests, 413; Parliamentary Female Franchise, 413; Licensing, 415; Parks Regulation, 430; Ballot, 433, 434; Irish University Education, 438, 450; Judicature, School Board Fees, and Dublin University, 452; Church Patronage of Scotland, 467, 469; Public Worship Regulation, 469 472; Endowed School Act Amendment, 473, 476; Burials, 487, 488; Compensation for Disturbances, 566; Irish Land Bill, 573; Affirmation Bill, 580.
Birmingham, Reform Agitation at, 351.
Black Sea Treaty, Abrogation of, 400, 401; Mr. Disraeli on, 402; Mr. Gladstone on, 402.
Blackheath, Mr. Gladstone's Speech at, 419, 423; Description of the Scene, Note, 419; Second Speech at, 460; Speech on the Bulgarian Horrors at, 512, 513.
Blue Book, Definition of a, 96.
Boroughs, Disfranchisement of, 398, 399.
Bourke, Mr., Amendment on the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill, 444.
Bowring, Sir J., and the Chinese Policy, 212, 214.
Bradford, Mr. Forster's Speech at, 485, 486.
Bradlaugh, Mr., returned to Parliament, 562; the controversy respecting his right to sit, 562-6, 578, 580.
Bribery Election, 38; Mr. Gladstone on, 50.
Brigands, Greek, Massacre of English Travellers by, 395, 396; Action of the English Government, 396, 397.
Bright, Mr., on India, 220; Agitates for Extension of Franchise, 244; on the Rights of the House of Commons, 268; and the Adullamites, 338; Letter on the Reform Bill of 1866, 339; Speech on the Reform Bill of 1866, 341; Eulogy on Mr. Gladstone, 354; Attack on Mr. Disraeli, 368; President of the Board of Trade, 372; on the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill, 382, 383; on Mr. Gladstone and the Leadership, 485.
Brougham, Lord, on Canning's Election, 6; on Negro Apprenticeship, 55; Tribute to Sir R. Peel, 118; on the Repeal of the Paper Duty, Note 270.
Brown, C., History of Newark, quo 34.
Bruce, Mr., Licensing Bill, 415.
Budget for 1842, 79; for 1859, 134.
Budget, Mr. Disraeli's, for 1852, 138; Mr. Gladstone's *exposé* of, 139.
Budget, Mr. Gladstone's First, 1853, 142; Income and Expenditure, 1853-4, 143; New Taxes and the Income-tax, 143, 146; Reduction of Taxation, 143, 144; Close of the, 147; Debate on, 148; Molesworth on, 148, 149; General Satisfaction with, 149.
Budget, Mr. Gladstone's War, 1854, 157; Income and Expenditure, 158; Income-tax, 159, 160; Home and Foreign Drawn Bills, 159; Exchequer Bills, 159; Additional Proposals, 161-163; Sir S. Northcote on the Character of, 504.
Budget, Sir G. C. Lewis's for 1856, 202, 203; Mr. Gladstone on, 203.
Budget, Sir G. C. Lewis's, for 1857, 207;

Mr. Disraeli on, 207; Mr. Gladstone on, 208, 209.
Budget, Mr. Disraeli's, for 1858, 222; Mr. Gladstone on, 223.
Budget, Mr. Gladstone's, for 1859, 249; Revenue and Expenditure, 249; Proposed Increase of the Income-tax, 250; Mr. Disraeli's Criticism on, 250; Mr. Gladstone's Reply, 251.
Budget, Mr. Gladstone's, for 1860, 255; Scene in the House, 255; Details of Proposals, 255; Relief of Trade and Commerce, 255; Financial Results of the Year, 256, 257; Increase of Revenue, 257, 258; The Commercial Treaty with France, 258; and Free Trade, 259, 260; Tribute to Mr. Cobden, 260; Scheme of Customs Reform, 261; Proposed Abolition of Paper Duty, 261; Alterations in the Tariff, Conclusion of the, 262, 263; Character of the, 263; Financial Statement of 1860, 263; Opponents of, 264; Mr. Disraeli's Resolution on, 264; Character of Mr. Gladstone's Reply, 264, 265; Mr. Du Cane's Motion and Defeat, 265; Attack on the Abolition of Paper Duty, 265; The Lords and the Repeal of Paper Duty, 267.
Budget, Mr. Gladstone's, for 1861, 278; Financial Statement, 279, 280; Effects of the French Treaty, 280, 281; Estimated Expenditure, 281; Income-tax, 281; Proposed Repeal of the Paper Duty, 282; Close of the, 282; Debate on, 283, 285; Passed, 285.
Budget, Mr. Gladstone's for 1862, 289; Financial Measures, 290, 292; Review of the Financial Results of the Past Three Years, 292, 293; Debate on, 294, 296.
Budget, Mr. Gladstone's, for 1863, 300; Increase of Expenditure, 300, 301; Condition of Lancashire, 301; Distress in Ireland, 301; Estimates for the year, 302; Rectifying anomalies in Taxation, 302; Disposal of the Surplus, 302, 303; Review of Four Years' Expenditure, 303; Closing Statement, 303, 304.
Budget, Mr. Gladstone's for 1864, 310; Expenditure and Revenue, 310; Surplus and Decrease in the National Debt, 310, 311; Imports and Exports, 311; Effects of the Paper Duty Repeal, 311; Estimates for 1864-5, 312; Application of the Surplus, 312; Proposed Reduction of Income-tax, 312; Close of the, 312, 313.
Budget, Mr. Gladstone's, for 1865, 318; Opening Remarks, 318; Expenditure and Revenue, 319; Reduction of the National Debt, 319; Imports and Exports, 319; Surplus, 319; Malt-tax, 320; Reduction of Duty on Tea and the Income-tax, 320; Amount of Reduction in Taxation, 321; General acceptance of the, 321.
Budget, Mr. Gladstone's, for 1866, 330; Expenditure and Revenue, 330; Commercial Treaties, 330; Proposed Reduction in Taxation, 331; Scheme for Reducing the National Debt, 331, 332.
Budget, Mr. Lowe's, for 1870, 415.
Budget, Sir S. Northcote's for 1875, 448; Mr. Gladstone's attack on, 488, 489.
Budget, Mr. Gladstone's, for 1880, 567: for 1881, 572; for 1882, 578.
Buckley Institute, Mr. Gladstone's Speech at, 478, 480.
Bucks, Mr. Disraeli's Address to the Electors of, 458, 460.
Bulgaria, Massacres in, 509; Mr. Disraeli on, 510; Mr. Baring's Account of, 511.
Bulgarian Horrors, Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet on, 512; Speech at Blackheath on, 513, 514.
Buxton, Fowell, on Negro Apprenticeship, 50.

C

Cabinet, Mr. Leatham on the Beaconsfield, 543.
Camoys, Lord, on the Vatican Decrees, 498.
Canada, Rioting in, 1849, 104.
Canadian Affairs, Mr. Gladstone on, 51; Troubles of 1838, Mr. Gladstone on, 54, 105; Mr. Roebuck on, 54, 104, 105.
Canadian Corn Laws, 83.
Canadian Indemnity Act, Mr. Gladstone on, 105.
Canning Contests Liverpool, 6; in Office, 13; and the Eton Microcosm, 18; Mr. Gladstone on the Death of, 21, 22.
Cards, Halfpenny Postage, Mentioned, 399.
Cardwell, Mr., Army Regulation Bill, 406; Mr. Gladstone on, 420.
Carlyle, Mr., Letter on the Eastern Question, 515, 516.
Catholics, Roman, and Ritualism, 491.
Cavour, Count, and the Independence of Italy, 226, 227.
Chandos, Marquis of, Contests Oxford University, 248, 249.
Chaplin, Mr., Attack on Mr. Gladstone, 517; Mr. Gladstone's reply to, 518, 519.
Characteristics, Mr. Gladstone's Personal, 581, *et seqq.*
Chartism, Mr. Carlyle's, quo 49.

Charities and the Income-tax, 304; Mr. Gladstone on, 304-376.
Chartists, Great Meeting of, 95.
Chester, Mr. Gladstone's Speeches at, 549, 555.
Children, Mr. Gladstone's, 63, 64.
China, War with, Debate on, 61, 62.
Chinese Policy, Debate on Lord Palmerston's, 211, 212; Mr. Gladstone on, 312, 314; Lord Palmerston's Reply, 214.
Christ Church, Oxford, 23.
Church and State, Mr. Gladstone's, 65; Inscribed to the Oxford University, 66; Preface to the 4th Edition, 66; Analysis, 67; Irish Church, 68; Maintenance of Church Establishment, 69; Lord Macaulay on, 69, 71; *Quarterly Review* on, 70; Line of Reasoning, 70; Mr. Gladstone's account of, 73.
Church Doctrines, 72.
Church of England, Mr. Miall's Motion for the Disestablishment of, 413, 414, 452.
Church of England, Is it worth Preserving? Mr. Gladstone's Article, 492, 493.
Church Patronage (Scotland) Bill, 467; Mr. Baxter's Amendment, 467; Mr. Gladstone's Opposition to, 467-469; Mr. Disraeli on, 469.
Church Principles in their Results, 71; Analysis of, 72, 73.
Church Rates Abolition Bill, Mr. Gladstone on, 218, 335.
Church Rates, Mr. Gladstone on, 51, 100, 274, 275; Mr. Bright on, 275.
Civil Allegiance and the Vatican Decrees, Mr. Gladstone's Pamphlet, 493, 497; Papal Claims to, 495, 496, 498.
Civil Departments open for Competition, 398.
Civil List, Sir C. Dilke's Motion for Returns of, 430, 433; Mr. Gladstone on, 431; Scene in the House, 432, 433.
Civis Romanus sum, 113: Mr. Gladstone on, 115, 116.
Clarendon, Lord, on Lord Russell, 180; Mr. Disraeli's Attack on the Policy of, 347.
Class, Characteristics of the English Middle, 1.
Classes, Lower English, 1.
Classical Studies, Mr. Gladstone's Plea for, 227.
Clergy Disabilities Act, 399.
Clergy, Mr. Gladstone's Tribute to, 470, 471.
Clovis, Baptism of, Note, 352.
Clubs and Licence Duty, 302, 304.
Cobden, Mr., on Lord Palmerston's Chinese Policy, 212; and the French Commercial Treaty, 254, 255; Mr. Gladstone's Tribute to, 260.
Cockburn, Sir A., on the *Alabama* Award, 437
Cœur de Lion, Mr. Gladstone's Poem of, 19, 20.
Coleridge, Sir J. T., Circular to the Oxford Electors, 323.
Collier, Sir R., Appointed Judge, 423, 424; Debate on, 428, 429.
Colonial Reform, Debate on, 106.
Colonies, Mr. Gladstone Under Secretary for, 49.
Colonies, Negro Apprenticeship in, 50; Mr. O'Connell on, 50; Mr. Gladstone on, 51.
Commander-in-Chief under the War Minister, 378.
Commerce, Mr. Gladstone on, 2; State of at the beginning of the Century, 5.
Committee, Crimean, Mr. Roebuck's Motion for, 174, 179; Opposition to, 182; Report of, 192.
Compulsory Church Rates Abolition Bill, Mr. Gladstone on, 359.
Conservatism, Mr. Gladstone's Separation from, 229, 230; Oxford, 22.
Conservative and Liberal Expenditure, 505-7.
Conservatives, John Stuart Mill and the, 347; Educated by Mr. Disraeli, 356.
Consort, Prince, on the Aim of the Crimean War, 151; on Mr. Gladstone's Scheme to Pay War Expenses, 157; on the Policy of Prussia, 168, 169; on the Management of the Crimean War, 172; to Lord Aberdeen, 187, 188.
Conspiracy to Murder Bill, 215; Milner Gibson's Amendment on, 215; Mr. Gladstone on, 216, 217; Lord Palmerston on, 217; Defeat of, 217, 218.
Constantinople, Conference at, 514; Failure of, 516.
Constitution Question, Discussion on a, 268-270.
Controversy, Religious, Partial Effects of, 501.
Convocation, Mr. Gladstone's Valedictory Address to the Oxford, 326, 327.
Corn Law Question mentioned, 63.
Corn Law Duties, Sir R. Peel's Sliding Scale of, 78.
Corn Laws, Lord Russell's Amendment on, 73; Mr. Gladstone on, 78, 79; Debate on, 78, 79; Villiers's Motion for Repeal of, 79; Question of Repeal, 81, 82; Abolition of alluded to, 84; *Times* on, 89; Mr. Gladstone on the Repeal of, 89; Repeal of 90, 91.
Country and the Government, Mr. Gladstone's Article on, 501.
Country, Condition of, in 1842, 78; Prosperity of 1864, 309, 310.

Cranborne, Lord, on Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill, 80, 81.
Credit, Vote of, 287; Mr. Gladstone on, 526.
Crimea, Mr. Gladstone's Defence of the Expedition to, 186, 187; Cost of, 202.
Crimean War, Aim of, 151; Hostilities commenced, 161; Management of, 171; Debate on, 172-174; Progress of, 191, 192; Cost of, 202; and Finance, 504.
Culture, Mr. Gladstone on the Higher, 481.
Cyprus, Mr. Gladstone, on, 556.

D

Daily News on Mr. Gladstone, 283; on Mr. Gladstone's Oxford Defeat, 325; on Mr. Gladstone at Blackheath, Note, 419, quo 457, 510.
Daily Telegraph on Mr. Gladstone, Note, 381, quo 458.
Danubian Principalities, Mr. Gladstone on, 220-222.
Dean of Christ Church nominates Mr. Gladstone for Oxford, 248.
Debt, National, Mr. Gladstone's Scheme to Reduce the, 141, 142, 331, 332; Decrease in, 310, 319; Sir S. Northcote's Proposals on, 488.
Decrees, Napoleon I.'s, against British Trade, 5.
Decrees, the British Government's, 5, 6.
Demerara, Mr. Gladstone on the Slaves of, 43-45.
Deptford, Mr. Gladstone's Speech at, 461.
Deputation, an Influential, to Lord Derby, 267; see Note, 267.
Deputies, Imprisonment of Neapolitan, 122.
Derby Ministry of 1857, 218, 219; Reform Bill of, 245, 247; Defeat of, 247; Resignation, 248; Ministry of, 1866, 349.
Derby, Lord, and the Repeal of the Paper Duty, 267, 268; on the Question of Reform, 350; on Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church Resolutions, 367; opposed to Irish Church Disestablishment, 386; Resignation of, 332.
Despotism, Neapolitan, 120, 123; Discussed in Parliament, 125; Lord Palmerston on, 125, 126.
Dilke, Sir C., mentioned, 423; Civil List Motion, 430-433.
Dillwyn, Mr., Motion on the Irish Church, 317.
Disraeli, Mr. B., on Protection, 91; on Sir R. Peel's Policy, 96; Definition of a Blue Book, 96; on the Repeal of Navigation Laws, 103; and the Poor Laws, 107, 109; on Free Trade, 137, Note, 138; Mr. Herbert's Invective on, 138; Budget for 1852, 138; and Lord Russell, 148; Scheme to Pay War Expenses, 157; on the Policy of the Aberdeen Ministry, 160, 164, 165, 172, 173; on the Vienna Conference, 186; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1857, 218; Budget for 1858, 222; and the Reform Bill of 1859, 245; Criticism on the Budget of 1859, 250; Resolution on the Budget of 1860, 264; on the Budget of 1862, 294; "No-confidence" Motion, 315; on the Reform Bill of 1866, 342; Reform Resolutions of 1867, 353: Educates his Party, 356; made Premier, 356, Note, 356, 357; Attack on Lord Salisbury, 365; Attack on Mr. Lowe, 366; Ministerial Explanations, 368; Resignation of the Ministry of, 372; on the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill, 381, 382; on the Irish Land Bill, 393; on Mr. Gladstone's Foreign Policy, 401, 402; on the Condition of Ireland, 404; on the English Church, 413; on the Treaty of Washington, 426, 427; on the Gladstone Policy of 1872, 426; on the Irish University Education Bill, 447, 448; declines to take Office, 451; Reasons for Declining to take Office, 451, 452; on the Gladstone Policy, 454; Election Address of 1874, 458, 460; Financial Policy, 505, 507; and the Bulgarian Massacres, 510, 511; Created a Peer, 511; Death of, 574; Buried at Hughenden, 574; Monument in Westminster Abbey, 574. See *Beaconsfield*.
Dissenters' Chapel Bill mentioned, 84, Endowment Bill, 84, 85.
Dissenters' Burials Bill, Mr. Gladstone on, 307.
Dissenters Preaching in Churches, 453.
Disturbances of 1848, 94, 95.
Divorce Bill, The, Mr. Gladstone on, 211.
Döllinger, Dr. von, and the Vatican Decrees, 498, see Note 498.
Du Cane, Mr., Motion on the Budget of 1860, 265.
Duff, Grant, on Mr. Gladstone, 351, 352.
Dunkellin, Lord, Amendment on the Franchise Bill of 1866, 348.
Durham, Letter, Lord Russell's, alluded to, 133.

E

East, Doctrine of British Interest in, 158; Mr. Gladstone's Theory of, 150, 151.
East India Company Monopoly Abolished, 43; Mr. Gladstone on the Company, 218; Debate on the Bills, 218, 220.
Eastern Affairs, Great Debate on, 536; Mr. Gladstone's Speech on, 537, 539.
Eastern Question in 1856 and 1875-76, 194; Duke of Argyle on, 194, 195; Mr.

Gladstone's Views of, 508; Parliamentary Debate on, 517; Mr. Gladstone's Five Resolutions on, 520, 521; Mr. Gladstone's Speech on, 521, 524.
Ecce Homo, Mr. Gladstone's Articles on, 550.
Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, 135; Debate on, 135, 136; Mr. Gladstone on, 135, 136; *Echo*, The, quo 458.
Edinburgh, Duke of, Proposed Grant to, 453; Mr. Gladstone, Lord Rector of the University of, 270, 271.
Edinburgh Review, quo 14.
Education, Defects of Eton System, 14-16; National, Debate on, 60; Mr. Gladstone on, 60, 61, 83, 201, 202; Lord Russell's Resolution on, 201; Homer's Place in, 229; Mr. Gladstone on the Act, 420.
Egypt, and Homer, 242; Mr. Gladstone on Aggression in, 551; see Note, 563.
Egyptian War, Mr. Gladstone's Remarks on, 579.
Elcho, Lord, on the Peace Conference of 1850, 251.
Election Address, Mr. Gladstone's First, 35; Manchester of 1837, 54; of 1841, 62; General, of 1868, 371, 372; of 1874, 461, 462.
Elections, Character of, before the Great Reform, 38.
Elementary Education Bill, 395; Debate on, 395.
Elgin, Lord, Mobbing of, 104.
Eloquence, Mr. Gladstone on, 21.
Endowed Schools Act Amendment Bill, 473; Mr. Forster on, 473; Mr. Gladstone on, 473-475, 476; Vote on, 475; Receives the Royal Assent, 476.
England and America, Relations between, 1856, 203, 204; Debate on, 204, 205; Foreign Relations in 1861, 273, 274; Condition of, in 1833, 33; in 1860, 254; Mr. Gladstone on the Future of, 422, 423; Necessity for Co-operation with Russia, 517; Foreign Relations in 1861, 273, 274.
English Church, Miall's Motion for the Disestablishment of, 413, 414, 452; Mr. Disraeli on, 413; Mr. Gladstone on, 413, 414, 452.
English, The, Middle Class, 1.
England's Mission, Mr. Gladstone's Article on, 552-4.
Epic of the Queen of Hearts, Canning's, 18.
Epping Forest and the Government, 415.
Essays, Characteristics of Mr. Gladstone's, 46 *et seqq*.
Etna, Description of, 28; Mr. Gladstone's Ascent, 29-31.
Eton, Mr. Gladstone enters, 14; Educational System and Arrangements, 14-17; Social Advantages of, 17; Periodicals, 18; Miscellany, 18, 19.
Eton Thirty Years Ago, quo 16.
Etonian, The, 18.
Ewelme Scandal, The, 429; Debate on, 429, 430.
Examiner, quo 459.
Exchequer Bonds and Bill, 162; Debate on, 164, 165.
Expenditure, Liberal and Conservative, 505-507; Increase of National, 508, 509; Review of Four Years, 303.

F

Fagging, Evils of School, 15.
Farini's *Roman State from 1815 to 1850*, 131; Letter to Mr. Gladstone, 131.
Fawcett, Mr., on the Irish University Education Bill, 445; University (Dublin) Bill, 452; at St. James's Hall, 514.
Female Franchise Bill, The Parliamentary, 413.
Fenian Conspiracy alluded to, 335; Prisoners, Amnesty to, 399.
Ferdinand II., M. Gondon on, 126, 127; in Adversity, 132; Mr. Gladstone on, 277.
Finance, an Exposition of Mr. Gladstone's, 505; Sir Stafford Northcote's work on "Twenty Years of Financial Policy," 503-4; Mr. Gladstone on the Beaconsfield Government's, 505-6.
Financial Plan of 1842, 79; Measures for 1848, 95; Legislation, the Beneficial Effects of Mr. Gladstone's, 503-505.
Foreign Enlistment Act passed, 398.
Foreign Paper, Reduction of Duty on, carried, 269, 270.
Foreign Policy of the Government in 1850; Debate on, 112-117; Mr. Disraeli and the Gladstone, 401, 402.
Foreign Questions, Mr. Gladstone's Essays, 551.
Foreign Relations, 1861, England's, 273, 274.
Foreigners, Bill for Enlistment of, 173, 174.
Forgery, Petition on the Increase of, 7.
Forster, Mr., Elementary Education Bill, 395; School Board Fees Bill, 452; on the Endowed School Acts Amendment Bill, 473; on Mr. Gladstone's Retirement from the Leadership, 485, 486; introduces the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, 566; Withdraws from the Cabinet, 576.
Fortnightly Review, quo 505.
France, Commercial Treaty with, 1860, 254, 255; Mr. Gladstone on, 258; Effects of, 280, 281.

Franchise, Mr. Bright agitates for an Extension of, 244.
Franchise Bill, 1866, Debate on, 346; Captain Hayter's Resolution on, 346-348; Lord Dunkellin's Amendment, 348; Government Defeat on, 348; County and Borough, Mr. King's Motion on, 134; County, Mr. Gladstone's Articles on, 547.
Franco-Prussian War, 397; Position of England during, 397, 398.
Franco-Prussian Treaty, The Proposed, 397.
Free Trade, and Mr. Hume, 80; Villiers's Motion on, 137; Mr. Disraeli on, 137; in France, 254, 255; and French Commercial Treaty, 258, 259; Results of, 273; Beneficial Effects of, 309, 310.
Freedom, Mr. Gladstone on, 501.
Freeman, Mr., *Historical Essays*, quo 227, 228; at St. James's Hall, 514.
French Revolution of 1848, 94, 95.
Frontier, Mr. Gladstone on the Scientific, 537.

G

Garibaldi, Success of, 132.
Geneva Arbitration on the *Alabama* Claims, 435; Mr. Gladstone on, 436; Members of the, 436; the Award, 437; Sir. A. Cockburn's Protest Against, 437.
"Germany, France, and England," Mr. Gladstone on, 551.
Gladstone, Sir John, 1; Motto of, 3; as a Man of Business, 3, 4; Chairman of the West Indian Association, 5; as a Politician, 6; Interest in Liverpool, 7; Petition on the Increase of Forgery, 7; on Navigation between Liverpool and Dublin, 7; Advocate of Greek Independence, 7; and Canning, 8; on the Reform Question, 8; Presentation to, 8; Member for Woodstock and Lancaster, 9; Writings, 9.
Gladstone, Thomas, 3.
Gladstone, W. E.—Pedigree, 2, 3; Father, 1-9; Mother and Family, 9; of Royal Descent, 10; Birth, 10; Wonderful Powers, 11; Enters Eton, 14; Success at Eton, 18; and the Eton *Miscellany*, 18; Tribute to Bishop Selwyn, 19; Poem of *Cœur de Lion*, 19, 20; *View of Lethe*, 20; on Eloquence, 21; on the Death of Canning, 21, 22; Enters Oxford, 22; Position at Oxford, 25; Connection with the Oxford Union, 25, 26; Results of Oxford Life, 27; Tour through Sicily, 27-30; Stands for Newark, 33; Personal Appearance, 34; First Election Address, 35; Returned for Newark, 39; A Prophecy Concerning, 39; Maiden Speeches, 43-45; Junior Lord of the Treasury, 48; Re-elected for Newark, 48; Under-Secretary for the Colonies, 49; Introduces his First Bill, 49; In Opposition, 50; Third Election for Newark, 52; and the Manchester Election, 52-54; Personal Sketch of, 58; Style and Oratory, 59; Returned for Newark, 1841, 62, 63; Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and Master of the Mint, 63; Marriage, 63; Children, 63-64; *Church and State*, 65-73; *Church Principles*, &c., 71-73; *A Chapter of Autobiography*, 73, 74; President of the Board of Trade, 83; Machinery Bill, 83; Resignation of Office, 85; Pamphlet on Recent Commercial Legislation, 88; Colonial Secretary, 89; Retires from Newark, 89; and Mr. Disraeli, 103; Visit to Naples, 120; Neapolitan Prisons and Prisoners, 128-130; Translates Farini's *Roman State*, 131; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 140; Stands for Oxford University, 140, 141; Scheme to Reduce the National Debt, 141; Introduces his First Budget, 142; Unveils a Statue to Sir R. Peel, 152; and the Crimean War, 155; War Budget, 157, 161; Resignation of Office, 182; Returned for Oxford University, 1857, 314; Appointed Commissioner to the Ionian Islands, 220; Homeric Studies, 225; *Homer and the Homeric Age*, 225-237; Various Homeric Writings, 238; *Juventus Mundi*, 239; *Homeric Synchronism*, 240-243; Returned for Oxford University, 1859, 247; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 248; Re-election Opposed, 248; Power of Speech possessed by, 263; and Mr. Disraeli, 264; Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh, 271; Description of by the *Illustrated London News*, 283; and the Confederate States of America, 298, 299; Career reviewed, 308; Letter to Dr. Hannah, 318; Defeated at Oxford, 322-324; Stands for South Lancashire, 327-329; on Lord Palmerston, 333; Defeat and Resignation, 348; Resolutions for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, 361; Charges against, 367; Defeated in South Lancashire, 370, 371; Elected for Greenwich, 371; Premier, 372; and his Religion, 416; Receives the Freedom of the City of Aberdeen, 416; Letter to the *New York World*, 435; Resignation and Resumption of Office, 450; Premier and Chancellor of the Exchequer, 452; Election Manifesto, 1873, 455; Resignation,

462; Review of the Administration of, 463; and the Liberal Leadership, 465-483; Article on Ritualism, 490; the Church of England, 492; Vatican Decree, 493; *Vaticanism*, 498; on Pius IX.'s Speeches, 501; Views of the Eastern Question, 512 *et seqq.*; and the Bulgarian Massacres, 512; Lord Rector of Glasgow University, 525; Farewell Visit to Greenwich, 539; Returned for Midlothian, 561; a second time Prime Minister, 561; illness, 567; his political jubilee, 579; Characteristics of his Essays, 546, 547; *Gleanings of the Past*, 547, 552; and the Movements of his Age, 581; Personal Characteristics, 581; Religious Sentiment, 581, 582; Oratory, 583, 584; Studious Habits, 584; Pursuits at Hawarden, 584; Personal Traits, 584-5; Relations with his Sovereign, 586; Public Career, 586.

Gladstone, W. E., Speeches of—On Commerce, 2; on Liberty, 27; on Slavery, 43, 45; on Bribery, 45; on the Irish Church, 46, 50; on Hume's University Admission Bill, 47; on Lord Russell's Irish Church Bill, 49; on Colonial Apprenticeship, 51; on Canadian Affairs, 51; on Church Rates, 51; on Negro Apprenticeship, 55; on the Jamaica Bill, 59; on National Education, 60; on War with China, 61; on the Corn Laws, 78; on the Tariffs Bill of 1842, 80; on the Distress of 1842-43, 81; on the Repeal of the Corn Laws, 81, 89; on Education in Liverpool, 83; on the Maynooth College Endowment, 85, 86; on Graham's Irish Educational Bill, 88; on the Admission of Jews to Parliament, 93, 94; on Sir R. Peel's Policy, 96; on Navigation Laws, 97; on Vancouver's Island, 98; on Diplomatic Relations with Rome, 98, 99; on Church Rates, 100; on the Repeal of Navigation Laws, 100, 103; on Colonial Reform, 106; on the Poor Laws, 107; on the Australian Colonies Bill, 109; on Slavery, 111; on the English and Irish Universities, 111; on the Foreign Policy of 1850, 113; on the Death of Sir Robert Peel, 118; on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, 135; on the Duke of Wellington, 136; on Mr. Disraeli's Budget for 1852, 139; on Introducing his First Budget, 142; on Russia and Turkey, 153; Introduces his War Budget of 1854, 157; on the Management of the Crimean War, 176; on the Impending War, 152: on the Turkish Government, 152; on Loans, 163; Defence of the Aberdeen Ministry, 176; Defence of the Crimean Expedition, 186, 187; on the Failure of the Vienna Conference, 189, 190; Condemning the Continuance of the War, 190; on the Conclusion of Peace, 1856, 196-200; on Lord Russell's Plan of National Education, 201-2; on Sir G. C. Lewis's Budget, 203; on the Differences between England and America, 204, 205; on the Policy of Lord Palmerston's Government, 206, 207; on Sir G. C. Lewis's Budget for 1857, 208, 209; on Tea Duty, 210; on Increased Taxation, 210, 211; on the Income-tax Bill, 210, 211; on the Divorce Bill, 211; on Lord Palmerston's Chinese Policy, 212-214; on the Bank Indemnity Bill, 214, 215; on the Conspiracy to Murder Bill, 216-217; on the Abolition of Church Rates, 218; on the East India Company, 218; on the Danubian Principalities, 220; on the Budget of 1858, 223; on the Derby Reform Bill of 1859, 246-247; on the Budget of 1859, 249, 251; on the Peace Conference, 1859, 251, 252; on the Roman Catholic Relief Act Amendment Bill, 253, 254; on the Budget of 1860, 255-265; on the House of Lords rejecting the Paper Bill, 269; on Lord Russell's Reform Bill of 1860, 270; at the University of Edinburgh, 271; on the Affairs of Italy, 276-278; on the Budget of 1861, 278-282, 284, 285; in Vindication of his Financial Policy, 287, 288; on the Ionian Islands, 289; Budget of 1862, 289-293; Reply to Mr. Disraeli's Strictures on the Budget of 1862, 294, 295; Reply to Sir S. Northcote, 295; Second on the Affairs of Italy, 296-298; on the Presentation to Charles Kean, 299; on the Budget of 1863, 300, 304; in Vindication of his Proposal to subject Charities to the Income-tax, 304-306; on the Dissenters' Burials Bill, 307; on the International Exhibition Building, 307; Budget, 1864, 310; on Reform (Parliamentary), 314, 315; Reply to Mr. Disraeli's "No confidence" Motion, 316; on the Irish Church, 318; on the Budget of 1865, 318-321; in Manchester Free Trade Hall, 327, 328; Speech at Liverpool, 328, 329; Budget of 1866, 330-332; on Church Rates, 335; on the Austro-Prussian War, 335, 336; on Introducing the Reform Bill of 1866, 336; on the Second Reading of the Reform Bill of 1866, 339; at the close of the Debate of the Reform Bill of 1866, 342, 343; on Conservative and Liberal Finance, 359, 360; on Justice to Ireland, 360, 361; on the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, 362-364, 366; Election Speech at St. Helen's, 369; at Greenwich,

1868, 372, 373; on the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill, 375-380, 384; on the Irish Land Bill, 383, 392, 393, 394; Reply to Mr. Miall, 395; Defence of his Foreign Policy, 401-402; on the Princess Louise's Marriage Grant, 403; on the Disturbed Condition of Ireland, 404, 405; on the Abolition of Purchase in the Army by Royal Warrant, 410, 411, 412; on the English Church, 413, 414; on Home Rule, 416, 417; at Whitby, 417, 418; at Blackheath, 419-423; Reply to Mr. Disraeli in Defence of his Policy, 1872, 427, 428; on Sir R. Collier's Appointment, 428; on the Ewelme Scandal, 428, 429; Retort on Mr. Disraeli and Colonel Gilpin, 430; on Sir C. Dilke's Motion for Return of the Civil List, 431; on the Ballot Bill, 434; on Negotiations on the Washington Treaty, 436; on Introducing the Irish University Education Bill, 438-439; in Closing the Debate on the Irish University Education Bill, 448-450; on the Duties of the Opposition, 451; Election, 1874, 461-462; on the Church Patronage of Scotland Bill, 467-469; Public Worship Bill, 469-471; on the Endowed School Acts Amendment Bill, 473-476; on Education, 477-481; Attack on Sir S. Northcote's Budget, 488, 489; at St. James's Hall, 514, 515; on Turkey, 516; on Treaty Obligations, 517; Reply to Mr. Chaplin, 518, 519; Resolutions and Speech on the Eastern Question, 520-524; Speech at Birmingham on the Eastern Question, 524; at the Palmerston Club, 525; on the Vote of Credit, 526; on Despatching the Indian Troops to Malta, 530, 531; at Bermondsey, 531, 532; on Eastern Affairs, 533-535; at Rhyl, 537; on the Scientific Frontier, 537; at Plumstead, 539; on the Afghan War, 540-542; on the Greek Question, 544, 545; Speech at Chester, 549; Speeches in the Midlothian Campaigns, 558-560; on the Bradlaugh case, 565; on the Middlesex Election of 1880, 568; on the Coercion Bill, 571; on the Irish Land Bill, 573; Address to the Students of King's College, 582.

Gleanings of Past Years, Mr. Gladstone's, 547-552.

Gledstanes, Etymology of, 2.

Globe, quo 258.

Glynne, Miss Catherine, 63.

Gondon, M., on Ferdinand II., 126, 127.

Government Annuities and Life Insurances Bill, 314; Opposition to, and Passing of, 314; Mr. Gladstone on Personal, 544; the End of, 69; Mr. Gladstone's Charges against the Beaconsfield, 555-556.

Graham, Sir J., on War with China, 61, 62; Irish Education Bill, 87; Character and Abilities, 119; Mr. Gladstone's Vindication of, 139; Resignation of Office by, 182.

Granville, Lord, Mr. Gladstone's Letter to, 465, 466; Second Letter to, 483; Reply of, 484.

Greatness, Prophecy of Mr. Gladstone's Future, 39.

Greece, Affairs of, in 1850, 111; Mr. Gladstone on, 113, 116; the Ionian Islands incorporated with, 224; Infancy of, 242, 243.

Greek Brigands, Murder of English Travellers by, 395, 396; Action of the English Government, 396, 397.

Greek Question, Debate on, 544, 545; Mr. Gladstone on, 544, 545.

Greek Races, 232.

Greenwich, Mr. Gladstone Elected for, 371; Speech at in 1868, 372, 373; desired to Relinquish his Seat for, 418; Manifesto to the Electors of, 455-457; Farewell to, 439.

Gresley, Rev. R., on Mr. Gladstone, 248.

Grosvenor, Lord, Amendment on the Reform Bill of 1866, 338, 340.

H

Habeas Corpus Act (Ireland) Suspension Bill, 334, 335.

Habits, Mr. Gladstone's Studious, 584.

Hannah, Dr., Mr. Gladstone's Letter to, on the Irish Church, 318.

Hardcastle, Mr., Abolition of Church Rates Bill, 335.

Hardy, Mr. G., Contests Oxford, 1864, 322-324; on the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill, 383-384.

Hartington, Marquis, chosen Liberal Leader, 486, 487.

Harvey, Rev. R. W., and the Ewelme Scandal, 429, 430.

Hawarden, Mr. Gladstone's Pursuits at, 584.

"Heckling," the Practice of, 37.

Hellenic Factor, Mr. Gladstone on the, 551.

Hennessy, Mr. Pope, on the Affairs of Italy, 275.

Herbert, Mr., Invective on Mr. Disraeli, 138.

Herzegovina, the Rising in, 509.

History and Homer, 229, 230.

History of England, Molesworth's, quo 148, 149; Walpole's, quo 32, 33.

Holy Places, Lord Russell's Despatch to, 151.

Holyhead, Mr. Gladstone on the Eastern Question at, 524.
Home Rule Agitation, 416; Mr. Gladstone on, 416, 417.
Homer and the Homeric Age, Mr. Gladstone's, 226; Contents of, 226, 227; Mr. Freeman on, 227, 228; Sections of the Third Volume, 235; Specimens of, 235-237.
Homer and the Sacred Writings, 228; Place among the Poets, 229; Place in Education, 229; as an Historical Authority, 229-231, 232; Date, 231; on the Text of, 232; and the Scriptures, 233, 234; Politics of, 235, 236; Poetry of, 236; Results, 237, 238; Time and Place of, 240, 241.
Homer on Slavery, 501.
Homeric Age, Religions and Morals of, 232, 233.
Homeric Poems, Character of, 225; Mr. Gladstone's Knowledge of, 226.
Homeric Studies, Mr. Gladstone's Lessons from, 243.
Homeric Writings, Mr. Gladstone's Various, 238, Note, 238-239.
Homeric Synchronism, Character and Value of, 240; Contents of, 240; Specimen of, 242, 243.
Hope, Mr. Beresford, on Mr. Disraeli, 354.
Horsman, Mr., Mr. Bright's Attack on, 338; Mr. Disraeli on, 393; on the Irish University Education Bill, 445; Mr. Lowe on, 446, 447.
House Duty, 138; Vote on, 140.
House of Commons, First Reformed, 53.
House of Lords, Mr. Gladstone on, 421, 422.
Howick, Lord, and Mr. Gladstone, 45; and the Corn Laws, 81.
Hubbard, Mr., Resolution on the Income-tax, 306; Mr. Gladstone's Reply to, 306, 307.
Hume's University Admission Bill, 47.
Hunt, Mr. Ward, and Conservative Finance, 359, 360.
Hustings, Mr. Gladstone on the Newark, 37.
Hutton's *Sketches in Parliament*, quo 11.
Hyde Park, Reform Demonstration at, 350, 351.

I

Illustrated London News on Mr. Gladstone's Oratory, 283.
Imperial Policy, Lord Beaconsfield's, 536.
Impulse, Acting on, 59.
Income-tax of 1842, 79, 80; Mr. Gladstone on, 143-146, 210, 211; Sir E. B. Lytton's Amendment on, 148; of 1854, 159-161; Proposed Increase of in 1859, 250; of 1861, 281; Proposed Reduction of, 302; Mr. Hubbard's Resolution on, 306, 307; Proposed Reduction in 1864, 312, 320; Mr. Gladstone's Analysis of, 504.
Independent M.P., Definition of an, 180.
Industry, Effects of War on British, 156.
Infallibility, Papal, 494, 500; Effects of, 494, 495.
Inland Revenue Bill, Debate on, 295, 296.
Ionian Islands, Mr. Gladstone appointed Commissioner to, 223; Incorporated with Greece, 224; Debate on, 289; Mr. Gladstone on, 289.
Ireland, Church of, Reasons for Assailing, 75; Bill for Extension of Academical Education in, 87, 88; Distress in, 301, Habeas Corpus Act Suspended in, 334, 335; Mr. Gladstone on Justice to, 360, 361; Debate on the Condition of, 403-406; Lord Hartington on, 404; Mr. Disraeli on, 404; Mr. Gladstone on, 404, 405; Bernal Osborne on, 405; Solicitor-General on, 405, 406.
Ireland, Coercion Act, 571.
Irish Church, 1833: Mr. Gladstone on, 46; in 1835, 50; Mr. Dillwyn's Motion on, 317; Mr. Gladstone on, 317, 318, Letter to Dr. Hannah on, 318.
Irish Church Disestablishment Bill, 375; Details of, 376-380; Provision for Incumbents, 377; Compensation to Curates, 377; Churches, 378; Glebe Houses, 378; *Regium Donum* and Maynooth Grant, 378; Financial Result of the Various Proposals, 379; Uses for the Surplus Fund, 379; Peroration, 380; Debate on, 381; Mr. Disraeli on, 381, 382; Dr. Ball on, 382; Mr. Bright on, 382; Sir. R. Palmer and Mr. Lowe on, 383; Mr. G. Hardy on, 383, 384; Mr. Gladstone's Reply, 384; Division, 385, 386; Analysis of Votes, 385; Third Reading, 385; Passage through the Lords, 385, 387; Votes of the Lords, 387; Greatness of the Measure, 387.
Irish Church, Mr. Gladstone's Resolutions for the Disestablishment of, 361; Lord Stanley's Amendment, 361, 362; Mr. Gladstone's Speech in Support of, 362-364; Lord Stanley's Speech, 364; Mr. Lowe's Speech, 364, 365; Mr. Disraeli's Speech, 365, 366; Mr. Gladstone's Reply, 366; Division and Government Defeat, 366; Analysis of Votes, 366, 367; First Resolution carried, 367; Second and Third carried, 368; Fourth carried, 369.
Irish Church Suspensory Bill, 369; Rejected by the Lords, 369.
Irish Land Bill, 388; Opening Remarks,

388, 389; Insecurity of Tenure, 389; Acquisition of Land, 389; Occupation of Land, 390; Four Descriptions of Holdings, 390, 391; the Irish Labourer, 391, 392; Concluding Remarks, 392; Debate on, 393; Mr. Disraeli on, 393; Mr. Gladstone's Reply, 393, 394; Division, 394; Amendments, 394; Passage through the Lords, 394; Compensation for Disturbance, 566; Irish Land Bill (1881), 573.
Irish University Education Bill, 438; Opening Remarks, 438; Roman Catholic Element, 439; the Religious Grievance, 439; Number of University Students, 440; University of Dublin and Trinity College, 440; Proposed Abolition of Tests, 440, 441; Governing Clauses, 441, 442; Financial Scheme, 442; Concluding Remarks, 443; Opponents to the, 443; Mr. Gladstone on moving for the Second Reading, 444; Mr. Burke's Amendment, 444; Mr. Fawcett on, 445; Mr. Horsman on, 445; Mr. Lowe on, 446, Note 446, 447; Mr. Disraeli on, 447, 448; Mr. Gladstone's Reply, 448-450; Defeat of the Government, 450.
Intellectual Improvement, Mr. Gladstone on the Facilities for, 479, 480.
International Exhibition Building, Debate on, 307.
Interregnum, a Ministerial, 450-452.
Invasion of the Crimea, quo 155.
Italy, Desire of, for Independence, 132; Struggle for, 132; Debate on the Affairs of, 275-278; Mr. Gladstone on, 276-278, 296-298; Renewed Debate on, 296-298.

J

Jamaica Bill of 1839, Mr. Gladstone on, 59.
Jews, Education of, Mr. Gladstone on, 60, 61; in Parliament, Mr. Gladstone on, 93, 94.
Jones, Archdeacon, mentioned, 13.
Judicature Bill, Lord Selborne mentioned, 452.
Juventus Mundi, Character and Value of, 239; Contents of, 240.

K

Kean C., Presentation to, 299.
Kennington, Chartist Meeting at, 95.
Kin Beyond the Sea, Mr. Gladstone's Article, 547.
Kinglake, Mr., on Mr. Gladstone, 155.
King's College, Mr. Gladstone's Address at, 582.
King's Scholars, Eton, 14.
Knightsbridge, Lord Beaconsfield's Speech at, 526.

L

Labouchere, Mr., and the Bradlaugh Case, 564, 578.
Lancashire, Mr. Gladstone's Tribute to, 301; Material Condition of 1863, 301.
Layard, Mr., on Lord Palmerston's Government, 181, 182; on the Affairs of Italy, 296.
Leadership, Mr. Gladstone's Resignation of the Liberal, 483, 485; Claimants for, 486; Lord Hartington chosen, 486, 487.
League, The Reform, 350, 351.
Leatham, Mr., on the Beaconsfield Cabinet, 543.
Legislation, Beneficial Effects of Mr. Gladstone's Financial, 503-505.
Legislative Enactments of 1869-70-71, 424.
Lewis, J. D., quo 16.
Lewis, Sir G. C., Budget for 1856, 202; Mr. Gladstone on, 202-203; Budget for 1857, 207; Mr. Disraeli on, 207; Mr. Gladstone on, 208, 209.
Liberal and Conservative Expenditure, 505-507.
Liberal Party and the Roman Catholics, 496.
Liberty, Mr. Gladstone on, 27.
Liberty and Papacy, 493, 494.
Licensing Bill, Mr. Bruce's, 415.
Life of Prince Consort, Mr. Gladstone's Article on, quo 168; Mr. Gladstone's Articles on, 547.
Liverpool College, Mr. Gladstone's Speeches at, 140, 473, 477.
Liverpool, Depression in the Commerce of, 5; Canning's Election for, 6, 7; and Dublin Navigation, 7; Mr. Gladstone's Speech at, 1866, 328, 329, 330; Reform Demonstrations in, 339.
Loans, Mr. Gladstone on, 163.
Local Taxation Bills, 415.
Lords, House of, Mr. Gladstone on, 421, 422; Rejects the Paper Duty Bill, 268.
Louise, Princess, Marriage Grant to, 403.
Lowe, Mr., on the Reform Bill of 1866, 337, 341, 347; on Mr. Disraeli's Reform Bill, 356; Mr. Disraeli's Attack on, 366; on the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill, 383; on the Irish University Education Bill, 446, Note 446, 447.
Lower Canada, Debate on the Troubles of 1838, 54.
Lytton, Sir E. B., on the Income-tax, 148; Motion on the Vienna Conference, 188, 189; on the Reform Bill of 1866, 340.

M

Macaulay, Lord, on Mr. Gladstone, 61, 67, 71.
Machinery Bill, 83.
Magnum Opus, Mr. Gladstone's, 226.
Malacca Straits, 459-461.
Malt-tax, Increase of, 162; Lord Russell on, 164; Mr. Disraeli on, 164; Colonel Barttelot's Motion on, 313; Mr. Morritt's Motion on, 313; of 1864, 320.
Malta, Indian Troops despatched to, 530; Mr. Gladstone on, 530-1.
Manchester Guardian, quo 52.
Manchester, Mr. Gladstone's Election for, 52-54; Mr. Gladstone's Speech at, 1866, 327, 328.
Manifesto, Mr. Gladstone's Election, for 1874, 455-457; Opinions of the Press on, Note, 457-459.
Manning, Cardinal, and the Vatican Decrees, 500, Note 498.
Mansell, Rev. H. L., on Mr. Gladstone's Liberalism, 248.
Marriage, Mr. Gladstone's, 63.
Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, 106.
Martineau, Harriet, quo 80, 81.
Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*, quo 169, 170.
Match-tax, Mr. Lowe's, 415.
Maynooth College, Endowment of, 85-87; Debate on the Grant, 368.
Melbourne Ministry, Dismissal of, 1834, 47.
Melbourne, Lord, Premier for 1835, 50; Defeat of, 62.
Member, Chairing the, 48.
Memoirs, Lord Brougham's, quo 6.
Memorandum, The Berlin, and England, 509.
Miall, Mr., on Mr. Gladstone, 395; Motion for the Disestablishment of the English Church, 413, 414, 452.
Microcosm, the Eton, 17; Contributors, 18.
Midlothian Campaign, The First and Second, 558-561.
Militia Bill, The, 136.
Mill Hill School, Mr. Gladstone's Address at, 480, 481.
Mill, J. Stuart, and the Conservatives, 347.
Ministry, Causes for the Waning Popularity of the Gladstone, 418; Unpopularity in 1872, 423; Changes in 1873, 453.
Ministry, Mr. Gladstone on the Policy of the Beaconsfield, 553.
Molesworth, Rev. W. N., on Mr. Gladstone's First Budget, 148, 149; Sir W., on Colonial Administration, 106.
Montenegro Declares War, 510.
Morgan, Osborne, Burials Bill, 487.
Morley, Lord, on Eton Boys, 16, 17.
Morning Chronicle, quo 140.
Morning Post, quo 458.
Morpeth, Lord, on National Education, 60.

N

Napoleon I.'s Decrees against British Trade, 5.
Napoleon III.'s *coup d'état*, 136; Letter to the Czar, 153, 154; and Liberty, 216; and the French Commercial Treaty, 260.
National Debt, Mr. Gladstone's Scheme to Reduce, 141, 142.
Navigation Laws, Mr. Gladstone on, 97, 100-103, 104; Mr. Disraeli on, 103.
Neapolitan Government, Mr. Gladstone's Charges against, 120-122; Deputies Imprisoned, 122; Arbitrary Procedure of, 122; Replies to Mr. Gladstone's Charges, 126; Mr. Gladstone's Rejoinder, 127, 130; Exposure of the Government Apology, 130; Results, 130.
Negro Apprenticeship, Lord Brougham on, 55; Mr. Gladstone on, 55, 56.
Neutrality and the Russo-Turkish War, 520.
New York World, Mr. Gladstone's Letter to the Editor of, 435.
Newark, Mr. Gladstone's Contest for, 33; on the Hustings at, 37; Elected Member for, 39; Re-election and Popularity, 48; Third Election, 52; Election for 1841, 62, 63; Withdrawal from, 89, 90.
Newcastle, Duke, Famous Saying of, 33; Minister of War, 69, 72.
Newman, Dr., Mr. Gladstone on, 498; Letter to the Duke of Norfolk, 499, 500.
Newspapers, Halfpenny Postage for, 399.
Nicholas, Czar, and the Eastern Question, 150; Napoleon III.'s Letter to, 153, 154; Responsible for the Crimean War, 156; Death of, 183.
Nightingale, Miss, and her Nurses, 171.
Nonconformists and the Elementary Education Bill, 395.
Norfolk, Duke of, Dr. Newman's Letter to, 499, 500.
Northcote, Sir S., *Twenty Years of Financial Policy*, 503, 504; on the Necessity for Retrenchment, 504; on the Financial Condition of the Country, 295.
Note, The Andrassy, 509.
Nottingham Journal, quo 39.

O

Oaths, On Parliamentary, 99, 100.
O'Donoghue on the Dissatisfaction of Ireland, 334; Mr. Gladstone's Reply to, 334.
Old Belief and the New, Strauss's, Mr. Gladstone's Reply to, 474.
Old England on Mr. Gladstone, 37.
Oppidans, Eton, 14.
Opposition, Mr. Gladstone's Views on the Duties of an, 451.
Orangemen and the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, 375.
Oratory, Scope and Variety of Mr. Gladstone's, 583.
Osborne, Bernal, on Lord Palmerston's Ministry, 316, 317.
Oxford, Mr. Gladstone Enters Christ Church, 22; Conservatism, 22; Study at, 23; Union of, 23, 25.
Oxford, Palmerston Club at, Mr. Gladstone's Speech, 27.
Oxford University, Mr. Gladstone's Contest for, 140, 141; Returned, 1859, 248; Contest for 1864, 322, 323; Defeat of, 324; Analysis of Votes, 324; Illustrious Voters, Note 324; Effects of the Defeat, 324; Valedictory Address, 326, 327; as a Student at, 584.

P

Pacifico, The Case of, 114.
Pall Mall Gazette on Mr. Gladstone's Oxford Defeat, 357; on Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli, 357, quo 458.
Palmer, Sir R., on the Irish Church Disestablishment Bill, 383.
Palmerston, Lord, and the French Government, 112; Defends his Foreign Policy of 1850, 113; Mr. Gladstone on, 113-116; on Neapolitan Prisons and Prisoners, 125, 126; Dismissal from Office, 136; Ministry of, 180, 181; Resignation from, 182; Mr. Disraeli's Attack on, 189; Mr. Gladstone's Strictures on the Policy of, 206, 207; Chinese Policy Attacked, 211-214; Reply and Defeat, 214; Appeal to the Country and Return to Power, 214; Conspiracy to Murder Bill, 215; Resolutions on the Lords Rejecting the Paper Duty Bill, 268, 269; Debate on the Foreign Policy of, 315, 317; Dissolution of the Government of, 322; Mr. Gladstone's Tribute to the Memory of, 333.
Palmerston Club, Oxford, Mr. Gladstone's Speech at, 27.
Papal Aggression of 1851, The, 133, 134.
Papal Infallibility, 494, 500; Effects of, 494, 495.
Paper Duty, Proposed Abolition of, 261; Views of the Protectionist Papermakers, 266, 284; Note, 266.
Paper Duty Repeal Bill, 265; and Lord Derby, 267, 268; Rejected by the Lords, 268; Debate on, 284-287; Passed, 288; Effects of, 311.
Panmure, Lord, as War Minister, 181.
Parker, Admiral, Blockades Piræus, 112.
Parks Regulation Bill, Debate on, 430.
Parliament, First Reformed, 41; Dissolution of 1874, 455; Reasons for, 455, 456; Record of the Work done by, 456, 457.
Parliamentary History of 1871, The, 423.
Partnership, Law of, alluded to, 84.
Patriotic Fund, The, 171.
Peace Society and the Crimean War, 154, 157.
Peace, Treaty of, 1856, 196; Debate on, 197.
Peace, Conference of, 1859, 251, 253; Mr. Gladstone on, 251, 252.
Peace Preservation Act for Ireland not renewed, 1880, 562.
Pedigree, Mr. Gladstone's, 23.
Peel, Sir R., Ministry of 1834, 47; Address to Tamworth Electors, 49; Defeats the Melbourne Ministry, 62; Premier in 1841, 63; Policy, 77; Sliding Scale of Corn Duties, 78; Burnt in Effigy, 79; Budget of 1842, 79; Financial Plan of 1842, 79; Tribute to Mr. Gladstone, 86; Resignation, 86; Disraeli on the Policy of, 96; Mr. Gladstone on, 96; Last Speech of, 113; Accident and Death, 117; Lord Brougham's Tribute to, 118; Mr. Gladstone's, 118; Defence of, by Mr. Herbert, 138; Statue unveiled to, 152; Disraeli's Eulogy on, 462.
Peel, Sir R., on Venice, 276.
Peelites, Mr. Martin's Tribute to, 179; Difficulties of, 193, 194.
Perceval, Mr., contests Oxford University, 140; *Times* on, 140.
Personal Appearance and Oratory of Mr. Gladstone, 58, 59.
Peto, Sir M., Dissenters' Burials Bill, 307.
Philip van Artevelde, quo Note 499.
Piræus, Admiral Parker Blockades, 112.
Pius IX., Mr. Gladstone on the Speeches of, 501.
Planters, Mr. Gladstone's Defence of the West Indian, 56, 57; Protection for, 110.
Plumstead, Mr. Gladstone's Speech at, 539.
Poerio, Carlo, the Case of, 123.
Politics, Varying Character of, 195; State of, in 1859, 244.
Politics of Homer, The, 235, 236.

Policy, Mr. Disraeli's Attack on the Gladstone of 1872, 426; Mr. Gladstone's Reply, 427-428; Effects of Imperial, 553, 555-556.
Poor Laws, Mr. Gladstone on, 107, 108.
Post Office Savings Bank Bill, 274; Character and Scope of, 274.
Power's, Mr. O'Connor, Relief of Distress Bill (Ireland), 566.
Praed, Mackworth, 18.
Precocity, the Dangers of, 13.
Preface to Fourth Edition of *Church and State*, 66.
Press Opinions of Mr. Gladstone's Greenwich Manifesto, 457, 459.
Prince of Wales, Recovery of, 423; Public Thanksgiving for, 426.
Prisons and Prisoners, Neapolitan, 122.
Procedure Resolutions, 575, 576.
Protection, Mr. Disraeli on, 91; for West Indian Planters, 110.
Prussia and the Eastern Question, 168, 169.
Public Worship Regulations Bill, 469; Mr. Gladstone on, 469, 470; Mr. Gladstone's Resolution on, 471; Debate on, 471, 472.
Punishment, Eton School, 15.
Purchase, Abolition of, in the Army, 406; Opposition to, 407-410; Abolished by Royal Warrant, 410.
Pusey, Dr., on Mr. Gladstone's Oxford Defeat, 326.

Q

Quarterly Review on *Church and State*, 70.
Queen, First Parliament of, 54; Sympathy with Lord Aberdeen, 169, 174; Letter to Lord Raglan, 172; Desires Lord Russell to form a Ministry, 180.
Questions, Home, awaiting Settlement, 554.

R

Radical Candidate, Description of a, 54.
Raglan, Lord, the Queen's Letter to, 172.
Railways, Committee of Inquiry into, 84; Nature of the Bill, 84.
Rates, Church, Mr. Gladstone on, 100, 274, 275; Mr. Bright on, 275.
Rationalism, Mr. Gladstone on, 72.
Red Club, The Newark, 35, 37.
Reflector on Mr. Gladstone's Return for Newark, 41.
Reform, Agitations for, 350, 351; Demonstration in Hyde Park, 350, 351.
Reform Bill, Passing of the Great, 32.
Reform Bill of the Derby Ministry, 245; Nature of, 245; Lord Russell's Amendment, 245; Mr. Gladstone on, 246, 247; Vote on, 247.
Reform Bill of 1860, Lord Russell's, 270, 271.
Reform Bill, Mr. Disraeli's, of 1867, 353; Debate on, 353, 354; Changes in, 350, 356.
Reform, Parliamentary, and Mr. Gladstone, 309.
Reform Resolutions, Mr. Disraeli's, 352; Debate on, 353.
Regulation of the Parks Bill, Debate on, 430.
Religion, Mr. Gladstone and, 416, 471, 472.
Remarks on Recent Commercial Legislation, 88; Analysis of, 88.
Reserves, Calling out the, 529.
Resolutions, Mr. Gladstone's, on the Eastern Question, 520, 521; Speech in Support, 521-524.
Revenue, Continued Increase of, 257, 258.
Rhyl, Mr. Gladstone's Speech at, 537.
Richard, Mr., on Mr. Forster, 395.
Ritualism, Mr. Gladstone's Article on, 490, 492; and the Roman Catholics, 491.
Robertson, Miss Ann, 9, 10.
Roebuck, Mr., mentioned, 54; Motion on the Crimean War, 174, 175, 179; Censure on the Aberdeen Ministry, 190.
Roman Catholicism, Progress of, 496; Note, 496.
Roman Catholic Relief Act Amendment Bill, 253; Exciting Debate on, 247.
Roman Catholics and the Liberal Party, 446; Duty of, to the State, 497.
Roman State from 1815 *to* 1850, Mr. Gladstone translates, 131.
Rome, England's Re-conversion to, 72; and England, Comparison between, 52; Mr. Gladstone on Diplomatic Relations between, 98, 99.
Round, Mr., contests Oxford, 92, 93.
Rothschild, Baron, returned for the City, 93.
Russell, Lord, Irish Church Bill of, 49, 50; Resolution on Canadian Affairs, 51; Motion on the Corn Laws, 83; Jews' Bill, 93, 94; and Parliamentary Oaths, 99, 100; Ministry of, Defeated, 134; Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, 135; on Mr. Gladstone, 148; Despatch on Holy Places, 151; Resignation from the Aberdeen Ministry, 174; Mr. Gladstone on, 176; Mr. Disraeli on, 178; Desired to Form a Ministry, 180; at Vienna, 184; Defends his Vienna Policy, 188; Mr. Disraeli's Attack on, 189; Reform Bill of 1860, 270, 271; Amendment on the Derby Reform

Bill, 245; and the Confederate States of America, 298, 299; Ministry of 1866, 329; Defeat and Resignation of, 348, 349.
Russia, Declaration of War by, 520.
Russia, War Declared against by Turkey, 153; by England, 153; Mr. Bright on, 167, Note, 167; Attitude at the Vienna Conference, 184, 185.
Russo-Turkish War, Course of, 525.

S

Salisbury, Mr. Gladstone at, 351.
Salisbury, Marquis, Mr. Disraeli's Attack on, 365; Circular of, to Foreign Courts, 528.
San Stefano Treaty, 527; objected to by England, 527.
Sandon, Lord, Endowed School Acts Bill, 473.
Sardinia and the Crimean War, 184.
Saturday Review, quo 458.
Schools, Mr. Gladstone on Great Public, 480.
Scotch and Irish Reform Bills, 358.
Scriptures, Homer and the, 233, 234.
Seats, Measure for the Redistribution of, 346; Debate on, 346, 347.
Selwyn, Bishop, Mr. Gladstone's Tribute to, 19.
Servia, Declaration of War by, 510.
Session, Parliamentary, of 1842, 80, 81; of 1851, 133; of 1872, Acts passed in, 437, 438; Work of 1873, 452, 453; Work of 1880, 562-7; Work of 1881, 571-4; Work of 1882, 575-8; Work of 1883, 580.
Settembrini, Case of, 123.
Shakespeare and Homer, 237, quo 465.
Shelley *v.* Byron, Debate on, at the Oxford Union, 26.
Shere Ali, War with, 539.
Sicilians, Struggle of, for Liberty, 132.
Sicily, Mr. Gladstone's Tour in, 27.
Sketch, Personal, of Mr. Gladstone, 58.
Slavery, Homer on, 501.
Smith, Sydney, on Foreign Interference, 197.
Soldiers, Sufferings of, in the Crimea, 171.
South Kensington Exhibition Building, Debate on, 307.
South Lancashire, Mr. Gladstone Nominated for, 327; Address to the Electors, 327; Speech at Manchester, 327, 328; Speech at Liverpool, 328, 329; Elected for, 329; Defeat at, 370, 371.
Sovereign, Mr. Gladstone's Relations with his, 586.
Spectator, quo 458, 539.
Speech, Mr. Gladstone on the Liberty of, 537.
Spirits, Scotch and Irish, Increase of Duty on, 162.
St. David, Bishop of, on the Irish Church Bill, 386.
St. Helen's, Mr. Gladstone's Speech at, 369, 370.
St. James's Hall, Meeting on the Eastern Question at, 514; Mr. Gladstone's Speech at, 514, 515.
Standard, quo 457.
Stanley, Lord, on National Education, 60.
Statesman, Qualities and Faculties of a, 11.
Stock Exchange, Panic on, 527.
Stockmar, Baron, Prince Consort to, 157.
Strauss's *Old Belief and the New*, Mr. Gladstone on, 477, 478.
Students, Mr. Gladstone's Advice to, 480, 481.
Studies, Eton, 16.
Style, Mr. Gladstone's, 59, 546; *of Church and State*, 70.
Sugar, Duty on Foreign, Motion to Reduce, 83; Duties, 84, 85; Mr Milner Gibson on Foreign and Colonial, 85.
Sultan, Deposition of, 509.
Sussex, Duke of, Copy of *Church and State*, Note 66.

T

Tamworth, Sir R. Peel's Address to the Electors of, 49.
Tariff, Alterations in, for 1860, 255.
Tariffs Bill, 1842, 80.
Taxation, Mr. Gladstone on, 211.
Tea Duty, Mr. Gladstone on, 284, Partial Remission of, 303; Reduction of, 320; Amended Scale of Duty on, 209, 211; Mr. Gladstone's Opposition to, 210.
Temples, Mr. Gladstone's Description of the Sicily, 28.
Times, quo 89, 457; on Lord Palmerston's Foreign Policy, 215; on Mr. Gladstone's Election for Oxford University, 93; on Mr. Perceval, 140; Mr. Gladstone's Oxford Defeat, 325.
Trade and Commerce, Proposed Relief of, 255.
Trades Unions, Mr. Gladstone on, 478, 479.
Treasury, Mr. Gladstone Junior Lord of, 48.
Treaties, Commercial, 330.
Treaty, Commercial, with France, 254, 255; Mr. Gladstone on, 258.

Treaty of Washington, 414: Mr. Disraeli on, 426, 427; Mr. Gladstone on, 427.
Triple Treaty and Belgium, 399.
Turkey, Declaration of War by, 152; Mr. Gladstone on the Government of, 152, 153; Mr. Cobden on, 167.
Twenty Years of Financial Policy, quo 503, 504.

U

Union, The Oxford, 23; President of, 25; Reorganised, 25.
Universities, English and Irish, Debate on, 111, 112.
Universities, Mr. Gladstone on the work of, 270, 271.
Universities Tests Bill, 413.
University, Oxford, Mr. Gladstone enters, 22.

V

Vancouver's Island, Mr. Gladstone on, 98.
Vatican Claims, General Conclusion on, 501.
Vatican Decrees, Mr. Gladstone's, 493-497; Replies to, 497, 498; Note, 497.
Vaticanism, Mr. Gladstone's, 498.
Venice, Sir Robert Peel on, 276.
Vienna Note, Rejection of, by Turkey, 153; Conference, 184.
View of Lethe, Mr. Gladstone's, quo 20.
Villiers, Mr., Motion to Repeal Corn Laws, 79.
Virgil, quo 30.
Voters, Illustrious, Note 324.

W

Walpole, Mr., and the Reform League 351.
Walpole's *History of England*, quo 32, 33.
War, Mr. Gladstone on the Impending Crimean, 152; Evils of, 156.
Warrant, Royal, Abolition of Purchase by, 410; Mr. Disraeli's Strictures on, 411; Vote of Censure passed in the Lords, 411; Debate on in the Commons, 411, 412; Sir Roundell Palmer on, 412.
Washington, Treaty of, 414; Mr. Disraeli on, 426, 427; Mr. Gladstone on, 427; Letter to the *New York World* on, 435.
Wedgwood and his Work, Mr. Gladstone on, 548-9.
Wellington, Mr. Gladstone on the death of, 136, 137.
Whalley, Mr. Gladstone's Letter to, 416.
Whig Government, Causes for the Fall of, 1841, 62.
Whitby, Mr. Gladstone's Speech at, 417, 418.
Wilde, Sergeant, Presentation to, 34; Contests Newark, 35, 36.
William IV., Death of, 52.
Women, Married Property Bill, 399.
Work, Aim of the Present, 12. See *Preface*.
Working Classes, Mr. Gladstone's Address to, 478, 480.

Z

Zulu War, 554.

00013422

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018